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THE JOURNAL OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

VOLUME III—APPENDIX



TORONTO  
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

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APPENDIX TO AN  
HISTORICAL JOURNAL  
OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN  
NORTH AMERICA

For the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760

BY  
CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX  
AND INDEX BY

ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY

IN THREE VOLUMES  
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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. JOURNALS OF MAJOR-GENERAL JEFFERY AMHERST AND COLONEL WILLIAM AMHERST, 1758-1760 . . . . .	1
II. TWO LETTERS FROM A FRENCH OFFICER OF THE GAR- RISON OF LOUISBOURG . . . . .	96
III. LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED DURING THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758 . . . . .	120
LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED AT QUEBEC FROM JUNE 26 TO OCTOBER 1, 1759 . . . . .	122
LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED AND PRIS- ONERS AT QUEBEC FROM APRIL 27 TO MAY 21, 1760 . . . . .	135
STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH LOSSES AT THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS . . . . .	143
LIST OF FRENCH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED, AT QUEBEC FROM APRIL 27 TO MAY 17, 1760 . . . . .	144
IV. CAPITULATION OF FORT FRONTENAC . . . . .	149
V. REPORT ON QUEBEC BY MAJOR PATRICK MACKELLAR . . . . .	151
VI. PAPERS RELATIVE TO BRIGADIER - GENERAL MURRAY'S EXPEDITION ABOVE QUEBEC, AUGUST, 1759 . . . . .	161
VII. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC . . . . .	167
VIII. MÉMOIRES SUR LA DÉFENSE DE QUÉBEC, PAR LE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM . . . . .	179
IX. MÉMOIRE POUR LA DÉFENSE DES ENVIRONS DE QUÉBEC, LA CAMPAGNE DE 1759, PAR LE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS . . . . .	184

	PAGE
X. PRIVATE DIARY KEPT BY SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AT NIAGARA AND OSWEGO, 1759 . . . . .	187
XI. JOURNAL FAIT PAR LE S <sup>R</sup> LAFORCE, COMMANDANT LES BÂTIMENTS SUR LE LAC ONTARIO, DU SIÈGE DE NIAGARA. A COMMENCER DU 6 JUILLET 1759 JUS- QU'AU 14 DUD <sup>T</sup> . . . . .	233
XII. THE CAPITULATION OF NIAGARA . . . . .	242
XIII. EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF M. VAUQUELIN, COM- MANDANT OF THE FRIGATE <i>ATALANTE</i> IN THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE IN 1760 . . . . .	245
XIV. LETTER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MURRAY TO COLONEL SIMON FRASER . . . . .	252
XV. LETTER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MURRAY TO THE HON. WILLIAM PITT . . . . .	255
XVI. THE CAPITULATION OF FORT LÉVIS . . . . .	257
XVII. THE CARTEL REGARDING EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS . . . . .	258
XVIII. MÉMOIRE DES DISPUTES SURVENUËS SUR LE CARTEL ENTRE LES GÉNÉRAUX DE S.M.T.C. ET CEUX DE S.M.B. SERVANT EN AMÉRIQUE . . . . .	289
XIX. LETTER FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS TO AMHERST . . . . .	297
XX. THE BATTLE OF STE. FOY . . . . .	301
XXI. MURRAY'S JOURNAL . . . . .	306
XXII. GENERAL WOLFE TO HIS ARMY . . . . .	335
XXIII. TABLE OF ISSUES OR SUPPOSED ISSUES OF CARD MONEY . . . . .	337
XXIV. EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF COLONEL WILLIAMSON ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HON <sup>BLE</sup> AND HON <sup>BLE</sup> THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND REST OF THE PRIN- CIPAL OFFICERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S ORDNANCE, SEPT. 20, 1759 . . . . .	339

# CONTENTS

ix

	PAGE
XXV. THE ABBÉ DESENCLAVES . . . . .	341
XXVI. COPY OF A LETTER FOUND ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM AFTER THE BATTLE OF SEPTEMBER 13, 1759 . . .	349
XXVII. THE CHIEN D'OR . . . . .	350
XXVIII. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO AN ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH SHIPS IN BAIE DES CHALEURS IN 1760 . . . . .	353
XXIX. LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED . . . . .	423
XXX. GENERAL INDEX . . . . .	457





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LETTER BY JAMES WOLFE . . . . .	<i>To face p. 4</i>
TWO PAGES OF TOWNSHEND'S ORIGINAL DESPATCH ANNOUNCING THE VICTORY. . . . .	„ 66
COMMISSION GIVEN BY WOLFE SIGNED A FEW DAYS BEFORE HIS DEATH . . . . .	„ 122
FACSIMILE OF THE CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC . . . . .	„ 178
CARD MONEY OF THE FRENCH RÉGIME . . . . .	„ 336
THE ORDONNANCE OF BIGOT . . . . .	„ 338

## LIST OF MAPS

- PLAN OF THE COUNTRY FROM FORT FRED-  
ERIC TO ALBANY, SHOWING LAKE ST.  
SACREMENT AND THE FORTS CON-  
STRUCTED IN THAT PART OF NORTH  
AMERICA, 1757 . . . . . *To face p. 28*
- From the original manuscript in the possession of  
the Editor. This manuscript was presented about  
the year 1800 to the Hon. Mr. Neilson by a  
Recollect Father, who stated that it had been  
designed for the use of the Marquis de Montcalm.
- PLAN OF THE TOWN OF QUEBEC, BY PAT-  
RICK MacKELLAR, TO ACCOMPANY HIS  
REPORT . . . . . „ 150
- EXTRACT OF PLAN OF ST. LAWRENCE, PRE-  
PARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
GENERAL MURRAY, 1760 . . . . . „ 160
- To illustrate Murray's movements above Quebec in  
August, 1759.
- EXTRACT FROM A SKETCH OF THE RIVER  
ST. LAWRENCE FROM MONTREAL TO DES-  
CHAMBAULT, BY ORDER OF HIS EXCEL-  
LENCY JAMES MURRAY, L<sup>T</sup>. GOVERNOR  
OF QUEBEC . . . . . „ 314
- By Cap<sup>n</sup> Montresor.
- MAP PREPARED BY THE EDITOR FOR THE  
CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY'S EDITION OF THE  
JOURNAL OF JOHN KNOX, FROM THE  
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT PLAN SIGNED  
BY PATRICK MacKELLAR, CHIEF EN-  
GINEER . . . . . *In pocket, end of volume*
- To illustrate the sieges of Quebec in 1759 and 1760.

# APPENDIX

## I

JOURNALS OF MAJOR-GENERAL JEFFERY AMHERST AND COLONEL WILLIAM AMHERST, 1758-1760.

PART I.—*From May 28 to July 23, 1758: Public Record Office, London, C.O. 5, vol. 53; transcripts in Canadian Archives. From July 24 to July 27, 1758: Canadian Archives, original letter signed by Jeffery Amherst, July 27, 1758, enclosing Articles of Capitulation by the Chevalier de Drucour.*

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 169.]

Camp before Louisburg 11<sup>th</sup> June 1758.

Sir

The last opportunity I had of writing to you, was on the 17<sup>th</sup> May; by a Virginia-Man bound to England. I then acquainted you with my expectation of seeing Halifax in a day or two, but the later part of my Voyage, by contrary winds and Fogs, proved as tedious as the first, 'till I had the good fortune of meeting Admiral Boscawen with the Fleet and the Troops coming out of the Harbour of Halifax on the 28<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Bragg's Regiment from the Bay of Fundy, joyned the Fleet this day.

The 29<sup>th</sup>, we had fine weather, the Ships kept well together, the whole consisted of 157 Sail, the Dublin went very sickly into Halifax.



## 2 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

The 30<sup>th</sup>, The Wind blew hard in the Afternoon, the Ships were greatly dispersed.

The 31<sup>st</sup>, the Wind sometimes contrary, obliged us to Tack, and it blew fresh :

The 1<sup>st</sup> of June Capt<sup>n</sup>. Rous in the Sutherland came from off the Harbour of Louisburg, said two Ships had got in on the 30<sup>th</sup>, that there were 13 Sail in the Harbour. we saw the entrance of Gabarus at night.

The 2<sup>d</sup>, it was foggy in the morning, about 12 saw Louisburg and the Ships in the Harbour, the Fleet with about a third of the Troops anchored in Gabarus bay, and this Evening, with Brigadier Generals Lawrence & Wolfe I reconnoitred the Shore as near as we could, and made a Disposition for landing in three places the next morning, in case the Troops arrived.

The Enemy had a Chain of Posts from Cape Noir to the flat Point and Irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay, some works thrown up at the Places which appeared practicable to land at, and some Batteries.

on the 3<sup>d</sup>, most of the Transports came in this morning, all was prepared for landing but the Surf on Shore was so great, it was impossible to land : this day B<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Whitmore arrived from Halifax, at which place I have left Colonel Monckton to command. as one bay was found to have less Surf than the others, a disposition was made to land the next morning in one place instead of three.

The 4<sup>th</sup>, The Wind and Surf were so very high that Admiral Boscawen told me it was impracticable to land.

The 5<sup>th</sup>, a great Swell and Fog in the morning and the Admiral declared it still impracticable to land.

The 6<sup>th</sup>, an Appearance of Change of Weather in the morning early, I was resolved to seize the first opportunity, the Signal was made to prepare to land between 5, & 6, o'Clock, and at 8 all the Men were in the boats; the Fog came on again, and the Swell encreased during the time the

## AMHERST'S JOURNALS

1

Men were getting into the boats, and the Admiral again declared it impracticable to land, I ordered the Troops on board their respective Ships, first acquainting them with the reason for so doing.

The 7<sup>th</sup>, the Weather bad in the morning, in the Afternoon the Swell rather decreased and gave us great hopes of landing at day break the next morning, for which orders were given; and Bragg's Reg<sup>t</sup> who were in a number of Sloops, to sail under Convoy by the mouth of the Harbour to Lorembec, sending at the same time a proportion of Artillery destined for the light House Point with orders to make all the Shew they could of landing but not to land 'till further orders, intending to draw the Enemy's Attention on that side.

From the 2<sup>d</sup> to this time the Enemy has been reinforcing their Posts, adding to their works, cannonading and throwing Shells at the Ships, and making all the preparations they can to oppose our landing: seven Transports were now missing with Troops on board, three of which came in at night. The Admiral gave all necessary Orders for the Frigates to cover our landing.

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, The Troops were assembled in the Boats before break of day, in three Divisions according to the Plan annexed, and Comodore Durell having viewed the Coast by order of the Admiral and given me his opinion that the Troops might land, without danger from the Surf, in the bay on our left, the Kennington, and Halifax Snow, began the fire upon the left, followed by the Grammont, Diana, and Shannon Frigates in the Center, and the Sutherland and Squirrell upon the right; when the fire had continued about a Quarter of an Hour, the Boats upon the left rowed into the Shore under the Command of B<sup>r</sup> General Wolfe, whose Detachment was composed of the four Eldest Companys of Grenadiers, followed by the light Infantry, (a Corps of 550 Men chosen as Marksmen from the different Regiments, serve

as Irregulars, and are commanded by Major Scott, who was Major of brigade) and Companys of Rangers, supported by the Highland Regiment, and those by the Eight remaining Companys of Grenadiers.

The Division on the right under the Command of Br General Whitmore consisted of the Royal, Lascelles, Monckton, Forbes, Anstruther, & Webb, & rowed to our right by the white Point as if intending to force a landing there.

The Center Division under the Command of Br General Lawrence was formed of Amherst's, Hopson's, Otway's, Whitmores, Lawrence's & Warburtons, & made at the same time a Shew of landing at the fresh water Cove: this drew the Enemy's attention to every part and prevented their Troops posted along the Coast from Joining those on their right.

The Enemy acted very wisely, did not throw away a Shot 'till the boats were near in shore, and then directed the whole fire of their Cannon and Muskettry upon them: the Surf was so great, that a place could hardly be found, to get a boat on shore; notwithstanding the fire of the Enemy and the Violence of the Surf, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point, and landed just at their left of the Cove, took post, attacked the Enemy, & forced them to retreat. many Boats overset, several broke to Pieces, and all the Men Jumped into the Water to get on Shore.

So soon as the left Division was landed the first Detachments of the Center rowed at a proper time to the left and followed, then the remainder of the Center division as fast as the boats could fetch them from the Ships. and the right Division followed the center in like manner.

it took up a great deal of time to land the Troops, the Enemy's Retreat, or rather Flight, was through the roughest and worse [*sic*] Ground I ever saw, and the Pursuit ended with a canonading from the Town which was so far of



Dear Rickson

The Title of Baiged in which extend to America only, has no other advantage, than ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> carrying on into service in an easy manner for myself, & such as my constitution really requires. our success alone will determine, the more solid favours, for it is possible to deserve very well, & to be eating the seed. ~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> State of publick affairs are such, that some measures must be pursued either Prudence, or military knowledge, <sup>perhaps</sup> might not displease. We shall have, if accident does <sup>prevent it</sup> a great loss this year in America, & the Country has a right to expect some remarkable efforts, <sup>promised</sup> to the Annamites - Success, is in the hands of Providence - but it is in every Man's power to do his part handsomely. I did not know that Barré was your Friend, nor even your acquaintance, now that I do know it, I shall value him the more.

that account, by a  
good usage - & I shall  
thank the Men the  
already overpaid  
of his obscurity, &  
saw his face till  
ten words to him  
him, as a Queen  
that my information  
I wish your  
a lasting satisfaction  
forward it; you may  
which indeed I had  
it warmly to L:  
the power in his  
but, I have little

LETTE



I heard of his worth, &  
I trust, good reason to  
kind him; Nay, I am  
I did, by deceiving not  
a gentleman; I never  
ly, nor never spoke  
I ventured to propose  
- you may <sup>be</sup> sure,  
from the best hands;  
most heartily, it would be  
if I had power to  
me leave to tell you,  
do, that I have prep'd  
viler, who has not power  
I bid, the Field Marshal  
there - & for your sake.

I wish I had more of Lord George. Watch me now  
& then a letter, w<sup>th</sup> all the Scotch News, & your own  
sentiments, upon things as they fall out: Calcraft will  
forward your letters, & they will be read, as to  
many marks of your affection & remembrance.  
We embark in three or four days - Baire & I have  
the great apartment of a three deck'd ship to ourselves,  
but w<sup>th</sup> all this space & this fresh air, I am sick to  
death; time, I suppose, will deliver me from these  
sufferings; tho' in former trials, I never could  
overcome it. I thank you for your kind wishes,  
& return 'em most sincerely. I am, ever my Dear Friend  
Your faithful & affec<sup>d</sup> Servant  
James Wolfe

Portsmouth  
7<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1756

JAMES WOLFE



use, that it pointed out how near I could encamp to invest it, on which the Regiments marched to their ground and lay on their Arms. the Wind encreased, and we could not get any thing on shore.

The loss of His Majestys Troops at our landing, is, Capt: Baillie and Lt: Cuthbert of the Highland Regiment, Lieut Nicholson of mine, 4 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 1 Corporal & 38 Men Killed. twenty-one were of my Regiment (the Grenadiers) of which 8 were shot, and the rest drowned in trying to get on shore.

5 Lieut<sup>s</sup> 2 Serj<sup>ts</sup> 1 Corporal and 51 Men wounded, and of the five Companys of Rangers 1 Ensign and 3 private Killed, 1 wounded, & 1 missing.

On the Enemy's side 2 Capt<sup>s</sup> of Grenadiers and 2 Lieut<sup>s</sup> are prisoners, one Officer Killed and an Indian Chief, several Men likewise Killed, and I imagine about 70 Men taken Prisoners, they were sent on board as fast as possible. by some of the Prisoners I had intelligence that Mons<sup>r</sup> St Julien, Colonel, comāded in the Cove; that there were five Batt<sup>s</sup> in the Town, namely, *Bourgogne*, *Artois Royal Marine Cambise* & *Volontaires Etrangers* with about 700, Canadians, the three first Regiments wintered in Louisburg, *Volontaires Etrangers* came there not long since with part of the Fleet, and *Cambise* the night before we landed.

We took from the Enemy 3, 24 Pounders 7, 9 Pounders and 7, 6 Pounders, 2 Mortars and 14 Swivels, all which were placed along the shore to prevent our landing, with Ammunition Tools & Stores of all kinds.

the 9<sup>th</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Braggs Regiment returned in their Sloops from Lorembec, the Weather continued extreemly bad, the Surf so great that we could get only some of our Tents on shore in the Afternoon.

The 10<sup>th</sup> the Surf still continued and it was with great difficulty that we got any thing on shore.

The 11<sup>th</sup> the Weather grew clear and better, and the light six Pounders which I had ordered on shore immediately

after the Troops, were now only landed, and some artillery Stores with them.

I delivered the Dispatches for Major General Abercromby and Governour Lyttleton, to Colonel Monckton, that he might forward them by the first and safest Occasion.

I shall add to this, Sir, a list of His Majestys Forces as I found them, by which you will see where it differs from that I received from you, and a List of the Forces left for the Defence of Nova Scotia.

I will press on every thing to the utmost of my Power towards the Execution of His Majestys Orders, I write this in case Admiral Boscawen should dispatch a Ship to England, in my next I hope to give you a good Account of our Progress. I am with the greatest Respect

Sir

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. PITT.

[A.L.S.]

[pp. 178-179 blank.]

Endorsed: Camp before Louisburg. June 11<sup>th</sup>. 1758.

M. G. AMHERST

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 195.]

Camp before Louisburg 23<sup>d</sup> June 1758.

Sir

The last Letter I wrote to you I gave you an Account of every thing material that had happened to the 12<sup>th</sup> of June, on which day from Intelligence I had received that the Enemy had destroyed the Grand Battery, and called in their out Posts, I detached Brigadier Wolfe with 1200 Men, 4 Companys of Grenadiers, 3 Companys of Rangers and some light Infantry

round the North-East Harbour, to the light-House Point, with an Intention to silence the Island battery and at the same time to attempt to destroy the Ships in the Harbour, sending at the same time by Sea the proportion of Artillery, Tools, &<sup>ca</sup> that had been ordered for this Service.

I received this day a Report from Brig<sup>r</sup> Wolfe that he had taken possession of the light House Point, and all the Posts on that side the Harbour, which the Enemy had abandoned, leaving several Cannon which were rendered useless, Tools &<sup>a</sup>, and a great quantity of fish at Lorembec. The weather continued extreemly bad, but we got some Tools on shore this night, so that on the 13<sup>th</sup> we began to make a Communication from the Right to the Left in front of the Camp, and I ordered three Redoutes on the most advantageous Ground in the Front: a Party of the Enemy came out this day towards our Camp, but were soon beat back by the light Infantry, before two Picquets could well get up to their assistance. we worked at the three Redoutes in front all night.

the 14<sup>th</sup> the Enemy canonaded us a great part of the day, I received a Letter from the Governour, a Copy of which I send you enclosed with my answer. the Surf still continued so great that it was with the greatest difficulty we could land anything. The Fleet under the Command of Sir Charles Hardy which appeared yesterday for the first time, was in the night blown off to Sea.

the 15<sup>th</sup> I sent four more Mortars in a Sloop to the light house, but we could not get any Artillery landed on this shore, at night two Deserters from the Volontaires Etrangers came in, said they had 5 Killed and 40 wounded in the Shirmish [*sic*] on the 13<sup>th</sup>.

the 16<sup>th</sup> the first fine Weather, we landed twelve days provision, and got many things on shore, but could not yet land any Artillery.

the 17<sup>th</sup> I got Colonel Bastide on Horse back and with Col Williamson & Major M<sup>c</sup>Kellar, we reconnoitred the



whole ground as far as we could, and Colonel Bastide was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the Green-Hill,<sup>1</sup> and confining the Destruction of the Ships in the Harbour, to the light-House point, and the Batteries on that side. I added two 8 Inch Mortars and 3 Royals to the light House batterys.

The 18<sup>th</sup> we had fine weather, some Indians took three of the Transports Men at the bottom of Gabarus bay, who landed there contrary to orders. the Road for the Artillery was pushed on as fast as possible, we got 3 24 Pounders on shore 'tho the Surf was great the beginning of the day.

19<sup>th</sup> the Batterys at the light House were intended to have been opened this night, but could not be got ready so soon, L'Echo, a french Frigate of 32 Guns, was brought in to day, had got out of the Harbour the 13<sup>th</sup> at night was bound to Quebec, by her we have intelligence, that the Bizarre got out the day we landed, and the Comette since our Arrival off the Harbour. this shews how very difficult it is to block up the Entrance of the Harbour, it appears to me to be impossible.

the 20<sup>th</sup> The Island Battery and Ships fired at the Batteries on the Shore, who began their fire this last night, the Enemy burnt an old Ship at the Bottom of the Harbour.

the 21<sup>st</sup> very bad Weather, and the Surf high, the Enemy discovered us making the Road for the Artillery & canonaded us; threw some Shot into the left of the Camp, but did not oblige me to decamp any part; an advanced Redoute towards Greenhill was thrown up this night.

the 22<sup>d</sup> the bad Weather continued, we were employed on the Roads, and getting up a block house on the left, by the Miray Road, to secure the Communication to the north East Harbour and light House, and to hinder any Partys from going into the Town.

<sup>1</sup> A knoll above Flat Point.

The 23<sup>d</sup> the Admiral assured me there were above a hundred boats lost in landing the Troops and provisions. This day fine Weather, and we now have on shore 12 24 Pounders, and 6 12 Pounders, the Enemy fired a great deal from their Shipping and Island battery, and they threw some shot into the left of the Camp. Colonel Messervy and most of his Carpenters taken ill of the small Pox, which is a very great loss to this Army. Gabions and Fascines are landed, and caryed forward as fast as possible, to make an Epaulement to Greenhill. the Batteries at the light house, fire with success against the Island battery, and I hope will soon silence it.

I am with the utmost Respect  
Sir

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

[A.L.S.]

P:S: one Man of Warburton's deserted. the Army in General very healthy. Lieut: Fenton of the Royal and Lieut: Frazier of the Highland Regiment are dead of their wounds received on the 8<sup>th</sup>.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> M<sup>r</sup> PITT.

Endorsed: Camp before Louisburg. June 23<sup>d</sup>. 1758.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 209.]

Camp before Louisburg 6<sup>th</sup> July 1758.

Sir

The last Letter I did myself the Honour of writing to you was to give you an account of every thing that had passed to the 23<sup>d</sup> of June inclusively, but as yet I have not

had any opportunity of sending it: I shall now continue my account from that day to this, in hopes of an occasion offering.

on the 24<sup>th</sup>, the Enemy fired on the light House Batteries from the Town & Shipping, and on our advanced Redoute which was finished, they fired from the Town. I sent a Drummer into Louisburg with a Letter to the Governour, a Copy of which I enclose with the Answer thereto. Colonel Bastide remained fixed in his opinion of advancing by Greenhill; we had this day in the Park of Artillery 13 24 P<sup>s</sup> and 7 12 P<sup>s</sup>.

the 25<sup>th</sup>. the canonading continued night and day, in the Evening the Island Battery was silenced, their own fire had helped to break down part of their works, fascines & Gabions were forwarded to greenhill as fast as possible, all the men employed at work and making the necessary Communications; the Enemy fired a good deal at our advanced Redoute.

26<sup>th</sup> a small Alarm on the left of a Party that had advanced from the Town, had got up to the block house, which was not quite finished, they had with them a Barrell of Pitch to set it on fire, the Guard on it was not sufficient to oppose a large Party, but a Detachment was sent out so quick, that they were forced to retreat without effecting their design, 'tho two of the men had been in the blockhouse, and they were drove back into the Town very fast. 300 Pioneers ordered to greenhill, Admiral Boscawen landed 200 Marines, and took the Post at Kennington Cove, which is a great ease to the Army. I desired of the Admiral 4 32 P<sup>s</sup>. and 2 24 P<sup>s</sup>. to leave at the light House to keep the Island battery in ruin, that with a proper number of men entrenched there, Brigadier Wolfe with his Detachment might be able to come round the Harbour, bringing his Artillery with him, and to try to destroy the Shipping, and to advance towards the West gate.

27<sup>th</sup> one Brass 24 P<sup>r</sup> was lost in 12 Fathom water by slipping off the Catamaran, as they were coming from the Ship to land it, the Cannon, I asked of the Admiral, were landed this night at the light House.

28<sup>th</sup> a great many popping Shots and canonading, as the Post at green hill was covered, we began the Road over the Bogs and throwing up an Epaulement. Col Messervy and his Son both died this day, and of his Company of Carpenters of 108 men, all but 16 in the small Pox, who are Nurses to the sick, this is particularly unlucky at this time.

29<sup>th</sup>, canonading continued, the Frigate fired constantly at the Epaulement, we pursued working at the road, which cost a great deal of labour; at night the Enemy sunk four Ships in the Harbour's mouth, the *Apollo* a two decked one, *La Fidelle* of 36 Guns, *La Chevre* and *La Riche*<sup>1</sup> of 16 Guns each, and they cut off most of their masts, remain in the harbour five of the Line of Battle and a Frigate of 36 Guns.

30<sup>th</sup> at night some firing at Kennington Cove, the Marines thought they saw Indians, the Frigate fired all night at the Epaulement, as the Men worked in the night time.

1<sup>st</sup> of July, the Enemy crept out in the morning to get some old Palisades & Wood, B<sup>r</sup> Wolfe & Major Scotts light Infantry pushed them in with a very brisk fire, and the Brigadier took posts on the Hills, from whence it was intended to try to demolish the Shipping, we marched forward on the right, forced the Enemy back to Cape Noir with a smart fire.

the 2<sup>d</sup> the Epaulement and Road went on heavily from the extream badness of the ground, the Enemy continued their canonading and threw some Shells, we skirmished all day with Parties out of the Town.

3<sup>d</sup>. a great Canonading from the Town and Shipping on the Baternys B<sup>r</sup> Wolfe was making, an advanced work on the right thrown up at 650 yards from the covered way with

<sup>1</sup> *La Biche*.

an Intention of erecting a Battery to destroy the Defences of the Place, it being pretty well on the Capital of the Citadel Bastion, and the falling of the Ground from this Place towards the works, would hinder discovering as much of the works as would be necessary to do them any considerable damage, in the Evening the Sea Officers thought some of the Ships would try to get out of the Harbour, the Batteries on the Left immediately played on them, but it grew so dark, they could not continue.

4<sup>th</sup> a great Fog when there were Glares of light the canonading began, 500 Men kept continually making Fascines.

5<sup>th</sup> very bad Weather, the Epaulement was hastened on as much as possible, it swallowed up an immense Number of Fascines, cost some Men, as the Frigate canonaded on it without ceasing.

6<sup>th</sup>. a Sloop sailed out of the Harbour with a Flag of Truce to Sir C. Hardy, to carry some things to their wounded Officers and Prisoners.

The many difficulties of landing every thing in almost a continual Surf, making of Roads, draining and passing of Bogs, and putting ourselves under Cover, renders our approach to the Place much longer than I could wish, but I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that no time shall be lost in advancing and I doubt not, but, the necessary Precautions being taken, our Success will be very certain.

I am with the utmost Respect  
Sir

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> PITT.

[A.L.S.]

Endorsed : Camp before Louisburg. July 6<sup>th</sup>. 1758.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.



[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 225.]

Camp before Louisburg. July 23<sup>d</sup>. 1758.

Sir

I was in hopes to have sent my Letters to you long before this, my last of the 6<sup>th</sup> was to inform you of our Situation here, with every thing that had passed at this place 'till that time.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> we had very foggy weather I received a Letter from the Governour of Louisburg by a Drummer, and one from Admiral Boscawen, which I sent to him with the one I had received, the Admiral came on shore, we both wrote, and I sent the Drummer back in the Afternoon; ■ Copy of Mons<sup>r</sup>. Drucour's Letter to me and my answer are herewith enclosed. canonading continued all day, and a good deal of popping Shots from the advanced Posts.

the 8<sup>th</sup> I intended an Attack on some advanced Posts at Cape Noir, but it did not take place, Col: Bastide got a Contusion by a Musket Ball on his Boot which lay[d] him up in the Gout.

9<sup>th</sup> in the night the Enemy made a Sortie where B<sup>r</sup> Lawrence comanded, every thing had been so quiet it was expected by some, others I fear, were not so vigilant, and suffered for it, the Enemy came from Cape Noir, and 'tho' drunk, I am afraid rather surprised a Company of Grenadiers of Forbes's, comanded by L<sup>d</sup> Dundonald,<sup>1</sup> who were posted in a Fleche on the right. Major Murray who comanded three Companys of Grenadiers immediately detached one and drove the Enemy back very easily, Whitmores & Braggs Grenadiers behaved very well on this occasion, Lord Dundonald was killed, L<sup>t</sup> Tew<sup>2</sup> wounded and taken Prisoner, Capt. Bontein<sup>3</sup> of the Engineers taken Prisoner, 1 Corporal 3 men killed,

<sup>1</sup> William, Earl of Dundonald, appointed a Captain of the 17th Foot, February 2, 1757.

■ Francis Tew, Lieutenant 17th Regiment of Foot, February 2, 1757.

<sup>3</sup> William Bontein, appointed Engineer Extraordinary and Captain Lieutenant of Foot, February 2, 1758.

## 14 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

1 Serj<sup>t</sup> 11 Men missing, 17 men wounded. the Sortie was of five Picquets supported by 600 men, a Cap<sup>t</sup> Chevalier de Chauvelin<sup>1</sup> was killed, a Lieut: wounded & taken prisoner, 17 men killed, 4 wounded & brought off Prisoners, besides what wounded they caryed into the Town, one of which, a Captain, died immediately. The Enemy sent out a Flag of Truce to bury their dead, which when over, the canonading began again: the Frigate was so hurt she hawled close to the Town, the Ships fired very much against B<sup>r</sup> Wolfes Batteries.

10<sup>th</sup>. the Road at the Epaulement went on a little better, the Enemy fired a great deal and threw many Shells.

11<sup>th</sup> a Waggoner was taken off by some Indians between the block House and the left of the N:W Harbour, I should have mentioned in my last that the 30<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Crofton of a Ranger Company brought in two scalps of Indians.

12<sup>th</sup> it rained very hard all night Not a Man in Detachment could have a dry thread on, we made an advanced work to Green-hill, at night the Waggoner who had been taken luckily made his Escape, said they were 250 Canadians. The Citadel Bastion fired very smartly.

13<sup>th</sup>. the Enemy threw a great many Shells, we perfected our works as fast as we could, bad rainy Weather, the Enemy was at work at Cape Noir to hinder us taking possession near that Point, which is of no consequence. Some Deserters came in said a Sloop from Miray<sup>2</sup> got in three days ago.

14<sup>th</sup> the Batteries were traced out last night with an Intention to place twenty 24 P<sup>s</sup>. divided in Four different Battery's, to destroy the defences, and a Battery of seven Mortars, with some twelve Pounders to ricochet the Works and the Town.

<sup>1</sup> Chevalier de Chauvelin, Capitaine du regiment de Bourgogne. The King granted his widow a pension of 200 livres.

<sup>2</sup> Miray Lake, now Miray Bay, north of Louisbourg, on the western coast of Cape Breton.

15<sup>th</sup>, the canonading & firing continued, the Enemy tried to throw some shells into Camp, supposed to be intended against our powder Magazine. at ten at night the Light-House Battery fired some Rockets as a Signal of Ships sailing out of the Harbour, Sir C: Hardy answered it, the Frigate got out, and Sir C Hardys Fleet got under Sail & went to Sea. before day break Capt Sutherland posted at the end of the N-E-Harbour was attacked and there was a great deall of firing, the Grenadiers of B<sup>r</sup> Wolfes Corps marched to sustain him, and all the light Infantry, it was over before they could get up, and by a Deserter from the Enemy, they were only 100 Men, came from *Miray* where they left Monsieur de Boisbere<sup>1</sup> who had on the other side the water 300 men with boats to pass. Major Scott with the light Infantry pursued but could not get up with them. I encamped a Corps forward.

16<sup>th</sup> towards night B<sup>r</sup> Wolfe pushed on a Corps and took possession of the Hills in the Front of the Barasoy,<sup>2</sup> where we made a Lodgement, the Enemy fired very briskly from the Town and Shipping.

17<sup>th</sup> a great fire continued from the Town and Shipping, we resolved to extend the Parallel from the right to the left, the Fleet returned.

18<sup>th</sup> all last night the Enemy fired Muskettry from the covered way, tried to throw shells into the Camp.

19<sup>th</sup> I relieved the Trenches by Batt<sup>s</sup>: the 14 Battalions forming three Brigades, a smart fire from the covered way, the Batterys on the left fired against the Bastion dauphin with great Success.

21<sup>st</sup>. one of the Ships in the Harbour had some Powder blown up in her, made a great Explosion and sat the Ship on fire, which soon caught the sails of two more. they burned very fast and we kept firing on them the whole time to try to hinder the boats and People from the Town

<sup>1</sup> Boishébert.

<sup>2</sup> Barachois; see *Plan of Louisbourg*, vol. i. p. 242.

to get to their Assistance. the *Entreprenant Capriccius* & *Superbe* were the three burned Ships, the *Prudent* & *bein-faisant* remained.

22<sup>d</sup> two Batterys on the right opened with 13 24 P<sup>s</sup>. and another of seven Mortars and fired with great Success, the Enemy fired very well from the Town for some time and threw their Shells into our Works, one Shot went into the Muzzle of a 24 P<sup>r</sup>. and stuck there as if it had been tried to be rammed in. Our Shells put the Citadel in Flames, I ordered Col: Williamson to confine his fire as much as he could to the defences of the Place that we might not destroy the Houses. A L<sup>t</sup> of the Royal Americans going his rounds on an advanced Post, lost his way & was taken Prisoner near Cape Noir. a Battery was begun on the left for 4 24 P<sup>s</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>. the Cohorns were used at night & the french mortars sent to throw stones from the Trenches. The Enemy fired all sorts of old Iron and any Stuff they could pick up. Col: Bastide was out to day for the first time since he received the contusion our Batterys fired with great success. This night the Shells sat fire to the Barracks and they burnt with great Violence.

As I now imagine Admiral Boscawen will not send away any Ship till the Siege is over which, I hope, will not last many days, I will give you an Account of our Losses in my next, which hitherto have been much less than could be expected from so great a fire. the Enemy have fired very wildly and have thrown away a great quantity of ammunition.

I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

JEFF AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup> Honble M<sup>r</sup> PITT

[A.L.S.]

Endorsed : Camp before Louisburg. July 23<sup>d</sup>. 1758.

Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.

Camp of Louisbourg July 27<sup>th</sup> 1758.

Sir

That I may continue my account since the 23<sup>d</sup> Instant (the last letter I had the honour of writing to you) and lead you to the Surrender of Louisbourg, I am to acquaint you.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> the fire was very brisk on our side and the Enemies decreased, The Admiral gave me 400 Seamen to help work at the Batteries &<sup>ca</sup> and 200 Miners added to a Corps of 100 already established that we might make quick work of it, and they were employ'd immediately. The 4 Gun Battery open'd and another of 5 erecting, One of the men of war in the harbour the *bienfaisant* fired at our trenches at high water, and the Citadel & the Bastion Dauphine fired against the 4 gun Battery, but our men firing Small Arms into the Embrasures beat the Enemy off their Guns.

25<sup>th</sup> The Batteries fired with great Success, the Admiral sent me word he intended to send in boats with 600 men to take or destroy the *Prudent* and the *bienfaisant* in the harbour. I order'd all the batteries at night to fire into the works as much as possible, to keep the Enemy's Attention to the land, the Miners and workmen went on very well with their Approaches to the Coverd way, tho they had a continued and very smart fire from it, and Grape Shot and all sorts of old Iron from the Guns of the Ramparts. We continued our fire with<sup>t</sup> Ceasing and a Ricouchet. The Boats got to the Ships at one in the morning, and took them both with great ease, they were Obliged to burn the *prudent* as she was a ground, and they towed off the *bienfaisant* to the N. East Harbour.

26<sup>th</sup> The Admiral came on shore, and told me he proposed sending six Ships into the Harbour the next day, just at this time, I received a Letter from the Governour, which I answerd, and the Admiral and I signed it joyntly, this brought



on another from the Governour, and I answerd it again, and That you may Sir be fully informed of every thing that passed, I send you Copies of the whole, The Troops remained in the Trenches this night as usual.

27<sup>th</sup> Three Companies of Grenad<sup>rs</sup> under the Command of Major Farquhar took possession of the best Gate, and I sent in Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Whitmore to see the Garrison lay down their Arms, and post the necessary Guards in the Town, on the Stores, Magazines &<sup>ca</sup> And I had the Arms brought out of Town and Eleven Colours, which I send you under the care of Cap<sup>t</sup> William Amherst, who will likewise deliver to you all my Letters from the day of the Troops landing here, which I have had no opportunity of sending. As I have given out in Orders, that I desired every commanding Officer of a Corps, would acquaint the Officers and men, that I was greatly pleased with the brave and good behaviour of the Troops, which has, and always must insure Success; I am to acquaint you Sir that I took the liberty to add to it, that I would report it to the King.

I inclose with this a Return of the Killed and Wounded, of His Majesty's Troops in the Island since the first landing, As Admiral Boscawen intends to send away a Ship very soon, it may happen, I shall not have it in my power to give you an account of the State and Condition of the Garrison, and the Town, or am I yet able to judge what the future Operations of this Campaign may be I am

If I can go to Quebeck I will

a true Copy.

JEFF AMHERST.



ARTICLES DE CAPITULATION entre son Excellence L'Amiral Boscawen, et son Excellence le Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst d'une Part, et de son Excellence M. le Chev<sup>r</sup> de drucour Gouverneur de L'Isle Royale de Louisbourg, Isle de S<sup>t</sup> Jean et de leurs dependances.

Art<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>r</sup>.

La Garnison de Louisbourg sera Prisonniere de Guerre et sera transportée en Angleterre dans des Vaisseaux de sa Majesté Brittanique.

2<sup>d</sup>

Toute L'Artillerie, les munitions de Guerre et de bouche aussy bien que les Armes de toutes especes qui sont a present dans la Ville de Louisbourg, Isle Royale et de S<sup>t</sup> Jean et leurs dependances, seront livrees sans le moindre degât aux Commissaires qui Seront Appointés pour les recevoir a l'usage de sa Majesté Britanique.

3<sup>e</sup>

Le Gouverneur donnera ses Ordres que les troupes qui sont dans L'Isle de S<sup>t</sup> Jean et ses dependances, Se rendront a bord de tel Vaisseaux de Guerre que L'Amiral envoyera pour les recevoir.

4<sup>e</sup>

La Porte dauphine sera livrée aux Troupes de sa Majeste Britanique demain a huit heures du Matin, et la Garnison y'compris tous ceux qui ont porté les Armes, Se Rangera a Midy Sur L'Esplanade et posera les Armes, Drapeaux, Instruments, et Ornaments de Guerre, Et la Garnison sera Embarquée pour être transportée en Angleterre dans un tems Convenable.

5<sup>me</sup>

On Aura le même Soin des Malades et blesses qui sont les hopiteaux, que de ceux de sa Majesté Britanique.

6<sup>me</sup>

Les Negotiants et leurs Commis qui n'ont point portés les Armes Seront Transportés en France, telle façon que L'Amiral Jugera a propos.

Louisburg le 26<sup>me</sup> Juillet 1758. Le Chev: de DRUCOUR.

a true Copy JEFF AMHERST.

PART II.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from April 28 to June 19, 1759. Amherst to Pitt, June 19, 1759: Transcript in Canadian Archives, M. 212, from the original in the Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 55, formerly A. & W. I. 90.*

Sir,

I have waited for the arrival of a Packet-boat, not thinking it right to dispatch the only one on this side, least anything more material might happen than what I have had to acquaint you of since my last letter of the 16<sup>th</sup>. Aprill to this time.

I then did myself the honour of writing you word of the measures I had been obliged to take on leaving Philadelphia that the Supply bill might be passed, and I received a Letter from Governour Denny<sup>1</sup> on the 21<sup>st</sup>. that in consequence of

<sup>1</sup> William Denny held a commission in the army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in America only, on his appointment as Deputy-Governor of Pennsylvania, where he arrived August 20, 1756. He administered the province until November 19, 1759, when he returned to England. He died about 1766.

what I had wrote to him, he had passed the bill though contrary to his instructions.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of Aprill Fraser's Regiment being embark'd and ready to sail, Lascelles's likewise ready to embark at Amboy, and the Transports coming in from Philadelphia, I left order with Captain Schomberg for convoying the Regiments, and B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux at New York to see all set off clear, and then to joyn me at Albany, and the Brigadier was to bring up Montgomery's Regt. that was ordered to Elizabeth Town and of course would be the last of the Regulars to joyn the Army.

I arrived at Albany on the 3<sup>rd</sup>. of May and sent to Sr. William Johnson to meet me the next day at Schenectady; intelligence from Fort Edward a scout of four Rangers had been out, were discovered by a party of Indians near Sacandaga<sup>1</sup> who killed one Ranger, took two, and the fourth made his escape.

The 4<sup>th</sup>. I had all the assurances from Sr. William that I could desire of the Indians being firm to the English, that he thought he should have 800 Indians to go with him, the Sachems of which were very desirous of carrying on an enterprize against Niagara, of which Sr. William had wrote me word, this answered exactly to what I wished, I only said I could not determine on the operations, desired he would have them ready to act on the first notice, as I intended to make an Irruption into Canada with the utmost vigour and dispatch. a sloop of Rhode Island Troops arrived, the first of the Provincials that are come.

the 5<sup>th</sup>. I ordered three months Provisions for 5000 Men by land to Schenectady, and as much as could be forwarded by water to Fort Edward, that every thing might be prepared as much as I could against the arrival of the Troops. Gage's

<sup>1</sup> Sacandaga, an Indian village on the Sacandaga River, flowing into the north-eastern branch of the Hudson River.

light Infantry encamped above Albany. a bridge at Fort Edward finished. the woods burnt to the Lake.

the 6<sup>th</sup>. the greatest Part of late Forbes's arrived, some more Rhode Islanders, I ordered Gage's light Infantry to Saratoga.

7<sup>th</sup>. as I had now determined with myself the Expedition to Oswego and Niagara, and that the Corps for that service should consist of Abercromby's, L<sup>t</sup>. General Murrays, 4<sup>th</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of R: Americans and the 2680 New York Provincials, & that B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux should have the command and be joyned by all the Indians under S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson, I wrote to B<sup>r</sup>. General Stanwix and sent an Aid de Camp that he might have the earliest notice and be prepared to act as the Expedition to Niagara must undoubtedly greatly facilitate any attack he may make on the french Posts between Pittsburg and Lake Erie.

8<sup>th</sup>. I was obliged to confirm the sentence of a General Court Martial and order the Execution of a Man of Abercromby's and one of Gage's to stop desertion. most of the New York Troops arrived.

9<sup>th</sup>. an account from Fort Stanwix of a Scouting Party of L<sup>t</sup>. Stevens and sixteen Rangers, who were discovered by the Enemy Indians, as the Rangers were shooting Pidgeons, and when surprised Tirbout a Volunteer and four men killed, one man taken Prisoner and a Serjeant wounded. an Aid de Camp who returned from Fort Edward heard the alarm Guns supposed some Indians had appeared.

10<sup>th</sup>. The Indians had been opposite Fort Miller which gave the alarm and they took away a Ranger who had crossed contrary to orders.

I sent Letters to some of the Governors to press the march of the Provincial Troops. I received a Letter from the Governor of New Hampshire that the Assembly had altered their minds and would send their Troops by land I sent directly to provide for their march, he said after their desiring

I would order them by water, which I had done, it must appear to me very strange, but from long experience was very familiar to him.

11<sup>th</sup>. Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup>. encamped above the Town of Albany, a Camp marked for the Provincials. Montgomery's on their arrival to cantoon at Scotook.<sup>1</sup>

12<sup>th</sup>. I sent two Company's of light Infantry and two of late Forbes's under the command of Major Hamilton to Scorticook to put the oxen, that were worked down, to grass. More of the New York Troops arrived and some Rhode Islanders.

13<sup>th</sup>. I continued forwarding Provisions and Stores up the Mohawk & Hudson's Rivers.

14<sup>th</sup>. a Prisoner from Crown Point brought in an Inhabitant of the Place, taken by a Scouting Party of Rangers as he was a shooting in the woods, says he believes there is no change in the Garrisons of Tionderoga or Crown Point, that there are two Vessels on Lake Champlayn of small Force and two more were to be finished the later end of last month. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Langér<sup>2</sup> [Langy] was arrived at Crown Point with 120 Indians.

15<sup>th</sup>. Br. General Prideaux arrived from New York, I ordered all the Artillery and Am̄unition allotted for Oswego and Niagara to Schenectady where it will be put in batteaüs.

16<sup>th</sup>. Sr. William Johnson came to me with some demands and promised great things for the Indians, I thought it right to keep my intended operations secret to the last moment, for if the Indians know it the French will have it.

I sent an Aid de Camp to put all the Troops on the Mohawk river in motion, and to march the Garrisons into the Posts that I intend should remain there during the Campaign.

<sup>1</sup> Scotcook or Scotock on the Hudson River, below Albany.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Baptiste Levraux, sieur de Langy, ensign, an active officer, was with Boulamaque at Carillon in 1759. He was rewarded by the King for bravery on various occasions.



17<sup>th</sup>. great Rains which will facilitate much the transportation of every thing up the Rivers. the New York Troops arrived, consisted of 2560 I compleated them with every thing that they may march immediately.

18<sup>th</sup>. Col. Babcock of the Rhode Island Troops arrived, said his Reg<sup>t</sup> was 700 instead of 1000 and that it was the fault of their Government. I sent 100 whale boats to half moon<sup>1</sup> to cross over to the Mohawk River & proceed to Schenectady, Proved all the old Guns that had been intended for Vessels and were laid by, several burst, ordered all the good to Fort Stanwix, had likewise two 18 Pounders proved at Albany. very violent rain.

19<sup>th</sup>. (Abercromby's Reg<sup>t</sup> marched to Schenectady with a detachment of Artillery commanded by Cap<sup>t</sup> Strachey<sup>2</sup> & two 18 Pounders.) from Fort Edward that 15 boats & Canoos had been seen on the Lake by a Scouting Party, who found a man dead at the old Camp, and scalped, and as Cap<sup>t</sup> Burbank<sup>3</sup> with a Party of Rangers had gone out it was feared he and his party were taken by this large body of Indians which proved true by their not returning, I suppose all taken asleep.

20<sup>th</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux sat out in the morning to take his command at Schenectady, I wrote to Sir William Johnson accordingly. I had an Express from Boston in the Afternoon, with a Letter from M. General Wolfe at Halifax on the first of May. the River rose so sudden at Schenectady that B<sup>r</sup>. Prideaux wrote me word most of the Batteau's were got adrift and gone down the Mohawk river, dispatched instantly to

<sup>1</sup> Half Moon on the Hudson River. See *Montcalm's Plan*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> "I returned to Fort Edward the fifteenth of May, where I received the melancholy news, that Capt. Burbank, with a party of thirty men, had in my absence been sent out on a scout, and were all cut off. This gave me great uneasiness, as Mr. Burbank was a gentleman I very highly esteemed, and one of the best officers among the Rangers, and more especially as I judged the scout he was sent out upon by the commanding officer at the fort was needless, and unadvisedly undertaken."—*Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, p. 137.



Nestaguina & Louduns Ferry to stop them; a Company of light Infantry encamped at Nestaguina, picked up 60 of them, most of the rest saved, but some went down the great Falls with one of the Ferry boats.

21<sup>st</sup>. I wrote to M: G: Wolfe sent an Aid de Camp to Boston with a Letter to the Lieut Governor to try to get 300 men to send to M. G. Wolfe as Pioneers.<sup>1</sup> five Companys of the Massachusetts Troops arrived this night

22<sup>nd</sup>. I ordered late Forbes's the Inniskilling Reg<sup>t</sup> and part of the Royal Highlanders with batteaüs and provisions up the river.

23<sup>rd</sup>. I sent to survey the Ground from Fort Harkiman<sup>2</sup> to Fort Stanwix that a Communication by land may be made on the first proper occasion.

24<sup>th</sup>. Sent an Engineer and 50 men to erect a Post for the Security of the carrying Place at Canejohary.<sup>3</sup>

25<sup>th</sup>. an account from L<sup>t</sup> Col Darby that Lieut Watts marching with a party of twelve men of late B<sup>r</sup> General Forbes's were attacked by a party of thirty Indians in his return from Still water to the Camp of Scorticook,<sup>4</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Watts and two men killed, three wounded, and a Corporal missing. two Sloops with the first of the New Jersey Troops arrived to day.

26<sup>th</sup>. a report from Major Hamilton of L<sup>t</sup> Watts's<sup>5</sup> affair, I believe the party was marching rather carelessly.

27<sup>th</sup>. a Part of a Company of Indians was to have marched out of Town but rum stoped them, the Provincial Troops

<sup>1</sup> See note, vol. i. p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Herkimer, on the Mohawk River. See *Plan of Communication between Albany and Oswego*, vol. ii. p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Canojoharie (Canajoharie) or Canajoharie Castle, a settlement of Mohawk Indians, lying south-east of Stone Arabia on the Mohawk River, and the home of Brant and Hendrich. There Johnson built a church.

<sup>4</sup> Scooticook, Scorticook, or Schachticook, on the Hudson River between Stillwater and Half Moon. See *Montcalm's Plan*, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> William Watts, appointed Lieutenant 17th Regiment of Foot, February 2, 1757.

arrive daily but desert most shamefully, and they have left a great many men behind in the meazles.

28<sup>th</sup>. two of the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup>. tried for desertion were sentenced to suffer death, I ordered all the Troops to be out the next morning at 6 o'clock for the Execution.

29<sup>th</sup>. I pardoned one of the Deserters in hopes that one example may be sufficient. I sent a detachment from the Provincials (exclusive of those of New York) to serve as batteau men on the Mohawk river that a constant supply of provisions may be kept up. the number of batteaü men & Teamsters is very trifling in comparison to what I hoped to raise, so that I am obliged to furnish them from the Troops of the Provinces.

30<sup>th</sup>. I had an Account from Boston the 300 Provincials which I had demanded as Pioneers were granted and would be embarked directly as some transports were come in there going to Louisburg under convoy of the Scarborough.

The Return of the Regiments of Provincials this day in Camp is 2550 men. of those not come up belonging to the Regiments in Camp 2025. besides Col: Worcester's & Col: Whiting's Reg<sup>ts</sup>. of the Connecticut Troops, all the New Hampshire Troops, 1500 of the Massachusetts, and 1000 of the Connecticut are yet to Joyn, this is the state of the Provincial Troops this day exclusive of the New York Troops which as they were the first arrived I allotted to the Corps under the command of B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux, I had likewise destined the Jersey Troops for that Service in my own mind, but they not arriving so soon as I expected, the Batteaüs men and Teamsters failing, I thought it would retard that service to wait for them, and that it might lessen the numbers of the Army under my immediate command rather too much, as I have so many things to furnish, and I hope the Successes on both sides will prove this measure to be right. I have amply supplied every thing for the Service at Oswego and Niagara, and furnished S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson with every thing

he has asked for the Indians, though the demands were not small.

I had this day the 30<sup>th</sup>. the Honour of receiving, Sir, two Letters from You of the 10<sup>th</sup>. & 15<sup>th</sup>. of March by an Express from Boston, it gives me very great satisfaction that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the method I had taken to induce the Governors of the several Provinces to march their respective quota of Troops that the Campaign might begin as early as possible, and though this has not had all the effect I wished, it does not much lessen the favourable appearances of things, the detached Corps under the command of Br. Gen<sup>l</sup> Prideaux is gone in pretty good time, and I am in hopes I shall be able to be in right time at Tionderoga, the loss at present is, by the Troops not being ready, that I could not employ the time for this month past in building a Fort near the Lake, and some other things might be attempted, as to Tionderoga there is a too soon, as well as a too late and I would try to avoid both as the best means of ensuring success to His Majesty's Arms.

I imagine I need not mention any thing in answer to what you have wrote about Br. General Monckton, as I hope the Letters I have done myself the Honor to write to you will have been satisfactory in regard to his place of service. it was impossible I should not order him under the command of M: Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe the first moment I knew His Majesty's gracious intentions, and you will have been acquainted also by my Letters of my having appointed Br. Gen<sup>l</sup> Stanwix to the command to the Southward as I thought him the best qualified for such a trust.

I am very happy in having at this time the King's pleasure signified to me for re-establishing the important Post of Oswego in the course of the year, I beg leave to assure you, Sir, I have most maturely weighed every thing that can tend to the success of the Execution of that plan, as well as the other intended operations for the Corps under the command

of B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux. I enclose to you Copys of my Instructions to the Brigadier, of Plans, and every other information relating to that Expedition. a retrenched battery is intended where the old Fort was, it was thought necessary to have this for the greater security of the harbour, but the designed Fort is by all accounts on the best ground and entirely commands the retrenched battery, if the Enemy should get possession of it, and their approaches to it are to be rendered more difficult by having a block house on the hill.

I have likewise the same day received your separate Letter of the 15<sup>th</sup>. of March enclosing one from Governor Ellis of the 31<sup>st</sup>. of October, I have immediately wrote to Governor Ellis and I shall settle the Rangers in the best manner I can according to His Majesty's gracious intentions.

the 31<sup>st</sup>. I ordered the remaining part of the Royal highland Reg<sup>t</sup> with the Artillery and Massachusetts Troops that are here to take batteaüs & Provisions and proceed up the river. Captain Loring arrived from Boston and set out for New York to prepare materials for four Vessells, two on Lake Champlayn and two on Lake Ontario.

June 1<sup>st</sup>. Montgomerys Reg<sup>t</sup> and the Connecticut Troops to take batteaüs & provisions & proceed up the River. Captain Cruickshanks<sup>1</sup> independant Company arrived from number 4.

June 2<sup>d</sup>. I purposed setting out this morning, but found so many things to be done to get the Provincials forward, thought I should lose time instead of gaining it, some men of Col: Whiting's & Col: Worcester's of the Connecticut Troops arrived.

3<sup>d</sup>. I went to half moon where Montgomery's encamped, the Aid de Camp I had sent to Boston returned, the 300 Pioneers sailed from thence the 31<sup>st</sup>. of May.

The 4<sup>th</sup>. to Stillwater, the Connecticut Troops found very heavy wet work getting up their batteaüs, the Royal High-

<sup>1</sup> Charles Cruickshanks, Captain of an Independent Company of Foot, New York, April 17, 1757.



landers got on with theirs. Montgomery's and the Connecticut encamped at night near Stillwater.

5<sup>th</sup>. to Saratoga visited the Camps & out Posts at the carrying Place, several of the batteaüs damaged and some men bruised in working them over the Falls, but in general every thing getting on well.

6<sup>th</sup>. to Fort Miller crossed the river to the carrying place, where the Inniskilling & seven Companys of late Forbes's are encamped, the batteaüs as well as provisions are taken out here & carryed cross a Neck of land as the Rifts are not passable : I got to Fort Edward in the Evening, where part of the Artillery Stores, Royal Highlanders & Massachusetts were arrived, fixed the Camp for the Troops. a Scouting party came in said there were some Indians passed about ten miles to the Eastward, ordered out a party to waylay them, sent out Scouts to right and left that I might be informed in time of any partys passing down to fall on our Communication.

7<sup>th</sup>. very bad weather, I had a Letter from Br. General Prideaux enclosing one from Lt. Colonel Massey of the 4<sup>th</sup>. from Fort Stanwix giving an account that they had heard a firing at the Fort, on which he sent out two partys, the Fire was on some batteaüs men who went up with the two 18 pounders, they killed seven of which six were scalped, one left not scalped, one wounded who will do well, one missing (I fear the batteaüs men were asleep on shore and without arms) besides a Soldier of Murrays taken Prisoner near the Fort, the cannon safe. a scouting party of Oneida Indians that were sent to Swegatchie,<sup>1</sup> brought in a Prisoner whom they took fishing, he is a German of the Marine & says at Swegatchie there is no kind of cannon, a stockaded Post, a Captain & 30 men there, they are to set it on fire on approach of the English, that about 30 large batteaüs went loaded with provisions to Niagara lately, that three leagues below Swegatchie 150 men with an Engineer are building a Fort on an Island

<sup>1</sup> Oswegatchie.

near the Falls, that fifteen days ago two Brigs sailed for Niagara that were built this season at Swegatchie one carrying seven Guns, the other six, 6 Pounders, they are now building more, he hears Mons<sup>r</sup>. Montcalm is at Carillon. Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup> arrived this night, not a dry thread on them.

8<sup>th</sup>. I went in the morning to a post which I had ordered for the security of the communication to the Lake.

9<sup>th</sup>. Ordered the Troops to take two trips from each carrying place which will shorten the time of bringing provisions up. Montgomery's Reg<sup>t</sup> arrived with their batteaüs, the men greatly fatigued, some Scouts returned had not discovered any thing, except one going to the Lake, saw a party of the Enemy, I sent out directly, could not see any appearance of them.

10<sup>th</sup>. all the Troops that could be spared from Camp went with batteaüs to Fort Miller for provisions, Col Schuyler arrived at night with Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup> & whale boats, some left behind damaged coming up the river. Molasses arrived for brewing.

11<sup>th</sup>. a Letter from the Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Governor of New York that Admiral Saunders had wrote him word that two men of war were coming to New York with Troops from Guadaloupe ; I desired any bound to River S<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence might be sent away directly, if any Troops ordered here to be sent immediately to Albany, most of the Artillery Stores arrived, mended the roads towards the Lake, two Scouts sent to Crown point.

I had a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux acquainting me the Enemy Indians had scalped some people below S<sup>t</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnsons and he feared had taken a Messenger he had sent there and what was worse he had mentioned in his letter that he had asked the Haubitz [howitzer] at Fort Stanwix for the reduction of Niagara which would discover the scheme. & this can be of no bad consequence, 'tis too late now for the Enemy to provide against it.

Troops in Camp at Fort Edward this day detachment of



the Royal 170. Royal Highland & Montgomery's Regiments. 2 Batt<sup>ns</sup>. Massachusetts, 1 Rhode Island 1 Jersey, Gage's light Infantry and part of the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup> with some Rangers & Indians at 4 miles Post Prideaux's in the Fort. Rangers and Indians Huttet near the Camp.

12<sup>th</sup>. a Battalion of Connecticut Troops arrived with batteaüs and provisions, a great deal of Rain, continued mending the Roads.

13<sup>th</sup>. a scout from Sagendaga said some Indians had passed, I sent a party to way lay. detached Colonel Grant with the R: H: Regiment, 500 Provincials, a Company of Gage's, one of Rangers, & one of Indians, with two six Pounders, to erect a Post at half way brook. I had a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage (whom I have left at Albany to compleat the Provincials with every thing as they arrive & to hasten them up here, & to bring up the rear without waiting for the additional Massachusetts & Connecticut Troops) enclosing an examination of two Prisoners taken 29<sup>th</sup>. May at Crown Point, by some of S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson's Indians, viz<sup>t</sup>, that on the 11<sup>th</sup>. of May the Batt<sup>s</sup>. of La Reine Languedoc 2 of Berry & 500 Canadiens passed for Tionderogo, some more Canadiens were on the march but countermanded. all the other Troops are for Quebec, where Mons<sup>r</sup>. Vaudreuil who was at Montreal is to Joyn Mons<sup>r</sup>. Montcalm, and Mons<sup>r</sup>. Levy to comānd at Tionderoga. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Bougainville Aid de Camp to Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Montcalm arrived at Quebec from France on the 11<sup>th</sup>. May, in a Frigate which had taken an English Vessel with Salt wine & Provisions after an Engagement of seven hours, at the same time were arrived nineteen Vessels with provisions, but no Troops on board, fifteen more ships sailed with them but were taken or dispersed. a Fleet expected from France, that they were hard at work at Quebec and Tionderoga, the Garrison of the later place much afflicted with the Scurvy, a Pound and half of bread, and a quarter of Pork issued daily to the Troops, the remainder in Money 3 Sols for half a Pound

of bread & 3 Sols in lieu of a Quarter of a Pound of Pork.

14<sup>th</sup>. I ordered out Grenadiers Light Infantry & Rangers to make a general Search in the woods to try if there were any lurking Party's, some of the men lost themselves notwithstanding the greatest precaution had been taken to prevent it. Colonel Bradstreet arrived from Albany at night, brought up a great many of the Waggon's with him—reported every thing coming on well.

15<sup>th</sup>. I sent off all the Waggon's with Artillery Stores to half way brook, some batteaüs on Carriages & whale boats on mens Shoulders.

16<sup>th</sup>. Col: Whittings Reg<sup>t</sup>. arrived with batteaüs & provisions, I sent all the Waggon's with stores and Provisions and some light Artillery to half way brook, the Royal marched into Camp except the Garrison of Fort Miller, very bad weather.

17<sup>th</sup>. it rained all the day, a Flag of Truce from Tionderoga arrived at Colonel Grant's Post, who forwarded it to me, I enclose to you, Sir, the Letters from Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Montcalm and Mons<sup>r</sup>. Burlemaque<sup>1</sup> with Copys of my Answer. I expected they would send to see how far I was Advanced, and took care the Major should not see anything.

I intended to have marched some Troops forward this day but the weather stoped it, and though I had repaired the Roads thoroughly, they are now so bad half the Carriages are broke by it, but this is easily repaired with the Carpenters I have, it is the retardment only of a few days.

18<sup>th</sup>. I sent off the Flag of truce at day break, a Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Massachusetts marched to half way brook. B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage and Col<sup>o</sup>. Montresor with the detachment of the Royal and Part of late Forbes's; in the Afternoon as violent a rain as I have seen.

<sup>1</sup> Copies of these letters relating to the exchange of prisoners and scalping are to be found in *Canadian Archives*, M. 212.

19<sup>th</sup>. the Royal, Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup>. a Battalion of Connecticut & Rangers are marched at day break under the command of Col Foster to half way brook, Prideaux's to Joyn the above Corps leaving the Connecticut Batt<sup>n</sup>. at half way brook, they are to take Post between that and the Lake.

The Packet which sailed from Falmouth on the 10<sup>th</sup>. Aprill arrived at New York the 16<sup>th</sup>. Ins<sup>t</sup>. and I have just now had the Honour, Sir, of receiving the duplicates of your several Letters of which I have owned the receipt in this Letter on the 30<sup>th</sup>. Aprill. I have this day a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux of the 15<sup>th</sup>. of which I send you an Extract enclosed.

the great discontent amongst many people employed in the Government Service, for want of payment, there not being money sufficient for it, I have judged it for the good of His Majesty's Service to make application to the L<sup>t</sup>. Governor of New York to borrow a Sum, which I hope you will approve.

I send this by Captain Stuart who was Lieu<sup>t</sup>. in Anstruthers, and is now in Seabrights,<sup>1</sup> as he has been a Volunteer here, till a Packet should sail, he can explain to you, Sir, any particulars you may chuse to know.

I enclose to you all papers that I imagine may tend to give you a full information of the state of military affairs here.

I will do the utmost I can for carrying on the Operations according to His Majesty's gracious intentions which I will do with all the dispatch that is possible, and I hope soon, Sir, to send you an account of some signal success of His Majesty's Arms.

I am with the utmost Respect  
Sir

Your most Humble and  
most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

Right Hon<sup>bl</sup>. Mr. PITT.

<sup>1</sup> John Seabright, Colonel of the 83rd Regiment of Foot, October 14, 1758.  
VOL. III. C

*P.S.*—I return both the Letters I have received directed to B<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Forbes.

Camp of Fort Edward

June 19<sup>th</sup>. 1759.

Indorsed. Fort Edward

June 9<sup>th</sup>. 1759.

M. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST

R<sup>d</sup>. July 22<sup>d</sup>.

PART III.—*Journal from June 20 to July 27, 1759 (kept by Colonel William Amherst, brother of the Commander-in-Chief). Enclosed in despatch, Amherst to Pitt, July 27, 1759: Transcript in Canadian Archives, M. 213-1, from the original in the Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5:56, formerly A. & W. I. 91-1.*

Fort Edward.

June 20<sup>th</sup>. The General having got most of the troops up with provisions, batteaüs and carriages, is determined to set forward to the lake tomorrow, leaving here Montgomery's and the New Hampshire Reg<sup>t</sup>.

Two more posts are made to secure the communication to the lake, one at half way brook, where the Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup>. and one Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup>. are posted, the other four miles further, where the Royal, Prideaux's and New Jersey Reg<sup>ts</sup>. are posted.

21<sup>st</sup>. The Army marched out of camp at day break in two columns, Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup>. joined us upon the march, we halted at the furthest post & the whole got to their ground, & were encamped before dusk at the Lake.

23<sup>d</sup>. Letters from Louisbourg, the Fleet sailed out of the harbour the 6<sup>th</sup>. inst.

25<sup>th</sup>. The New Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched into Camp.

26<sup>th</sup>. The last of the Batteaü and whale boats came in this day.

Letters from Brigadier Prideaux at the east end of the Oneida lake, every thing going on well there. the Indians join him heartily.

30<sup>th</sup>. Since the 26<sup>th</sup>. provisions have been coming in daily, there is near two months provisions for the whole Army here at present.

July 1<sup>st</sup>. To day Artillery Stores come in. two men arrived here who were prisoners with the Indians at Oswegatchie, and made their escape from thence, they fell in at the four mile post, after having been 27 days out. travelling through an unknown Country, their description of it is, that 'tis very mountainous, the bottoms deep, and swampy, that they crossed several ponds, and lakes, one in particular they judged might be three miles across. they say the Oswegatchi Indians have received a threatening message from the five nations, if they should act against us: that four Scouts have been out this year from thence, and returned unsuccessfull, two Scouts were out when they came away, which are probably those that have lately done some mischief on the Mohawk River.

Brigadier Whitmore sends an Account from Louisbourg, that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stobo, and L<sup>t</sup>. Stevens, who have been prisoners at Quebec, made their escape from thence the 1<sup>st</sup>. of May with three more prisoners, all with arms in a Canoe, after going down the River seven days, they saw a fleet of 14 sail, which must be the same M<sup>ons<sup>r</sup></sup>. Bougainville came with; they saw a Sloop, boarded her, and took her and afterwards took a Schooner, and turned her, got safe to S<sup>t</sup>. John's Island and from thence to Louisbourg, they say the Enemy wanted provisions much, that their whole force was then marched to S<sup>t</sup>. John's, to be equally ready for Quebec Montreal, and Tionderoga.



Brigadier Whitmore sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stobo immediately after Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wolfe.

2<sup>d</sup>. A party of Indians, this morning, attacked a working party of the New Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup>. near our advanced post upon the left, they killed and scalped six, wounded two, and six are missing, they were pursued by the light infantry, and Rangers, and were seen to go off in eleven Canoes; some Regulars with them.

3<sup>d</sup>. Montgomery's, the New Hampshire and Willard's Massachuset Reg<sup>t</sup>. (who has joined since we came to the Lake) marched into Camp this evening with all the Artillery from Fort Edward.

8<sup>th</sup>. From the 3<sup>d</sup>. to this time, Waggon's have been continually coming in from Fort Edward with Stores &<sup>c</sup>. many hands have been, and are still employed in laying the foundation of a Fort, to be carried on here during our absence, under the direction of Colonel Montresor.

thirty yards on each side the road to Fort Edward has been cleared of wood.

a general hospital is building and all the batteaüs and whale boats are repairing of the damage done by carriage, which is not little.

■ Party of Rangers that had been across the Lake upon a Scout, came in to day, they saw Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jacobs<sup>1</sup> with a party of Indians at the narrows upon their return from a Scout, pursued by some Canoes, and heard some shots fired.

9<sup>th</sup>. Some of Jacobs's party came in, the canoes drove them in shore on the west side of the Lake, when they landed, and the enemy Indians pursued them closely, they imagine that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jacobs with the remainder of the party, are killed, or taken prisoners.

10<sup>th</sup>. a Field day of the four Regular Regiments in Camp.

11<sup>th</sup>. Whiting's Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched into Camp,

<sup>1</sup> The Indian name of this officer was *Nawnawapeteoonks*. See note, vol. i. p. 484.



from the three miles post, and Prideaux's marched from the four miles post, to the three miles post.

12<sup>th</sup>. Four Companies of Grenadiers and a Captain, Subaltern and Sixty men of Gage's, in batteaüs, commanded by Major Campbell, and Major Rogers with an hundred Rangers, and Indians in whale boats, went out this morning an hour before day break, taking with them a row gally with an 18 pounder, their orders were, to row along the East side of the Lake to the narrows; for two or three of the whale boats to advance, and endeavour to entice out any party of the Enemy, that might be laying at the narrows; the batteaüs laying hid by the Islands, and ready to receive any thing that the whale boats might lead into the Snare; upon a great superiority, they were to retreat to a point of land on the West side, where the picquets of the line were to cover them. the whale boats advanced, discovered the enemy upon an Island, who fired upon them, killed a Serjeant and wounded an Indian, the whale boats returned it, and killed an Indian, the Enemy took to their Canoes, and the batteaüs came up to support the whale boats, but fired their cannon too soon at the canoes, had they kept it undiscovered, till they were near enough to do execution with grape shot, they might have given a very good account of them. After this discovery the Enemy took care to keep at a distance, and made off. they had about twenty canoes, chiefly Indians.

13<sup>th</sup>. Thirteen rafts making for Cannon. a Radeau building and half finished. The Sloop that was sunk in the Lake last year, is got up, and compleated, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring having been about it almost ever since we came here.

14<sup>th</sup>. Lyman's Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup>. and 1 Battalion of Ruggles's Massachuset Reg<sup>t</sup>. with two Companies of the New Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup>. and 2 Companies of Rangers, marched into Camp this afternoon from Half way brook.

15<sup>th</sup>. 120 men of Montgomery's joined their Regiment from Pittsburg.

three Companies of light infantry, a Company of Grenadiers 250 men of Gage's, commanded by Major Gladwin, and 60 men of the Inniskilling Reg<sup>t</sup>. were ordered out in boats this evening at 10 o'clock to row to the narrows, to discover any parties of the Enemy upon the Islands.

16<sup>th</sup>. the detachment that went out in boats last night came in this morning without having made any discovery.

17<sup>th</sup>. The General received intelligence from Col Haldimand (who is left with 1300 men to build a Fort at Oswego) that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Prideaux set out from thence the 1<sup>st</sup>. inst. to proceed to Niagara; that on the 5<sup>th</sup>. Col Haldimand having entrenched his post, perceived in the morning a body of the Enemy surrounding his post; they lay the whole day amongst the cut wood, and kept firing at a great distance; at night they went off but returned the next morning, when the greatest part of them seemed moving up to the left of the entrenchment, where he had three pices of cannon, upon firing of which, they all took to logs and after remaining a short time, moved off.

Col. Haldimand saw them afterwards in batteaüs upon the Lake.

five deserters came in to him, who say, that this party was commanded by the Chev<sup>r</sup>. de la Corne, that it consisted of 2 or 300 of the Marine Canadians, and 150 Indians (the General judges it might consist of about half that number) de la Corne had assured them, that we had only 500 men at that post, and that they should certainly surprize us; that a french priest l' Abbé Picquet marched with them, 'till they made the attack. then gave them his benediction, and recommended it to them to give no quarter. We had two men killed, two officers and eleven men wounded, the loss of the Enemy not known, except an Officer of the Marine killed, and the Governor of La Galette wounded.

to day we are loading the Artillery stores; 500 men at work cutting a communication through the wood upon the

right of the road to Fort Edward, to fall in to the old road beyond the next post.

A Flag of truce came in this evening with a letter from Mons<sup>r</sup>. Montcalm to the General, dated from Montreal.

18<sup>th</sup>. The Flag of truce returned at day break, we heard by it, that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jacobs, and some of his party that have been missing since the 9<sup>th</sup>. were taken and carried to Montreal.

continued loading and mounting the Artillery upon rafts. the new communication continued. a very good post is almost finished with stone and log, for the party that remains here to go on with the New Fort, and near three acres of ground is cleared and laid out for greens for the sick men

19<sup>th</sup>. The General received a Letter from the L<sup>t</sup>. Governour at New York, mentioning that the 2<sup>d</sup>. Battalion of Royal Highlanders, and drafts from some of the Regiments that were at Guadaloupe were arrived at New York, to join this Army, but they were so sickly, that it would be some time before any number would be fit to join.

20<sup>th</sup>. The Radeau being finished, and all the Artillery near embarked, the General gave Orders for the Army to be ready to embark at any hour in the night, after Orders, to strike their tents at 2 o'clock to morrow morning.

The Royal, and Prideaux's Regiment marched into Camp.

21<sup>st</sup>. The Army begun to embark at day break, and the whole set off (except a few boats of the Artillery) about nine o'clock.

The whole was drawn up in four columns, each column rowing two boats abreast, the 1<sup>st</sup>. column consisted of Rangers, light infantry of Regiments, Grenadiers, and the two provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup>. of Wellard,<sup>1</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Ruggles.

2<sup>nd</sup>. Column, the two Brigades of Regulars.

3<sup>rd</sup>. Column. Artillery with the Radeau in front, and the two provincial Regiments, of Schuyler, and 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Ruggles.

<sup>1</sup> Willard.

4<sup>th</sup>. Column. Provincials, Gage's light infantry in a line abreast, covering the four columns in front.

Whiting's provincial Reg<sup>t</sup> in a line abreast covering the four columns in the rear.

The Hallifax Sloop cruized in the rear of the whole.

The wind favoured us very much and we got to the second narrows in time to bring up the rear before dark.

Brigadier Gage who was left behind to see every boat off, joined us. we lay upon the lake all night, the heads of the columns closing in, and the two boats abreast tied, to prevent separating as much as possible.

22<sup>nd</sup>. At day break the 1<sup>st</sup>. column advanced, and landed on the East side, within about two miles of the Enemy's advanced guard, and were ordered to march round to the Saw Mills, in order to cut off, any party of the Enemy, that we might force at the advanced guard, that the 1<sup>st</sup>. column might have time to get round, and post themselves properly, the rest of the Army did not land 'till three hours after, which was effected in great good order, at the advanced guard on the East side; as every Regiment landed, it drew up on the beach, and marched off directly along the road to the Saw-Mills.

When Forbes's Regiment (which lead the Column covered by Gage's light infantry marching in front) came within sight of the Saw-Mills, they halted. The Rangers had just passed the Bridge, and the rest of the 1<sup>st</sup>. column were drawn up near the bridge, to be ready to march over, and support them, the Rangers met with a party of French, and Indians, attacked them, and drove them, took an Officer of the Milice, and two prisoners, killed and scalped a few more. The Grenadiers and light infantry marched over, and with the Rangers took possession of the heights; very strong ground it is, and worth disputing, but the Enemy were rather surprized, they had received no intelligence of us 'till 8 o'clock this morning, and then gave very little credit to it.



Wellard's Reg<sup>t</sup>. and Ruggles's 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. marched and took post on a hill to the eastward, which commands the Fort of Tionderoga on the opposite Side of the River.

Gage's light infantry marched over the bridge, and a post was made on the most commanding ground.

The Regular Regiments upon the road covering the whole ground, from the Saw Mills to the landing place, two provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup>. were ordered to clear the road of felled trees, which were laid very thick all along the road, to obstruct our march, this they did in so short a time, that we got two 12 pounders, and two six pounders from the landing place, to the Saw-Mills before night.

Forbes's & the provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup>. of Lyman, and Babcock, marched over the bridge in the afternoon, the rest of the Army laid upon their arms on the road, except Whiting's Reg<sup>t</sup>. that was left as a guard upon the batteaüs.

a party of the Enemy shewed themselves in the afternoon, upon a hill, on the right of the Saw Mills, and kept firing at a great distance, they appeared to have a breast work there.

Some Indians came up to the front of Gage's, fired and made off, and others fell in at night with some of our Sentries upon the road.

A Sloop appeared in the River, on the other side the Fort, and intelligence was sent from Ruggles's post, that the Enemy were seen loading batteaüs, and some making off towards Lake Champlain.

The General ordered the army to be ready to march at break of day.

23<sup>rd</sup>. The Army had begun their march, leaving proper posts at the Saw-Mills, and to secure the communication on the road ; when intelligence came in from Ruggles's post, that the Enemy had abandoned the lines, a few Sentries only appearing there, that they had set fire to something in the Fort, and were loading batteaüs.

The Army marched the shortest way, over the gullies, by

the side of the River, very bad ground, and in about two hours time the left came within sight of the lines, we found them abandoned, and left entire; the Enemy had retired to the Fort, and upon our first appearance, fired some cannon.

The Rangers, light infantry and Grenadiers marched to the left, to the Lake side and took post in the wood along the Swamp, the two brigades of Regulars took post along the lines, and every Reg<sup>t</sup>. flung up a banquet: the provincials in the skirts of the wood, extending from the river upon the right, to the light infantry, in this manner the Fort becomes invested.

The Enemy have been firing the whole day from the Fort, and have thrown a great many shells.

The whole Army lay upon their Arms this night.

24<sup>th</sup>. Begun our Approaches last night, not much work done, as the men have been a good deal fatigued.

two 12 pounders, and two howitzers came up in the night.

Some Indians fired upon a Company of Rangers, advanced upon our left, the Rangers returned the fire, and the Indians made off.

An alarm upon our left in the Night, a Company of light Infantry began the fire, which was continued by some others, directly contrary to the General's orders, not to fire in the night upon any account but to stand fast and receive the Enemy with the bayonet, An Officer of Forbes's was killed, and some men wounded.

The General ordered the New Hampshire Reg<sup>t</sup>. to embark and cross Lake George, to proceed to Oswego, to help build the Fort there; and that Brigadier Prideaux may find at his return full force sufficient to proceed, the General has likewise sent him 350 men, the whole fit for duty out of 693 drafts from Guardaloupe.

The Enemy have fired all day and have thrown a great many shells into Camp; doing very little execution.

25<sup>th</sup>. The enemy fired, and threw shells into Camp, and at our approaches all last night, the two brigades of Regulars



got no rest, as they were obliged to watch the shells for their security.

An alarm along the line a little before day break this morning owing to a picquet of Forbes's in the trenches mistaking a working party upon the right, for the enemy.

The General went along the line immediately and highly disapproved of the conduct of some that fired from the lines, contrary to his repeated orders.

Fascines are making for the batteries, six 24 pounders and some 12 p<sup>rs</sup>. are got up to the Artillery park.

two batteries are erecting one upon the right about 400 yards from the Fort and one upon the left about 450, besides two Mortar batteries.

The Flat bottom boat, is brought up from the Artillery landing place, on this side the Saw-Mills, and put into the Lake, and some Whale boats are bringing up, to intercept some of the Enemy's boats upon the lake.

Some of the Enemy's batteaus seemed to day to be preparing for a run.

Colonel Townshend was killed this afternoon by a Cannon ball.

the Enemy have fired very briskly all day, and have thrown a great many shells into Camp. killing a few men and wounding several, towards evening they ceased, we imagine they have burst one Mortar.

The Royal Reg<sup>t</sup>. does the duty of the trenches this night, which was done before by picquets.

26<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy kept firing and throwing shells all last night at times, and have continued this whole day; that it is imagined they must ruin their cannon, and mortars, except they have a change of each.

Our batteries will be ready to begin firing to morrow morning at day break, the Platforms are laying this evening, and the cannon are coming down from the Artillery Park.

Duty in the trenches done this night by Forbes's.

The picquets of the line ordered to assemble near the Sally port, in the center of our lines, to march out upon occasion.

Major Rogers to go out this evening with a party in the flat bottom boat, and endeavour to cut the boom, which the Enemy have laid across, from the point below the Fort to the opposite shore.

This afternoon a party of Indians attacked a working party of Worster's Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup> killed and scalped three, they were closely pursued.

a batteau with some Waggoner's crossing Lake George, and running negligently in shore, without keeping watch, was seized by a party of Indians, and every man scalped.

The enemy's boats appeared upon the lake this afternoon, some running in to the opposite shore, and others making towards the Fort.

a little before dark we observed the enemy getting under arms in the covered way, and part of them came out on the Glacis, the Garrison ceased firing, and about 9 o'clock three deserters came to Camp, and told us that the Garrison were then embarking in their batteaus to make off, leaving a match to the Magazine, which would blow up the whole Fort, the General offered a hundred guineas to any one of them, that would go back & shew the match, that it might be cut, but they all declared they did not know whereabouts it was laid as it was not done before they came out, they said there was so great a quantity of powder left in the Magazine that they did not think us safe in our encampment.

about 11 o'clock we heard the explosion, and the whole Fort seemed to be on fire, they had left their colours flying, which a Serj<sup>t</sup> and 4 men of Gage's light infantry rescued from the flames.

a Party upon the left fell in with a Party of french, of 20 men commanded by a Cadet, who declared that they were left out of the Fort, and knew nothing of the enemy's having abandoned it, till they heard the Explosion.

## Intelligence from the Deserters

that three thousand men composed of the two Battalions of Berri, and the Regiment La Reine, the picquets that had remained in the Fort during the winter, detachm<sup>ts</sup>. from La Marine and La Milice and three hundred Indians, were encamped in the lines, the day we landed, commanded by Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Bour la Margue,<sup>1</sup> Brigadier General.

That they embarked in the evening in a great hurry, taking very few things with them, and leaving 400 men in the Fort, they went and encamped on a point of land, on this side Crown point, at a small distance from it, where they still remain.

that some Troops are at St<sup>t</sup> Johns chiefly Colony, and are entrenching themselves in the Isle à la' Noix near St<sup>t</sup> John's.

that they know nothing for certain of Quebec.

27<sup>th</sup>. The Fort continued burning, in the morning the General ordered all the Camp kettles to be taken down there for water, to endeavour to extinguish the fire, the two sides of the Fort next the water are demolished the other two sides remain entire, the flames had only reached the uppermost timbers, which may easily be repaired, if the fire can be stopped in time.

The General will not wait to repair the Fort, he will leave a Garrison there and so soon as he gets the batteaüs in to Lake Champlain, and builds a boat or two more for cannon, to be a match for the three Sloops which the Enemy have at Crown point, he will then proceed which I reckon will be in less than a fortnight.

I left the Camp in the afternoon, the Fort then burning, though not with so much violence as in the morning.

Major Rogers had taken two of the enemy's batteaüs loaded with powder, that went off last night and had put into the Shore.

Indorsed.

Col<sup>o</sup>. Amhersts Journal.

<sup>1</sup> Bourlamaque.

PART IV.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from July 27 to August 5, 1759. (Amherst to Pitt, August 5, 1759: Public Record Office, as before.)*

Camp of Crown Point

August 5<sup>th</sup> 1759.

Sir,

I did myself the Honor of writing to you a very short Letter on the 27<sup>th</sup> July as I would not retard L<sup>t</sup> Col Amherst from setting out that he might acquaint you of His Majesty's Troops being in possession of the Fort and lines of Tionderoga, and I now send Captain Prescott with this to inform you of the great Event of the reduction of Niagara, and at the same time to give you an account of my arrival here with a part of the Army under my immediate command.

The 27<sup>th</sup>. I encamped within the Lines and began to level the Trenches and Batterys, filled up the Road I had made from Lake Champlain to the Saw Mill River for the carrying on the Siege. encamped four Battallions of Provincials near the Fort for repairing the works, sent 500 Men to Fort George for Provisions &c. ordered all the french boats to be fished up, and the Brig: and boats I had ordered to be built for carrying Guns to be finished in all haste that I may be superior to the Enemy's Sloops on the Lake.

28<sup>th</sup>. the fire was not totally extinguished, I forwarded every thing as fast as possible that I might get possession of Crown point without loss of time. in the Afternoon I received an account of a most unlucky accident the death of B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux who was walking in the Trenches on the Evening of the 19<sup>th</sup>, the Gunner carelessly fired a Cohorn and shot him, when the approaches were within 140 yards of the covered way. I immediately ordered B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage to set out for Oswego to take on him the command of that Army.

29<sup>th</sup>. Five Company's of Provincials arrived this day from the Provinces, intelligence that the Enemy's Troops which were Encamped on the Eastern side of the Lake were now moved to Crown point; I kept small Party's constantly looking from the Mountains into Crown point, their two Sloops and a Schooner there, they depend on my not getting boats over and that I shall be obliged to build some of force.

30<sup>th</sup>. it rained hard last night and this day which put a great stop to getting the batteaüs over the carrying place.

31<sup>st</sup>. I ordered the Fort by the water side to be put in thorough good order and to be compleated, as the Enemy had not quite finished it, ordered the Fort of Tionderoga to be repaired upon the same plan as the Enemy had built it; which will save great time and Expences, as it is but a small part of the whole that is ruined, the Costs the Enemy has been at in building the Fort and Houses are very great; the Glacis and covered way quite good; the Counterscarp of the Glacis Masonry, the Counterscarp of the Ditch Masonry. two Ravelins of Masonry that cover the only Front to which approaches can be carried on. The Fort a Square with four Bastions, built with logs on the Rocks which are covered with some masonry to level the foundation. the wood part of it is the worse finished. one Bastion and a part of two Curtains demolished but not in the Front that can be easiest attacked, the Casemates are good. the walls of the burnt Barracks are not damaged. Eleven good ovens have helped us greatly. as the Situation of the Fort is very advantageous for the protection of His Majesty's Dominions, and the Approaches may be rendered as difficult to the Enemy as they have been to the King's Troops, and that there is no fault in it but its being small, I have thought proper to have it repaired which I hope will meet with your approbation.

1<sup>st</sup>. of August, at noon a Scouting party came in, said the Enemy had abandoned Crown point, this makes no alteration in my motions as I am already trying all I can to get forward,



but on this I sent away Major Graham with all expedition to command the 2<sup>d</sup>. Battalion of the Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup>. and to march them to Oswego, that in case from the unfortunate death of B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux the reduction should not have taken place, B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage may return to the attack with the Utmost Vigor and dispatch and to pursue the ulterior operations of the Campaign.

2<sup>rd</sup>. very rainy weather put a stop entirely to getting boats over the carrying place this day.

3<sup>rd</sup>. a party I had sent to Crown point brought in a Deserter from late Forbes's in a french Coat, one that I had pardoned for desertion when I was at Fort George.

I thought it so necessary to make an immediate example that I had him hanged directly. sent two hundred Rangers through the Woods to Crown point.

4<sup>th</sup>. the General at two in the morning assembly half an Hour after, and the Rangers, light Infantry, Grenadiers and two Brigades of Regulars were soon embarked, except the Royal Highland Regiment that waited for boats which detained me some time, I however arrived at Crown point before the evening, landed and posted all the Corps, some Encamped and some lay on their Arms. at night Lieu<sup>t</sup> Moncrief whom I had sent with B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux arrived with a Letter from S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson enclosing the Capitulation of Niagara, both which I have the satisfaction to send to you.

5<sup>th</sup>. I ordered L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Eyre to trace out the Ground for a Fort which I will set about with all possible Expedition. this Post secures entirely all His Majesty's Dominions that are behind it from the Inroads of the Enemy and the scalping party's that have infested the whole Country, and it will give great peace and quiet to the King's Subjects who will now settle in their habitations from this to New York. I shall take fast hold of it, and not neglect at the same time to forward every measure I can to enable me to pass Lake Champlain, and you may be assured, Sir, I shall, to the best of my Capacity



try to pursue every thing for the Success and Honour of His Majesty's Arms.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble and  
most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

Right Honourable  
Mr. PITT.

Indorsed. Crown point Aug 5<sup>th</sup>. 1759.

M. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Sep<sup>t</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.

by Captain PRESCOT.

PART V.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from August 6 to October 22, 1759 (Amherst to Pitt, October 22, 1759: Public Record Office, as before).*

Camp of Crown Point.

October 22<sup>d</sup>. 1759.

Sir,

I hope you will have received my Letters of the 27<sup>th</sup>. of July and 5<sup>th</sup>. of August, the first by L<sup>t</sup>. Col Amherst, and the last by Captain Prescott, since which on the 6<sup>th</sup>. the ground was marked out for a Fort and all preparations made for erecting it. at night 48 of the Drafts from Guadaloupe arrived the only remaining which are able to march after the 350 I sent to recruit the Regiments at Oswego.

7<sup>th</sup>. I went in the morning to reconnoitre the Environs, order'd a Road to be cut from the Village to Joyn the one I had directed to be made from Tionderoga for driving Cattle, &c<sup>c</sup>., ordered two Redoutes, wrote to M. General Wolfe, whom

I had likewise wrote to the day Tionderoga was abandoned, sent an Ensign of the Rangers with it, who was confident he could easily joyn the Army under the command of M: Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe by the Kennebeck River, but it is a round about way and must take up great time.

8<sup>th</sup>. Captain Kennedy of late Forbes's offered to go through the Country a much nearer way to the river St<sup>t</sup>. Laurence, and as it is of great consequence that I should hear from M: Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe as well as that he should from me, I sent Captain Kennedy with Lieut Hamilton of the Royal, Captain Jacobs and four Indians to go through the Settlements of the Indians on the South of the River St<sup>t</sup>. Laurence with a proposal from me, and with orders to take their answer to M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe that they might be treated accordingly, this in all probability was the quickest method of conveying intelligence to M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe, a great storm of wind and rain damaged some of our Batteaüs. I sent two Scouts to St<sup>t</sup>. Johns, and 200 Rangers to cut a road to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 to open a Communication from the Massachusetts & New Hampshire Governments to Crown point, sent a Party of 300 men with a Covering party to lay in the Woods to prepare timber. 68 oxen arrived by the Road from Tionderoga for drawing timber &<sup>ca</sup>.

9<sup>th</sup>. 400 men at work on the ground fixed for the Fort, the best Situation I have seen in America, no where commanded, and has all the advantages of the Lake, and Strength of Ground that can be desired.

10<sup>th</sup>. a great deal of rain and from all Accounts we have had more this Summer than any people remember in this Country, the works for the Fort going on pretty well—800 men employed.

11<sup>th</sup>. At day break I sent out a party of 200 Rangers, 100 of Gage's, a Company of light Infantry & one of Grenadiers under the command of L<sup>t</sup>: Col: Darby with two boats with 3 Pounders to explore the Part of the Otter River near the Lake, ten men of the scouting Partys I had sent to St<sup>t</sup>.

Johns returned with a note from Captain Kennedy, to inform me he had seen a Brigantine, a Schooner, and a topsail Sloop of the Enemys as he lay on the Eastern Shore below Corlear's Rock, the ten Rangers got by the Vessels in the night, and as they met L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Darby reported what they had seen.

12<sup>th</sup>. very bad weather, Letters arrived from England by the Lutwiche Packet, L<sup>t</sup>. Col Darby returned with his Party in the Afternoon from the Otter River.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup>. Garth,<sup>2</sup> Engineer, went up to the first Falls and reported it quite a different River from what it has allways been described.

13<sup>th</sup>. I sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Johnson with a party of Rangers to march to the Ottawa River, to the place where the road is to pass it in going to N<sup>o</sup>. 4, to proceed down the River to explore the whole and to return here by the Lake. 1500 Men at work at the Fort. Major Christie arrived from England.

14<sup>th</sup>. I sent Major Christie to serve as Deputy Quarter Master Gen<sup>l</sup>. with Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gage and wrote to the Brigadier to recommend taking Post at La Galette as of the utmost Consequence, which was only repeating what I had before ordered. ordered a proportion of Stores to be sent from Albany & New York for the Garrison of Niagara.

15<sup>th</sup>. An Officer who was advanced down the Lake with the Guard boats, brought me a Letter from Monsieur de Montcalm of the 30<sup>th</sup>. July from Beauport & one from Monsieur de Bourlemaque which came by a Captain Le Beu with a Flag of truce, I answered the Letters directly, sent an Aid de Camp to Captain Le Beu who was stoped at such a distance that he could not see the Camp. began to lay the Logs of the Fort.

16<sup>th</sup>. a Deserter of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Languedoc came in from four Vessels which lay below les Isles au quatre Vent, got off on the 14<sup>th</sup>. from a Party that came on Shore, was at Tionderoga during the winter, says when they quitted the Fort, Mons<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Otter Creek.

<sup>2</sup> George Garth, Engineer Extraordinary, March 17, 1759.

d'Hebecourt the Officer who Comanded & another Officer were forced to land in the woods on the opposite side by our cannonading them, were three days lost in the woods before they Joyned Mons<sup>r</sup>. Bourlemaque's Camp and had narrowly escaped some of our People which they had seen, I suppose the Rangers I sent out. that Mons<sup>r</sup>. Bourlemaque is at present encamped at the Isle au Noix, five Leagues on this side of St. John's and the river narrow, that he has the same Troops which were at Tionderoga, viz<sup>t</sup>. three Battalions of Regulars, five Pickets of the other five regular Batt<sup>s</sup> with the Canadians and La Marine making 3500 men and that he has 100 Cannon, the four Vessels are La Vigilante of ten Guns 6 & 4 pounders, a Schooner, a Sloop called Masque longuy of two brass 12 pounders and six Iron 6 pounders, La Brochette of Eight Guns 6 & 4 pounders, L'Esturgeon of Eight Guns 6 & 4 pounders all have Swivels mounted, three of the Vessels were built this year one is an old one, and another is repairing, Monsieur de la Bras a Captain of Man of War commands them with a Mons<sup>r</sup>. Regal and other Sea Officers, part of the Picquets of Languedoc, Bearn and La Sarre are on board, and as he told me, the Officers and men went on shore to fish with Nets, I sent out Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute with a detachment of forty men to way-lay them. on this intelligence of the Enemy's Vessels I sent to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring, who is building a Brigantine at Tionderoga, to come to me. Ordered Col: Bradstreet to Albany to look into the forwarding provisions up the Mohawk river and this way for the winter garrisons.

17<sup>th</sup>. All the best of the timber being cut and brought in from the opposite shore I ordered back the Grenadiers and light Infantry that were the covering Party and we now begun to cut timber on the Western Shore. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring came, I told him the force the Enemy had, he said the Brig would not be of sufficient strength and concluded on building a Radeau to carry Guns over the Lake as well as to use them on the Lake, he thought the Saw Mill would go in two or three days,

and supply the Planks, I ordered Col Whiting's Reg<sup>t</sup> to bring provisions here, the 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Ruggles's to finish the road from Tionderoga, Col Wellard's to be divided between the Saw Mill & landing place, Whiting's to remain here to assist in erecting the Fort.

18<sup>th</sup>. 1600 labourers at work at the Fort, which with Artificers, timber cutters &<sup>ca</sup>. the daily numbers at work exceed three thousand. I received a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup>. Duchot [Pouchot] a Cap<sup>t</sup>. in Bearn, who comanded at Niagara, that a Lieutenant had deserted on the march which he disapproved much, the Officer had signed the Capitulation, took three men off with him.

19<sup>th</sup>. Ensign Wilson returned with his party of Rangers from S<sup>t</sup>. John's, said two of his men who had formerly been prisoners there, had gone within two miles of the Place, but got amongst some Indians, and could not advance nearer; in going he parted with Cap<sup>t</sup>. Kennedy as he went up Mischiscoüe<sup>1</sup> bay, in coming back passed the Enemy's vessels in the night which were at anchor in the same place as before.

20<sup>th</sup>. it rained hard which put a little stop to the works. I ordered a fence to close in all the best of the ground, running it from the upper part of the bay across to the lake on the South of the Fort, by which we shall at all times keep in the Cattle and it will be a vast advantage to this Fort. in the evening some Rangers reported they had seen Indians on the West side, it is very unlikely, but I ordered a Party after them, and I sent a party to explore the Sources of the Hudson's river.

21<sup>st</sup>. much rain fell, retarded our works. part of the party came back reported they had tracked the Indians and left the rest pursuing, at night the remainder came back, could not overtake. two men of late Prideaux's missing, who had contrary to orders been on the other side of the lake.

22<sup>d</sup>. sent two Scouts off L<sup>t</sup>. Fletcher and ten Rangers

<sup>1</sup> Missisquoi Bay.



to St. John's and a Serjeant and eight men to Isle au Noix. a party I sent out on the East side of the Lake brought in a french gun-case of an Officers, who I suppose comes from their shipping to try to see what we are about and popped upon the two Fools of Prideaux's Regim<sup>t</sup> who were out of all bounds and without Arms.

23<sup>d</sup>. I sent to Tionderoga for provisions. report, a boat coming in with a blue flag, the signal I had ordered the Guard Boats for the appearance of an inferior number of the Enemy, it proved to be Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute's<sup>1</sup> party in four Whale boats, the Indians firing & making a Yell of having Scalps, and a very great noise for a very little they had done; Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute lay opposite to the Enemy's Sloop's sometime but nobody came on shore, then crossed to the East side and finding a Canoo of the Enemy's with some things left with it, knew a Scouting party must be out, & he very rightly resolved to wait for them; his Indians behaved ill, and the rest of the party not well, or he should have taken the six Enemy Indians, instead of killing one Indian, in the firing one of Prideaux's escaped and joyned them, they supposed they wounded two more Indians, our Rangers firing at they knew not what wounded two of their Comrades; a pretty opportunity lost of taking all that Scouting party; the luck of finding the Canoo, waiting for them & attacking them, if it had been well executed, could not have failed of taking the whole and there was no risk.

24<sup>th</sup>. the Party returned from reconnoitring part of the Hudson's river, supposed the Source 12 miles west from Crown point. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Johnson returned with his party from Exploring the Otter river, he found eight falls, instead of three as had allways been imagined, and mostly bad ones, the sides of the river very swampy, and by his report a very impassable river for the Enemy to make any inroads into the Country indeed

<sup>1</sup> Captain James Tute of Rogers' Rangers. He was taken prisoner, but returned under a flag of truce. On the 21st March, 1760, he was again made prisoner by the French.



it proves it from their having been so long in possession of it without attempting incursions that way, many people have run away with the notion of this river being the route by which the war would have been best carried on, who must have been very ignorant of Every part of it.

for the better defence of Crown point and to make the Fortress as formidable as I can, I ordered with the advice of the Engineer three Forts to be erected, which I named by the Grenadier Fort, light Infantry Fort, & Gage's light Infantry Fort, ordering those Corpss to build each their own as fast as possible.

25<sup>th</sup>. Works at the Fortress going on well, sent an Aid de Camp to Tionderoga to examine matters there to hasten Every thing on.

26<sup>th</sup>. Sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute and ten men down the Lake to try to get up the riviere de Sable to explore that river, to lay his whale boats up and proceed by land to Swegatchi, and in case no English Troops are arrived at Swegatchi, to make what discoveries he can & send two or three men to Brigadier Gage at Oswego, a Letter from the L<sup>t</sup>. Governor of New York that he had disposed of the french Prisoners 200 in the Jerseys, 200 in Connecticut, 100 in long Island, the remainder in the barracks at New Yorke. the french Lieutenant, a Commis-sary, one Serjeant & two Privates, who had deserted on the march were taken near Fort Edward, had been lost in the Woods & near starving. I ordered the Lieu<sup>t</sup>. close confined.

27<sup>th</sup>. the works of the three Forts advancing, four more french Deserters taken near Fort Edward, had been out Sixteen days and allmost perishing, twenty seven of the Drafts from Guadaloupe arrived.

28<sup>th</sup>. it rained in the morning stoped the works a little, I received a Letter from Col: Bradstreet that the supply of provisions at Albany went on well.

29<sup>th</sup>. Sixty four men of a Company, of the Massachusetts Troops, consisting of Eighty men, which I had ordered from

N<sup>o</sup>. 4 to Albany went off when they were within six miles of the Town. I received a letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Stanwix of the 14<sup>th</sup>. of Aug<sup>t</sup>. from Fort Bedford, that Major Tullekens<sup>1</sup> sat out the 5<sup>th</sup>. with 300 men for Pittsburgh, from thence to proceed with 400 and Col: Mercer to Joyn him to take post at Venango. that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jocelyne who marched with a Convoy on the 30<sup>th</sup>. of July was attacked near laurel hill and after repulsing the Enemy, killing two Indians which they found and they supposed seven or eight more killed, was unfortunately killed, with the loss of three men and six horses on our side. that two men of Col: Montgomery's Reg<sup>t</sup>. were taken off from Pittsburgh by some Tawas<sup>2</sup> Indians who had been treated as Friends and been eating their provisions at Pittsburgh, 'tis just like the Scoundrells.

30<sup>th</sup>. I sent an Officer to Louisburg, by which opportunity I wrote to M. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wolfe & Admiral Saunders. the Radeaü building, and I am promised the Brigantine shall soon be ready, I then shall be able either to take or force away the Enemy's Vessels on the Lake & to proceed to the other end.

31<sup>st</sup>. four Rangers who had been with Serj<sup>t</sup>. Hopkins came back with an account that the Serj<sup>t</sup>. was attacked & must have been taken.

1<sup>st</sup>. Sept. the Serj<sup>t</sup>. returned from his Scout & brought in three prisoners of La Marine which he took opposite to the Island their intelligence agrees with what I had before as to the Troops at the Isle aü Noix, with this addition only that some Canadians were working at the Batteries & Lines on the Island before the Troops arrived there, they likewise say they have 100 Cannon, I suppose they must have had some from their Ships which got up the River S<sup>t</sup>. Laurence this Spring. that the East & West Channels are very narrow, the last picketed across to hinder anything passing. As the account of the Prisoners and the Serjeants report agreed of a new

<sup>1</sup> John Tullikens, Major of the 60th Regiment, April 26, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> Tawas, Taways = Ottawas.

Vessel being launched & pierced for 16 Guns, I sent to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring, that our second intended Vessel may be built if it can be done without retarding the other, as it appears the Enemy is trying all they can to have a superior force by water. I ordered Major Ord to prepare some combustibles that I may try to burn this new Vessel before she gets out.

2<sup>d</sup>. the first Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Ruggles's which is making the road good from Tionderoga encamped three miles from this place, where the Plain begins. a Report from Col: Wellard at the landing place that he had found five Canoes three miles up lake George, this accounts for what some of the Prisoners had told me which indeed I thought they had made, that 80 Indians set out in five Canoes on lake George some days before we arrived at Tionderoga, & they had not heard any thing of them, I suppose on finding themselves cut off they went across the Country & perhaps to Joyn Sr. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson.

3<sup>d</sup>. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring came. we concluded on building a Sloop for 16 Guns, the Saw Mill being continually out of order retards us much. we had violent rain. the Guns I sent for from Fort Edward for Crown point arrived at the landing place.

4<sup>th</sup>. it did not cease raining the whole day, at night I sent out Serj<sup>t</sup>. Hopkins with twelve men, some of the best Swimmers I could find, furnished with fire darts & hand Carcasses to burn the Sloop at the Isle au Noix. a man of L<sup>t</sup>. Fletcher's party returned, says some Indians came on him & another who were left with the boat, took the other and he made his escape, at night an Indian came in from the L<sup>ts</sup>. party, says the Lieu<sup>t</sup>. was tracked from his boat, attacked by a great number, that he only escaped, the others killed or taken.

5<sup>th</sup>. I sent out a party to the west side of the Lake. the Officer returned from Oswego from conducting the new hampshire Reg<sup>t</sup>. there, marched from Fort Stanwix to Oswego with 100 oxen in five days, so there could be no great difficulty in making a good & sure communication. the french Prisoners

informed several things were hid in the Fort, we dug & found Kettles, Tools & Iron.

6<sup>th</sup>. the Captain of the guard boats reported he had seen some of the Enemy's boats in the evening at the narrows which lower'd their sails on seeing him and seemed to go over to the Eastern Shore, as they appeared just at night coming, I ordered the Guards on the batteaus to be particularly watchfull, our Deserters of which they have two from Gage's & one from the Inniskilling who are suspected of having committed a Robbery in Camp, may have flattered him they can burn the boats. I ordered a part out at day break to go down by the East side, to return by the West Shore, that if they have landed any scalping party, I may catch them.

7<sup>th</sup>. we had bad weather I directed Major Ord to prepare a number of hand carcasses loaded with Grenades which may be of service if I should have an opportunity at trying to surprise Montreal, I ordered Petards likewise to be prepared.

8<sup>th</sup>. it rained the whole day, very bad weather, entirely put a stop to the works, I had a Letter from Colonel Montessor in answer to my Questions about Fort George that he could not finish it this Season, but could shut up the Citadel Bastion by a retrenchment at the Gorge which will then be a small Fort of itself & he then could spare several Artificers to come here as the small Fort & the one already built by the Lake side will be full sufficient as that Post is no longer a Frontier, I could not hesitate about ordering this to be done, & the Fort may at any time hereafter be compleatly finished.

9<sup>th</sup>. it rained in the morning turned fair afterwards so that the works went on. the Party returned from N<sup>o</sup>. 4 made the Road 77 miles, but it may be much shortened. fresh Provisions now and then, and a constant supply of Spruce beer keeps the Army in good health and they work well.

10<sup>th</sup>. the Captain of the Guard boats sent me some Letters, he had stoped. Cap<sup>t</sup>. d'Isserat of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. de la Reine nine miles off who was very unwilling to part with his dispatches



without delivering them himself at Crown point, contained a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Montcalm not dated, acquainting me Cap<sup>t</sup>. Kennedy & L<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton were Prisoners, I answered the Letters & sent an Aid de Camp to sift out in what manner Cap<sup>t</sup>. Kennedy was taken whether in going to M. General Wolfe or in returning. I had likewise a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Bourlemaque, and one from L<sup>t</sup>. Fletcher that he was taken with three men between St<sup>t</sup>. John's & Montreal having been surrounded by 70 Indians who killed three of his Party, one a Lieut. of the Provincials who chose to go a Volunteer.

11<sup>th</sup>. Captain Kennedy was unluckily taken by some of St<sup>t</sup>. Francis Indians who were out a hunting, as he was going to M. General Wolfe. the L<sup>t</sup>. Governor of New York wrote me word he had sent me twelve 18 Pounders and eight 12 pounders of the Guns I had requested intending them for Oswego, & La Gallette. I am obliged to bring all the Guns from Fort Edward to this Place, which will do for the present; and as I wrote to Lord Ligonier in the winter to beg some Guns might be sent from England for the Forts, I am in hopes they will arrive.

12<sup>th</sup>. as Captain Kennedy's Journey to & from M. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wolfe was no longer depending, I ordered a detachment of 220 chosen men under the command of Major Rogers that he may destroy the St<sup>t</sup>. Francis Indian Settlements and the french Settlements on the South side the River St<sup>t</sup>. Laurence.

13<sup>th</sup>. I sent an Aid de Camp to Tionderoga to try to get any Artificers that can possibly be spared from thence & the landing place; as likewise to quicken up Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring in preparing his Affairs, & to get Sails for such boats as can carry Guns that I may effectually demolish the Enemy's Craft. I ordered a party to explore more of the Hudson's river.

14<sup>th</sup>. the Serjeant with his Party returned from the Isle au Noix, he attempted to burn the Vessel the 11<sup>th</sup>. at ten at night, had got the combustibles to the bow and had near accomplished the design, but I presume made some noise as a



man on board discovered them & alarmed the Guard & the whole Camp from whence all the Guards fired, but the men got off unhurt, left the combustibles at the bow & two blankets on the shore, if they had more punctually obeyed my orders which were to do it at two in the morning, they probably had succeeded.

15<sup>th</sup>. I had a Letter from the L<sup>t</sup>. Governor of New Yorke in answer to mine demanding that the Troops might be paid for the month of November as I thought His Majesty's Service would require their help, so that they could not return to their homes by the 1<sup>st</sup>. of that month. I had made the same application to the other provinces. the L<sup>t</sup>. Governor thinks the Assembly will not grant it.

16<sup>th</sup>. a Lieu<sup>t</sup>. with thirty Masons arrived from Fort George to help on with the works here.

17<sup>th</sup>. it rained the greater part of last night, and a continued rain & Storm all this day put a stop to the works. Captain Smith with his Company which had deserted from Albany came by the new road from N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

18<sup>th</sup>. five men of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute's party who went from hence the 26<sup>th</sup>. Aug<sup>t</sup>. returned with a Letter from Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute of the 12<sup>th</sup>. acquainting me that he could get but 8 miles up the riviere de Sable with his boat, was got 100 miles by land & hoped soon to reach Swegatchi, sent back these Men to meet him at his boat with provisions. At night half the Indians and some men of Major Rogers's party who had fell sick returned with Cap<sup>t</sup>. Williams & an Officer of the Provincials who were very ill. Major Rogers had been obliged to lay by in the Otter River waiting for a dark night or Fog to pass the Enemy's Vessels which were cruising off the River.

19<sup>th</sup>. a man of the R. Highland and one of Montgomery's light Infantry were brought in, wounded by a firelock accidentally going off, and the man of the R. Highlanders dyed soon after his arrival. this makes forty men returned of Major Rogers's detachment, but he has men enough left to

Execute the Service he is sent on. I received a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage (to my great concern) that he had been obliged to give over the thoughts of taking post at la Gallette from the many difficulty's and impossibilities he found there would be in erecting a Post there before winter. the Crank of our Saw Mill broke a second time, unlucky as the Mill ought to supply every plank & board that is wanted, I ordered it to be repaired instantly. I directed the commanding Officers of Regiments to send for flannel Waistcoats, Leggens & Socks for the men, as our Quarters will be more Northerly than they have been and probably we may stay longer in the Field.

20<sup>th</sup>. it rained & blew hard in the night put a stop to the working in the morning, but cleared up afterwards. the Barracks begun in the Fortress. the fences & blockhouses forwarding apace by which all the Cattle are kept secure & it will not be practicable for any small Partys (if they should venture so far up the Lake) to creep in & pick off any men.

21<sup>st</sup>. fine weather, the Provincials begin to grow sick and lose some men, they are growing home sick, tho' I am told much less so than they have been any other Campaign. they are excellent Ax-Men, the works could not be carried on without them, and the Zeal and Activity of their Colonels is of the greatest assistance in forwarding the works.

22<sup>d</sup>. More rain but did not retard the works.

23<sup>d</sup>. A great deal of rain fell, an Aid de Camp returned from Tionderoga, the Mill will go soon, and Capt. Loring thinks he shall have his Vessels ready in eight days.

24<sup>th</sup>. the Stone Barracks raising fast the materials of all kind very good. received provisions from Tionderoga.

25<sup>th</sup>. Letters from Boston bring an Account of Major General Wolfe having encreased his batteries on Point Levi on the 11<sup>th</sup>. of August. I had not yet heard from him, and he may likely be in the same Situation in regard to me, tho' I have taken all the precautions I could in writing by different conveyances that some might arrive safe at hand.

26<sup>th</sup>. The Lake is risen surprisingly full three feet perpendicular forced us to move the Magazine of Provisions, Shot, Shells &<sup>c</sup>. this may be occasioned by the Pickets the Enemy has fixed across in both Channels by the Isle aü Noix.

27<sup>th</sup>. I sent for more provisions that I may be ready to move with all the men that can be spared so soon as the Brig : & Sloop can come here.

28<sup>th</sup>. I sent an Aid de Camp to Tionderoga to push on the works which are carrying on there. Provisions arrived, Batteaüs very leaky. Cut timber for the Casemates on the opposite Isthmus.

29<sup>th</sup>. Captain Loring promised to have the Brig & Sloop ready next week. the Radeaü was launched, 84 Feet in length, and 20 Feet in breadth to carry Six 24 pounders.

30<sup>th</sup>. I was forced to condemn a quantity of biscuit spoiled by the wet in the batteaüs. The Crank of the Mill broke again. but one wheel continues to go.

October 1<sup>st</sup>. I sent to load the Brig & Sloop with a proper proportion of as much provision as they could quite conveniently carry without any obstruction to their sailing or fighting their Guns.

2<sup>d</sup>. I received a Letter from Boston with an Account of Prince Ferdinand's Victory on the 1<sup>st</sup>. of August. a party returned from exploring South bay, wood creek &<sup>ca</sup>.

3<sup>d</sup>. a party returned from Exploring the Sources of the Hudson's river. a Lieutenant came in with six men from Major Rogers's party whom he left nine days since forty miles beyond Mischiscoë bay, the L<sup>t</sup>. was sent back from an Accident of having lamed himself and to let me know the Major would pursue the Orders I had given him, but thought he might be obliged to return to N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

4<sup>th</sup>. Sent to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 to take some provisions up to Wells's river in case the Detachment should come back that route. ordered a quantity of bread to be baked at Tionderoga.

contrary winds have hindered the floats of timber from getting here, which has kept back the works a little.

5<sup>th</sup>. two of the Blockhouses got up. as the number of sick of the Provincials encreased and several will not be fit for any further service this Campaign I ordered the Surgeons of the Hospital to visit and report them accordingly that the useless may be sent home.

6<sup>th</sup>. Sent a party down the lake to way lay at a Place where a Canoo was found laid near the Shore, the Party returned as it was plain the Canoo must have been left there some weeks since at least.

7<sup>th</sup>. repairing & caulking the whale boats & batteaüs, an Officer and 52 men of Babcocks arrived from Fort George. I sent 400 of the Provincials to the Hospital at Albany to be so far in the way to their homes & to go as soon as they are able.

8<sup>th</sup>. Sent a party of Grenadiers & light Infantry in batteaüs to bring Wooster's Reg<sup>t</sup>. & 200 of Willards from Tionderoga, from whence they may now be spared to Joyn the Army at Crown point, that when I go from hence I may leave as many men as I can to continue the works at the Fort and I shall not take any Artificer away, very fine weather and the wind fair for some days if the Brig: & Sloop were ready.

9<sup>th</sup>. Sent two Scouts of a Serjeant & Six men each, one to the East & the other to the West side of the Isle au Noix to get me a prisoner for intelligence, as I shall probably not have any except from thence, & the Serjeants to meet me on the Lake. I likewise sent L<sup>t</sup>. Meredith of Gage's with six men to go to the river Chasy which is five or six miles on this side the point au fer to try to find out a carrying place between that river & Chataguay river, that I may be at a certainty how far it is practicable to send a party towards Montreal if occasion should offer. in the night Ensign Hutchings of the Rangers who I had dispatched to M. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wolfe & arrived there the 4<sup>th</sup>. of Sept: Came with Capt. Stobo of the Virginians. they



quitted M. Genl. Wolfe on the 7<sup>th</sup>. of Sept and got out of the river St<sup>t</sup> Laurence in four days, but unfortunately were taken the 29<sup>th</sup>. by a Pirate twelve leagues off Halifax, and had thrown all their dispatches over board, and the Pirate stript them of every thing else, put them on board a Schooner with some more Men he had taken gave them one days provisions & they got to Halifax in three, from thence they came by Boston here, the Pirate had fifty men & four Swivels, was fitted out from Miramichi & had taken four Vessels.

10<sup>th</sup>. the Duke of Cumberland brigantine arrived & anchored out of sight of any partys that may be on the look out upon the Hills, she has six 6 pounders, twelve 4 pound<sup>rs</sup>. & twenty Swivels, 70 Seamen & 60 Marines detached from the Troops & I have put two Lieu<sup>ts</sup>. on board besides the Officer of Marines on this occasion. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring tells me the Sloop will be here to morrow, I have every thing ready to set out so soon as she comes. in the Afternoon Letters arrived from England by a Packet.

11<sup>th</sup>. the Boscawen Sloop arrived she has four 6 pounders, twelve 4 pounders & twenty two Swivels, 60 Seamen & 50 Marines with Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Grant of Montgomery's to command her, and an Officer of Marines. I ordered the Ammunition & Stores that were wanted in the Sloop to be put on board & the Troops to strike their Tents & load their batteaüs that I may proceed directly as it is fine weather & a fair wind. I called the commanding officers of the Provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup>. together to recommend to them the pursuing the works under the direction of L<sup>t</sup>. Col: Eyre Engineer, whom I am forced to leave for that purpose, with all the help they can possibly give him & I left the command of the Troops to Colonel Ruggles with orders accordingly, & 300 men of the Regulars to give the daily guards.

I gave orders to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring, sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Abercrombie, one of my Aides de Camp to remain on board. the Sloop & Brig: got out about 4 o'Clock sailed with a fair wind & the Troops



followed in four Columns with a light hoisted in the night on board the Radeaü

12<sup>th</sup>. at day break heard some Guns, Major Gladwin of Gages sent me word he saw the Vessels engaged but soon after found his mistake, & Major Reid returning with some batteaüs of the R. Highland Reg<sup>t</sup>. reported the Sloops had fired on him, he had lost the Columns in the night, followed the light of the Brig for the Radeaü & at day break found himself amongst the Enemy's Sloops at les Isles au quatre Vent, they fired several Guns & I suppose struck one batteaü as they took one with L<sup>t</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Koy one Serjeant one Corporal & Eighteen men. soon after I saw the Enemy's Sloops make all the sail they could. towards night bad weather came on & I ordered the Troops into a bay on the western shore to be covered from the wind which begun to blow hard. sent the men on shore to boil the Pots & rest themselves by walking about. I ordered the Rangers on an Island and Gages advanced on the Shore.

13<sup>th</sup>. it blew a storm and quite contrary wind, continued so all day.

14<sup>th</sup>. I had Letters from Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring & Cap<sup>t</sup>. Abercrombie that on the 12<sup>th</sup>. at day break when they judged they were 45 miles down the Lake they saw the Schooner gave chase & unfortunately ran the Brig: & Sloop aground, but both got off again & then saw the Enemy's Sloops, which they had passed in the night, between them and the Army & chaced to bring them to action, drove them into a bay on the western shore & anchored so as to prevent their getting away, the next day sent into the bay in search of them & found they had sunk two of them in five fathom water & run the third on Ground, & that the Crews were Escaped, that he had ordered Cap<sup>t</sup>. Grant with the Sloop to try to save the Vessel with the Stores, Guns & Rigging & that he would go to his station & hoped to get between the Schooner and Isle aü Noix. the men who brought me the Letter said Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring was about thirty

miles off & that it was impossible for a boat to go back while the wind continued.

15<sup>th</sup>. it has blown a Storm with rain all night, the continuance of it this day makes the lake impassable for boats, the waves run like the Sea in a Gale of Wind, I hope it will soon change as I have no time to lose.

16<sup>th</sup>. it frose in the night and this morning no change of weather. I remained in the same place where the Batteaüs were very luckily covered from the wind.

17<sup>th</sup>. the same contrary wind continued, in the afternoon two whale boats which I had dispatched to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring on the 13<sup>th</sup>. came back, the crews said they had been trying since that day all they could to get down, but could not & were forced to return.

18<sup>th</sup>. the wind came to the Southward, I proceeded down the Lake to the place where the french Sloops are, one is so far repaired that she is sailed this day with the Brigantine & Sloop, I detached 200 men in the whale boats to try to assist Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring in looking for the Schooner, a boat arrived from Crown point with a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Governor De Lancey, acquainting me he had received a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Whitmore, that Quebec had surrendered the 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup>.

19<sup>th</sup>. the wind northerly & contrary & an appearance of winter set in determined me not to lose time on the Lake by striving to get to the Isle au Noix, where I should arrive too late in the Season to force the Enemy from their fixed Post, but to return to Crown point to compleat the works there as much as possible before the Troops go into their Winter Quarters, & I returned with the Troops to the same bay I came from.

20<sup>th</sup>. I pursued my Route & got within 12 miles of Crown point, lay the night on the Eastern shore, sent the light Infantry & Grenadiers who were in whale boats on to Crown point, left the Rangers with the Radeaü & boats with Guns which could not come on so fast.

21<sup>s</sup>. set out again in the morning and arrived at Crown point at 2 o'Clock.

22<sup>nd</sup>. I enclose to you, Sir, plans of the Fortress & dependant Forts at this place with a Survey of the Ground and Lake about them. they will not be so compleatly finished as I intended they should be but I think I may assure you that they will be so respectable, that the Enemy can do nothing against them, if the Enemy attempts it.

Some of the Places where Posts have been established are subjected by custom to a rent being paid to the supposed Proprietor, tho' the whole Country about them would have been abandoned if Posts had not been erected there; to avoid this Expence, or any future dispute, I have thought it for the benefit of His Majesty's Service to fix a boundary at first, to each Fort, which I hope will have your approbation, as it appears to me, it will be of great use to the Garrison, a saving to the Public and is necessary to the defence of the Place.

The Repairs at Tionderoga are finished but the Engineers have been so employed, I have not as yet a Plan & Survey of the Place or I should send it to you.

the building the Vessels has been a tedious affair, they have now tho' late, the entire dominion of the Lake, & I imagine Captain Loring will weigh up the two Sloops which are sunk; I have directed him to do as he Judges best.

I shall continue the works here so long as I possibly can, and shall then try to dispose of His Majesty's Troops in such Quarters that they may effectually protect this Country from any inroads of the Enemy, & I shall not neglect to have a due regard to the care and preservation of the health of the men.

I enclose to you, Sir, such papers as I judge can any wise tend towards giving you a full information of every thing that relates to His Majesty's Service where I have the honour to command, and I beg leave to repeat my assurances, that I

shall continue my utmost Endeavours to execute every part that may depend on me to the best of my capacity.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir,

Your most Humble

and most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup>. Honb<sup>le</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> PITT

Indorsed. Camp at Crown Point

Oct<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>nd</sup>. 1759.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST. .

R. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>.

PART VI.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from October 23 to December 11, 1759 (Amherst to Pitt, December 11, 1759; Public Record Office, C.O. 5:57, formerly A. & W.I. 92-1).*

New York

December 16<sup>th</sup>.

1759.

Sir,

The last letter I did myself the honour of writing to you, was from Crown Point of the 22<sup>d</sup>. of October, since which, though nothing very material has happened, I shall take the liberty of continuing my journal, to give you as clear an intelligence as I can, of every thing that has passed.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. I sent an Aid de Camp to B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage at Oswego, with orders for quartering the Troops on that side this winter. Letters from Boston brought an Account, that Admiral Boscawen had gained a Victory at Sea, and destroyed the greatest part of the French Fleet. five men of the two Serjeant's party's which I had sent out on the 9<sup>th</sup>. came in, as

the weather had been so bad, they could not get down the Lake. the Radeau and other boats with Rangers arrived, Captain Dalyel, whom I had detached on the 18<sup>th</sup>. with 200 Men in whale boats, returned in the Evening; he had got to the Brigantine & Sloops at the Isle la Motte, and reconnoitred to the Isle au Noix, where the Enemy's Schooner was arrived by going round the Grande Isle: on his return, he picked up a man, on the Shore, of the Crew of the Masguenonguy, who had lost the party & himself. at night the two Serjeants came in, half starved, reporting the winds had been so high and Lake so rough, the men gave out, and they could not reach the Isle au Noix. bad weather stoped the works this day.

24<sup>th</sup>. the works of the Fortress and Forts had been much retarded, by the absence of the regular Troops; I set all to work that were able, that I may do as much as possible, while the Season permits, a Captain of Montgomery's arrived, with fifty two Men from Pittsburg; he had left thirty two sick on the route.

25<sup>th</sup>. I sent away some sick to Fort Edward & Albany: a Captain of Rangers, who I ordered out with 100 Men to secure Major Rogers's boats returned, and reported them burnt by the Enemy

26. I detached 250 men with proper tools, under the command of Major Hawke, to compleat the Road to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 that the Provincial Troops may take the Shortest Route to return to their homes, & it will much lessen the expences of their march. Capt. Loring arrived with the Brigantine, Sloop, and French Prize Sloop; & reporting to me, that he thought the two other Sloops might be weighed up, with proper help, I ordered it accordingly to be prepared. I detached Lieut: Maine and nine men of the royal Artillery to South Carolina, to instruct the men there, in the exercise of their Guns.

27<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>ts</sup>. Grant & Robertson sailed with the two Sloops, & 200 men, and all necessaries for weighing the french Sloops



up. Sent Capt. Loring to Tionderoga, with the Brig: to prepare a proper place for the Vessels during the winter, & repair boats for the passage of the Troops over Lake George. Ordered an Artillery Officer & Artificers to Tionderoga to examine the Guns, to put the Carriages, Platforms &c. in the best order.

28<sup>th</sup>. I sent the remains of the Indians, by Albany, to their homes, to save, at present, an unnecessary expence to the Publick, and Provisions for the Troops. got the timber to the Fortress, by drawing it with men, which expedited it much better than with the Cattle, that were likewise employed at the same time in different places.

29<sup>th</sup>. I had a Letter, last night, from Niagara, acquainting me of the death of L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Farquhar, and I had likewise one from B<sup>r</sup>. General Stanwix, by which I see he has given over all thoughts of relieving the garrison of Niagara, from the many difficulties that would attend it, I immediately sent L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Eyre there, as I thought it the best thing I could do, for effectually securing that place.

30<sup>th</sup>. very cold weather and frost, I relieved the detachments of Provincials at Fort Edward, and the Posts on the Communication that they may joyn their Regiments and go home by N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

31<sup>st</sup>. as the weather began to be severely cold, I gave rum to each working man every day, which now became very necessary, and I ordered the works to be closed in the best and most expeditious manner that time will permit.

1<sup>st</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. some of the Jersey and Massachusett Troops mutinyed and would go home, I turned out five Picquets of the Regulars, which soon settled that matter, and they returned quietly to their work.

2<sup>d</sup>. an Officer came in, from where the Vessels are weighing up, to acquaint me a Flag of truce was coming; Capt. Cadillac of Reg<sup>t</sup>. de Berry, who brought me a Letter of the 28<sup>th</sup>. of Oct. from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and one from

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Bourlemaque from the Isle au Noix. Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Vaudreuil proposed an Exchange of Prisoners, which is what, I had demanded of the Marquis de Montcalm. I received a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Meredith <sup>1</sup> of Gage's, whom I had sent out on the 9<sup>th</sup>. of Oct<sup>r</sup>. that he was taken on the 16<sup>th</sup>. as he was returning, on the Lake, to the Army. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Cadillac said Major Rogers's Party had killed some Indians & burnt the Settlement of S<sup>t</sup>. Francis, but that he had been attacked in his retreat.

3<sup>d</sup> I sent the flag of truce away with my answers and an escort.

4<sup>th</sup>. Ordered all the sick away from the Battalions at Tionderoga

5<sup>th</sup>. I sent away some Artillery, Ammunition & Stores allotted for Fort George & Fort Edward

6<sup>th</sup>. the Weather favoured us for the works, considering the time of year. an Officer, with the greatest part of Wellard's Reg<sup>t</sup>. having deserted from the landing place, set every thing at a stand there, I immediately replaced them, with a detachment from the Regulars.

7<sup>th</sup>. Frost & Snow, but the works were carried on. Capt. Ogden, of Schuylers Reg<sup>t</sup>. brought me a Letter from Major Roger's of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. from N<sup>o</sup>. 4, acquainting me, that on the 22<sup>d</sup>. day, after his departure from Crown Point, he got to the Village of S<sup>t</sup>. Francis, reconnoitred it, attacked it next morning before sun rise, on the Right, Left, & Center, found all asleep, killed 200, took 20 women and children, fifteen of which he afterwards let go, brought away two Indian boys & three girls, and retook five English Prisoners; some of the Indians trying to make their escapes from their houses, and to get off in their Canoes, were pursued by forty men of his party, & were most of them shot or drowned; about seven, the affair was over, and he burnt the Church and all the Houses, with a Priest and some others

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Meredith, Lieutenant 80th Regiment, July 16, 1758.

who had hid themselves & suffered in the Flames: Capt. Ogden and six men were Slightly wounded, one Stockbridge Indian killed; Major Rogers then determined to return by N<sup>o</sup>. 4, marched the whole body together 8 days, and then separated in small bodys, leaving a Guide to each; one of his Partys was attacked two days after they separated, had seven men taken, but two got off in the night, and he arrived, with Capt. Ogden & one man, on the 31<sup>st</sup>. at N<sup>o</sup>. 4. in the afternoon, an Indian came in, and in several hours after he had been in Camp, Indian like, said he had left sixteen of M. Rogers's party at the Otter River. I immediately sent away an Officer & party of Rangers in whale boats for them.

8<sup>th</sup>. the party of Rangers brought in four Indians, two Rangers ■ German woman, who had been taken at the German flats, two young Squaws, and an Indian boy, they were loaded with Wampum & Trinkets that they had taken at S<sup>t</sup>. Francis: it was from this nest of Barbarians, which is now at an end, that scalping Partys have frequently done mischief in the Newhampshire and Massachusetts Provinces.

9<sup>th</sup>. I sent away all the baggage of the Provincials, by Albany. Capt Lee of Gen. Abercromby's Reg<sup>t</sup>. arrived from Pittsburg, he was sent there from Niagara, and brought me a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Stanwix of the 10<sup>th</sup>. of Oct. with the unanimous opinion, of a Council of War, that it is & has been utterly impossible for B<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Stanwix to relieve the Garrison of Niagara, with four or five hundred men.

10<sup>th</sup>. The Troops worked till three O'clock, excepting the Grenadiers, who were under Arms at one O'clock, and fired Volleys. at Gun firing, the Army was under Arms, & fired a Feu de Joye, the three Forts firing 21 Cannon, and the Battalions volleys. The Fortress 21 Cannon, the Army a running fire. the Park of Artillery 21 Cannon, the Army a general Volley, ending with three Huzzas & rum and Spruce beer given to every man in the Army.

L<sup>t</sup>. Grant reported to me, he had got one of the Sloops

up, and baled the water out, he had had an attack on a party on shore who were cutting wood & were fired on by some Indians, (probably from the report of the flag of truce sent from the Isle au Noix to view what was doing) a man of the Royal was killed and scalped, four were wounded, and the Indians got off unpunished. I received a memorial from the Massachusetts & Connecticut Colonels, desiring to settle, by way of Township, the new made road to N<sup>o</sup>. 4, if His Majesty would be graciously pleased, to make them grants of the said Lands. I likewise received a Memorial from Major of Brigade Skeene, desiring a patent for a tract of Land between South bay, East bay & the garrison land of Fort Edward. in my last Letter Sir, I acquainted you of the Zeal and activity the Provincial Colonels have shewn for the good of the King's Service, and I must do justice to Major Skeene in saying I know no man in his Post, more deserving than he is.

11<sup>th</sup>. I ordered the Payments to be made to the Artificers, that the whole may be cleared before they march. Sold the working Cattle by Auction.

12<sup>th</sup>. the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched this morning, crossed the Lake & took five days provisions to Supply them to N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

13<sup>th</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. Worcesters Reg<sup>t</sup>. of the Connecticut Troops, marched, following the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup>. I sent L<sup>t</sup>. Col Robertson to the Landing place to forward the Provisions, that I may leave this Garrison & Tionderoga well supplied.

14<sup>th</sup>. Col Whiting's Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched the same Route as Worcesters

15<sup>th</sup>. in the night past, Major Grant arrived with a Letter from the M. de Vaudreuil, had left the English Prisoners near the Otter River, I sent an Aid de Camp, and a Company of Light Infantry to guard the Escort, which was of two Lieut<sup>s</sup>. & 40 Canadians, at a proper distance from Camp, & to send the Prisoners in; they were, Major Grant, Capts. Kennedy, Pringle, & M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie, Lieut<sup>s</sup>. Hamilton, Roche, Meredith,



Downing, Jenkins, & M<sup>e</sup>koy. Major Lewis of the Virginia Troops, Ensign Hollar of the Pensilvanians, Capt. Tute, L<sup>ts</sup>. Stone, Dickson & Fletcher of the Rangers, two Midshipmen, a Master of a Merchant man, 270 Prisoners women & children included. I received Letters from Brig<sup>r</sup>. Generals Monckton & Townshend with the particulars of taking Quebec, & from Admiral Saunders, acquainting me he should leave Lord Colvill with the command of His Majesty's Ships of War at Halifax.

16<sup>th</sup>. I wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, & sent back the party that had escorted our Prisoners. the three french Sloops were brought in this morning, by L<sup>t</sup> Grant, with their Rigging & Guns, except two brass 12 pounders, that Mons<sup>r</sup>. de L'oberatz threw over board, while L<sup>t</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Koy was there.

17<sup>th</sup>. the Jersey Troops marched, to pass Lake George, and proceed, by Albany, to their homes. I sent the Inhabitants away who had returned with the Prisoners. Ordered the Sloops to Tionderoga to be laid up for the winter.

18<sup>th</sup>. An Officer returned who I had sent with money to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 for paying the fourpences to the Provincials. Major Hawkes party had been in a little too much hurry, when once they get home in their heads, 'tis difficult to stop them, and they are too apt to leave and neglect their Sick.

19<sup>th</sup>. I wrote to Governor Pownall to thank him for his care in providing for the Massachusett Troops, that they may remain the Winter at Halifax & the bay of Funda &c., as there will be no Troops to relieve them.

20<sup>th</sup>. by a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> General Gage, he arrived at Albany on the 16<sup>th</sup>, & all the Troops were in their Winter Quarters.

21<sup>st</sup>. the Weather very severe, but the works will be soon finished. I had a Letter from Major Rogers, that he had as yet got only 51 of his party at N<sup>o</sup>. 4. L<sup>t</sup> Dunbar of Gages, was attacked two days after they Separated, by a party that pursued, the Lieut. was supposed to be killed, with L<sup>t</sup> Turner



of the Indians, who was his Guide, and ten men of Gages; eight men of his party made their Escapes.

22<sup>d</sup>. Stormy Weather, and it froze hard, I reviewed the Rangers that I might keep only such as were good & would engage to serve to the later end of next Campaign, if required.

23<sup>d</sup>. I reduced the Six Companys of Rangers to two Companys, keeping the Officers in pay, until further Orders, that they may recruit their Companys on the first notice; I have likewise entirely reduced the three Companys at Boston, which returned from Quebec.

24<sup>th</sup>. it froze hard & snowed, I prepared all necessary Orders for the commanding Officers of the several Posts, that the whole may be ready to reinforce the advanced Posts on any motions of the Enemy: though it is hardly possible the Enemy should attempt any, ordered Col. Fitch's Reg<sup>t</sup>. which is the last Provincial one here, to cross the Lake & march to morrow.

25<sup>th</sup>. I decamped the whole, left the Inniskilling Reg<sup>t</sup>. & 200 Rangers, for the Garrison of Crown Point; sent the discharged Rangers home by N<sup>o</sup>. 4, and some by Albany; arrived at Tionderoga, where I left Six Companys of late Forbes's Reg<sup>t</sup>. for Garrison, and L<sup>t</sup>. Robertson, with charge of the Vessels. Col Lyman's Reg<sup>t</sup>. & the remainder of Willard's passed the Lake to march by N<sup>o</sup>. 4. it was night before the Troops arrived at the Saw-mill, landed and made good fires, in the night, a deep snow fell.

26<sup>th</sup>. I sent forward the light Infantry & Grenadiers, to Fort Edward, to help secure the bridge from the Ice; ordered the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. to cross the Lake, independantly of each other, as the weather was so thick and bad, to keep to the western shore, and land and make fires when necessary. most of them stoped at Sabbath day point.

27<sup>th</sup>. Capt. Morris, of late Prideaux's, was unfortunately killed, by the fall of a tree at Sabbath day point, which they had set fire to at bottom; the tree fell, & crushed him to

death. the Regiment's arrived in the afternoon at Fort George, marched into the woods & made large fires.

28<sup>th</sup>. The Troops marched at day break, except the four remaining Companys of late Forbes's which Garrison Fort George. one company of the R: Highlanders marched into halfway brook, five Companys to Fort Edward, the Troops crossed the bridge and lay in the woods below Fort Edward.

29<sup>th</sup>. I marched at day break, met the French Prisoners, whom I had ordered up to send in exchange, they all dislike the march at this season & the major part of them, I believe would be glad to get off returning to Canada, the Troops lay in the woods three miles below Saratoga this night.

30<sup>th</sup>. I marched at daybreak went four miles below Stillwater.

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. Marched at daybreak passed Loudun's Ferry, Gage's Reg<sup>t</sup> lay in the woods on the Road to Schencetady to which place they march tomorrow. the Royal, late Prideaux's & Montgomery's marched five miles beyond the Ferry during this march the weather was severe, but the Troops by laying in warm parts of the woods, making good fires, boiling their pots, and not attempting to pitch any tents, performed the march very well.

2<sup>d</sup>. I marched at day break and arrived at ten O'clock at Albany the Royal & late Prideaux's were immediately embarked on board the Sloops. I met S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson whom I had sent an Aid de Camp to, for that purpose. the wind would not permit the Sloops to Sail, the weather severely cold & the River began to freeze.

3<sup>d</sup>. the River full of Ice. a man of the Royal one of late Prideaux's and a negro were froze to death last night, and three of the discharged Rangers who had got a batteau in hopes, I suppose, to get down the river were caught by the Ice & found froze to death in the batteau, and several men frost bitten.

4<sup>th</sup>. the frost continuing I ordered the Regiments to disembark and march, the Royal down the west side, late

Prideaux's down the East side, as the River may not open 'till Spring.

5<sup>th</sup>. I crossed the River & sat out on foot for New York where I arrived the 11<sup>th</sup>. in the morning and received the honour of your Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup>. of September by the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wall packet boat, which arrived the 10<sup>th</sup>. at night. I have acquainted the Officers & Soldiers of His Majesty's entire approbation of their Zeal and Spirit, which can't but make them, as it does me, very happy.

I must beg, Sir, you will put me at the King's Feet, with my most humble acknowledgments of the distinguishing mark His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer on me of his Royal favour in appointing me to be Governour of Virginia: my Endeavours shall be to prove myself as deserving as I can by a most devoted duty in doing every thing, as far as I am able, for the Honour and Success of His Majesty's Arms and the Publick Good.

'Though I have not yet received any commands, in regard to the ensuing Campaign, I have judged it right to make nearly the same previous application to the several Governours as I did last year, and I think there will not be any difficulty in raising the like number of men.

As Major Grant was, while Prisoner, very conversant with many of the french Officers, I desired him to put in writing the condition he thought the Country in, and I find by him the greatest distress can hardly induce the M. de Vaudreuil to capitulate for the Country, as Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Bouquainville brought him positive Orders to defend it to the last Spot remaining; but, notwithstanding that, if, I may presume, Sir, to offer you my Opinion, from the present Posts His Majesty's Army is now in possession of, if no stroke was to be made, Canada must fall, or the Inhabitants starve, or if it shall be judged proper to make short work of it and subdue the whole Country, it appears to me, the same force which acted this Campaign may effectually do it, so soon as the season will permit military Operations to be carryed on.

The Enemy will keep small Posts, at the Isle au Noix, below Lake Champlain; and at the Isle au Galot, below Lake Ontario & Swegatchi, but His Majestys Vessels have the entire Command of both Lakes.

I have left B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage to command at Albany. B<sup>r</sup>. General Monckton is here with several of the wounded Officers from the River S<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence.

I send this by Captain Abercrombie my Aid de Camp who is one of the Officers summoned to attend a General Court Martial in England, the others will follow in a few days in His Majestys ship Fowy that convoys the Transports with the discharged men.

I enclose all papers that I think can any wise serve in giving you full Information of the State of things here.

I am with the Utmost Respect.

Sir,

Your most Humble and  
most Obedient Servant

JEFF. AMHERST.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. PITT.

Endorsed :—New York

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 16, 1759.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>. by

Capt: ABERCROMBY.

PART VII.—*Amherst's Journal from May 20 to June 21, 1760*  
(*Amherst to Pitt, June 21, 1760: Public Record Office,*  
*C. O. 5:58, formerly A. & W. I. 93-2).*

Schenectady June 21<sup>st</sup>. 1760.

Sir,

Since my last Letter to you of the 19<sup>th</sup> May, wherein I acquainted you of the Affair that had happened at

Quebec, and the measures I had taken thereon, I have been trying to forward everything to the utmost of my power, to begin the Operations of the Campaign.

The Sloth of the Colonies in raising their Troops, and sending them to their Rendezvous, made it impracticable for me to move the Troops on, so soon as I could have wished, and all I could do, was sending Partys to the other end of Lake Champlain, keeping the Enemy in a constant Alarm, which has been Executed with Success.

On the 20<sup>th</sup>. May two Companys of Massachusett Troops arrived. I sent men to the several Posts to keep up the Communication, for forwarding Provisions. all the men I had of the New York Troops, I sent with Artillery Stores to Fort Stanwix. Capt M<sup>c</sup>Cartny arrived from Quebec by Boston.

21<sup>st</sup>. I gave Cap<sup>t</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Cartny orders to return to Boston, and to Convoy the Transports from thence to Louisbourg, to proceed with the Troops to Quebec, I sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Debbeig Engineer to Quebec, as he knows that part of the Country, and may be wanted as Major M<sup>c</sup>Keller is wounded. I made a little change in the Disposition of the Troops for the Campaign, by putting the four Companys of the Royal to the Corps, that is to act by Crown Point, these Companys with the four Independent Companys marched this day, and I ordered Monckton's Reg<sup>t</sup> to advance to Crown Point, Oughton's marched to Schenectady from whence Gages go to Oswego, and two Companys of Murray's from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix the whole taking up Provisions with them.

22<sup>d</sup>. two Sloops of the Rhode Islanders, and a Sloop with New York Troops arrived, sent the first to Half-moon and the last to Schenectady, to forward Provisions, encamped two Companys of the Massachusett's, the first of the Provincials that have encamped.

23<sup>d</sup>. more Rhode Island and Massachusett Troops arrived.



24<sup>th</sup>. sent Batteaüs and Provisions up the River.

25<sup>th</sup>. five hundred of the New York and Rhode Island Troops arrived. Sent Batteaüs and Provisions to Loudoun's Ferry, the Men to take the boats over the Carrying Place, and to proceed to Schenectady.

26<sup>th</sup>. received a Letter from Oswego, that three men out a fishing, were taken Prisoners, by a party of Indians, and sent to Oswegatchi. Some New York and New Jersey Troops arrived.

27<sup>th</sup>. As the Massachusett Troops arrived I sent them by small Party's forward to Crown Point.

28<sup>th</sup>. received a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. Monckton, that sending boats to Presque Isle, as I proposed, would take off all the difficultys he had to Encounter with, two Prisoners who escaped from Montreal reported that the French had raised the Siege of Quebec, and were retiring from thence with great losses.

29<sup>th</sup>. having now a Sufficient number of men to man the Whaleboats, I sent off Sixty for Oswego, Niagara, and Presque Isle, to bring the Relief of the Garrison of Niagara.

30<sup>th</sup>. Sent five Companys of Montgomerys to the little falls on the Mohawk River, to encamp there, and to relieve the Companys of Murrays in the Posts, that the Regiment might encamp at Fort Stanwix.

31<sup>st</sup>. Some of the Connecticut Troops arrived.

June 1<sup>st</sup>. Sent all the Massachusett and Rhode Island Troops that were arrived to Crown Point, leaving a detachment at Tionderoga, and Fort George, that they may do some good in working at these Posts till the remainder of the Provincials arrives, and that I can proceed from hence, and that the Troops may afterwards set out from Crown Point and Oswego, nearly at the same time.

Letters from England arrived by the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wall Packet, which came to New York on 29<sup>th</sup> May.

2<sup>nd</sup>. Some of the New Jersey Troops arrived.

3<sup>rd</sup>. Part of the Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts Troops arrived.

4<sup>th</sup>. An Officer arrived from Louisbourg, with a Letter from Governor Whitmore enclosing, Sir, some triplicates and Quadruplicates of dispatches from you, of which I have before acknowledged the Receipt of the Originals, there was likewise a Letter for Governor Whitmore which I transmitted to him, these dispatches came to Louisbourg in the Fame Man of War.

5<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Robertson and Captain Stobo arrived, some more Connecticut Troops came in this day.

6<sup>th</sup>. A continuance of rainy bad weather for some days, has made the Roads bad, which I ordered to be repaired.

7<sup>th</sup>. Part of the Connecticut Troops arrived.

8<sup>th</sup>. Sent more Troops forward to Crown Point.

9<sup>th</sup>. Ordered a detachment of the New York Troops to Oswego, forwarded the Artillery and hospital Stores both ways.

10<sup>th</sup>. received an Account from Major Rogers, that on the 3<sup>d</sup>. he landed some men in Mischiscoue bay on the East Side of the Lake, sent three men across the Country with a Letter from me to Governor Murray, and on the 4<sup>th</sup>. he landed himself with 200 men on the West side, that on the 6<sup>th</sup>. he engaged a Party of about 300 of the Enemy, within eight miles of the Isle au Noix, and beat them, but could not pursue them, he imagines he killed about fifty, but took only three Indian Scalps. On our side Capt Johnston of the Rangers was badly wounded and afterwards dyed, and Ensign Wood of Monckton's with seven men of the light Infantry of that Regiment and three Rangers were killed, and nine men wounded. this will alarm the Enemy greatly as they will take it to be the Advanced Party of the Army from Crown Point.

11<sup>th</sup>. Sent more New York Troops forward, received a Letter from S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson with Indian Intelligence that the French were returned from Quebec. Major Christie D.Q.M. General arrived from Boston having executed his Commission very well, the Transports sailed from thence on the 8<sup>th</sup>.

12<sup>th</sup>. Colonel Worcester of the Connecticut Troops arrived, said he feared their Quota which ought to be five thousand, would want two thousand of being compleat. this is owing to the Rumours of Peace, and I am apprehensive the Massachusetts will be very incomplete for the same reason.

13<sup>th</sup>. Employed the Troops as much as possible in forwarding every thing, that no time may be lost. Sent Colonel Haviland his Instructions with orders to Command the Troops, that are to assemble at Crown Point.

14<sup>th</sup>. Some of the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched to Crown Point.

15<sup>th</sup>. Some Companys of the Jersey and Connecticut Troops arrived.

16<sup>th</sup>. the 1<sup>st</sup>. Royal Highland Battalion marched down the Hudson's River and encamped at half-Moon.

17<sup>th</sup>. Some more Connecticut Troops arrived, sent batteaus and Whaleboats from Albany.

18<sup>th</sup>. received a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Governor Bull with a Letter from Colonel Montgomery of 24<sup>th</sup> May at Fort 96, he intended to march forward very soon to Fort Prince George.

19<sup>th</sup>. I set out for Schenectady, left B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage to compleat the Troops as they arrive, and to hasten every thing on, and to bring up the rear of the whole with the Second Royal Highland Battalion, this day the First Royal Highland Battalion marched into Schenectady, and Oughton's<sup>1</sup> set out for Oswego. A small Party of the Enemy's Indians has scalped one man and taken two Prisoners on the Upper part of the Mohawk River.

20<sup>th</sup>. Everything going on very well, nothing but the late arrival of the Troops, hinders their being assembled at Crown Point and Oswego, so soon as I could wish.

21<sup>st</sup>. At three o'clock this morning Lieutenants Sheriffe and Goddard of Lascelle's Reg<sup>t</sup>. arrived here from Montreal with Letters from Monsieur Le Marquis de Vaudreuil, and

<sup>1</sup> James Adolphus Oughton, Colonel of the 55th Regiment, July 20, 1759.

Monsieur de Levis, they left Montreal the 14<sup>th</sup>. June, and say the French abandoned the Siege of Quebec on the 18<sup>th</sup>. May, leaving all their Cannon behind, except the Field Pieces which they took on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Aprill, which they sent to Montreal, and that they retreated in a very great hurry. this has thrown the whole Colony into the utmost despair and will undoubtedly greatly facilitate the Operations of the Campaign, which I shall try to carry on to the best of my Abilities, and I do not in the least doubt but we shall have Success.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Vaudreuil has sent most of the Officers and Men, who were taken Prisoners on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Aprill, making in the whole ten Officers and one hundred and thirteen Men to be exchanged.

I sent you, Sir, a Copy of the Letters and my Answers, as likewise a List of the Prisoners who are returned, and as there are two Packet boats at New York, though I doubt not but Governor Murray will have immediately sent you an Account of this Event, I think it proper to dispatch one to acquaint you of what I have received.

L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Robertson delivered some orders and Instructions to me as Governor of Virginia dated at St. James's the 16<sup>th</sup>. day of November 1759. And at the same time Instructions to me as Governor, bearing the same date, both being under His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual :

by the Instructions the Kings Will and Pleasure is, that I shall not on any Pretence whatsoever go to Europe, without having first obtained leave for so doing, by His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual and Signet, or by the King's order in His Majesty's Privy Council.

I must now most humbly beg His Majesty's permission for my return to Europe, whenever a Peace is made, and when I passed through England to come to America, I then made a promise, that no Inducement whatsoever should keep me here willingly, so soon as the War was over.

I hope the great mark the King has been pleased to confer

on me, of His Majesty's most gracious Favor, in appointing me Governor of Virginia, will not be an Objection to my returning to England, if it is an Objection, I must beg to resign the Government, as I would not on any account fail of my word.

I enclose to you, Sir, all Papers that have passed which I imagine are of any moment, or may tend to give you any Information that you would chuse to have of the state of things in this Country as far as regards my Command.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble and  
most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup>. PITT.

Indorsed. Schenectady 21<sup>st</sup>. June

1760.

M: G: AMHERST

R<sup>d</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>. Augt.

PART VIII.—*Amherst's Journal from July 9, 1760, to August 26, 1760 (Amherst to Pitt, August 26, 1760: Public Record Office, as before).*

Camp at Fort William Augustus

26<sup>th</sup>. August 1760.

Sir,

I shall now give You an account of the progress of His Majesty's Troops under my immediate Command, since the date of the last Letter I did myself the Honor to write to you on the 21<sup>st</sup>. of June, from Schenectady.

On the 9<sup>th</sup>. of July I arrived at Oswego, and before any of the Regiments which I had sent from Albany could reach it,



two french Vessells had appeared off Oswego, on the 6<sup>th</sup>. I dispatched some Batteaus & Men to Captain Loring at Niagara, giving him Intelligence of the Vessells.

On the 12<sup>th</sup>. the french Vessells appeared off the Harbour, and as I expected the two Snows hourly from Niagara, I sent out some Batteaus towards that place, to induce the Enemy's Vessells to try to intercept them, but they stood towards Cataragui.

The 14<sup>th</sup>. in the Evening, our two Vessells appeared, I put everything on board that could be wanted, and ordered them away to the River St. Lawrence, in hopes of Cutting off the Enemies Vessells from their Harbour.

Our Vessells are the Onondaga & Mohawk, the first carrying four 9 pounders, 14 six pounders and 100 seamen—the other carrying sixteen 6 pounders and ninety seamen. They sailed in quest of the Enemy's Vessells, who appeared off Oswego again on the 20<sup>th</sup>. and with the precautions I had taken, in sending a detachment forward, and given Intelligence to Captain Loring, I was in hopes he could not have missed them, but they escaped him.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. Sir William Johnson arrived, with a great part of the Indians; the Troops came in daily from Albany

The 25<sup>th</sup>. I had the honor of receiving Your Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup>. April, by Captain Abercrombie, enclosing a Copy of the Orders, relative to Lord George Sackville; and in Obedience to His Majesty's Commands, I have given out the said Orders, to all the Troops in North America.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>., Abercromby's Regiment, with the detachment of Gages & New Yorkers, which I had sent to Presqu' Isle arrived.

The 1<sup>st</sup>. August, I received a Letter from Colonel Montgomery, with an Account of his Success, in attacking and beating the Cherokee Indians, and destroying their Towns, the greatest stroke the Indians have felt.

The 6<sup>th</sup>. in the Afternoon, Murray's Regiment arrived, and

the next morning, I detached Colonel Haldimand, with the Light Infantry of the Army, Grenadiers, and one Battalion of Royal Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the Lake, and assist the Vessells, in finding a passage to La Galette.

The 8<sup>th</sup>. & 9<sup>th</sup>. Schuylers Regiment arrived; and on the 10<sup>th</sup>. at daybreak, I ordered the whole Army to Embark; the preparing the Batteaus, was not quite Completed, so that I proceeded with the Regulars, and left Brigadier General Gage to bring up the Provincials and the Rear and, as the sixth Row Galley was not finished, I left it behind.

I Enclose to You, Sir, the Embarkation return, and the number of Whaleboats and Batteaus, with which I proceeded on the Lake, and altho' some were lost and staved, I had the good fortune to have only one Man drowned. The Night of the day I set out from Oswego, proved so very bad, that I was lucky in not losing many more Batteaus—Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gage left Oswego the next morning, and Joined me the third day.

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, I passed our two Vessells, that were got out of the right Channel, and could not get down, notwithstanding I had given the best Pilots I could procure. The same day I Joined Col: Haldimand's advanced Corps, and had Intelligence, by an Oswegatchie Indian, that one of the Enemies Vessells had run aground, and was so much damaged, she could not sail from the Fort; and that the other Vessell lay off La Galette—I determined not to wait for our Vessells, and fixed a Howitzer on board one Row Galley; the other four having twelve pounders to attack the Vessell with.

On the 16<sup>th</sup>. tho' I had made no halt from the time I had left Oswego, I thought proper from the report I had received, of the Situation of the Enemies ships, not to lose a moment, but proceed down the River to Swegatchie, and to attack their post at Isle Royale.

The Advanced Guard consisting of the Rangers, Gages, Light Infantry of Regiments and Grenadiers, with five Row

Galleys, under the Command of Colonel Grant: It was very late in the day when I reached the Point de Baril with the Advanced Guard, and I sent back to Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, to Land on the North shore, in case he could not reach the Point de Baril; Soon after, we discovered the french Vessell, and it was impossible not to push on to try to attack her, as it was ■ Calm: She fired her Signal Guns on seeing the Advanced Guard; Night came on so fast, that it was impracticable to attack her; and then, I ordered the Advanced Guard to row into the South shore; and the Army, late at Night, reached the Point de Baril.

The 17<sup>th</sup>. at daybreak the Enemy's Vessell made an attempt to sail up the River,—Colonel Williamson attacked her with the five Row Galleys; the wind became Calm, which favoured much; the Row Galleys could not do better than they did; they fired one hundred and eighteen rounds; the Vessell fired seventy two; had three men killed, twelve wounded and then Struck—A Serjeant of Artillery was killed on board one of the Row Galleys, and a New York Provincial lost his Leg. The Vessell had ten 12 pounders, with four Swivels and one hundred men Commanded by Monsieur La Broquerie—This day I took possession of Swegatchie, and Encamped there; and sent two Engineers, with parties, down the River, to view the Coasts and Situation of the Islands near L'Isle Royale.

On the 18<sup>th</sup>. at day break, the Advanced Guard was ready, but the Repairs of the Row Galleys and Vessell took up some time.

The Engineers did not return, till ten o'Clock in the Morning; it was Excessive bad weather, but I was determined to seize the first moment to invest the place; and as the Reports of the Engineers, made no alteration in the disposition I had made, I pursued it in the following manner.

I took with me, Gage's Reg<sup>t</sup>. three row Galleys, the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, first Brigade of Regulars, Schuyler's Regiment of Provincials, and the greatest part of the Indians with Sir William Johnson, and some Light field pieces, and

rowed down by the North shore, passed the Fort, and took possession of the Islands & Coasts below it; whilst two Companies of Rangers, two Row Gallies, the Second Brigade of Regulars, Lymans Regiment of Provincials, with the remainder of the Indians, under the Command of Colonel Haldimand, were to row down the South shore, to take post opposite to the Fort, where they were under Cover; the other Provincial Regiments and the heavy Artillery, remained at Swegatchie. The Vessell sailed down the Middle of the River, between the two Columns, to Anchor at Random Shot from the Fort. This was Effected with ■ smart Cannonading from the Fort, on the Troops, rowing along the North shore, and against the Vessell, which sunk one row Galley; killed two men in another row Galley; one man had his Thigh shot off, and seven were wounded. Several boats and Oars struck with their Shot—At Eleven at Night, the last boat came in, and the place was compleatly invested. Isle Gallot and L'Abbé Picquets Island were found abandoned; The Enemy having left them in a great hurry, as we found the Scalps they had taken on the Mohawk River, with Tools and Utensils of various kinds; two Swivels, Barrils of Pitch, and a quantity of Iron: Our Indians, on finding the Scalps, burnt the Chappel and all the Houses—In the night I tried to get up the Row Galley that was Sunk but could not Effect it.

On the 19<sup>th</sup>. at day break, I view'd the Islands with Colonel Williamson and Lieut. Colonel Eyre, and fixed the Batteries, one on each of the two Islands nearest the Fort; and one on a point of Land on the South shore—Detachments were immediately to open Ground—The Fort fired at the Vessell, which was returned; but I directed Lieut St Clair to whom I had given the Command of the Vessell to avoid firing rather than keep it up.

In the Afternoon, Our two Vessells appeared; I sent Orders to them, to Anchor at Random Shot from the Fort, and to avoid firing—At Night, I got the row Galley up, and saved the Gun, that was wounded but not rendered unservice-



able—prepared Fascines and everything for carrying on the Siege, and ordered the heavy Artillery to come down this night from Swegatchie

20<sup>th</sup>. I ordered the Provincial Regiments from Swegatchie, leaving one Regiment of the Connecticut Troops posted at that place.

23<sup>d</sup>. began to fire from all the Batteries; the Enemy drew in their Guns, and tried to put them under Cover: after some time firing, I made a disposition for storming the Fort, with the Grenadiers of the Army, and ordered the Vessells to fall down close on the Fort, having put as many Marks-men on board each ship, as the Commanding Officers chose to have, in order to keep the Enemy from their Batteries.

The going down of the Vessells to the Fort, was not Effected in the manner I could have wished, and I determined not to pursue my plan that day.

The Fort fired a great deal of Ammunition without much Execution; and our Batteries, by degrees, dismounted their Guns, and made them very shy of standing to their Batteries.

The fire of our Batteries continued till yesterday in the afternoon, when the Garrison beat a parley and I received a Letter from Mo<sup>r</sup>. Pouchot Command<sup>t</sup>, a Copy of which, Sir, I send You enclosed; and I sent him the terms of Capitulation Signed, that he might Copy it, Sign it, and send it back to me, after which Lieut Col Massey, with three Companies of Grenadiers, took possession of the Fort.

As I imagine, Sir, it may be agreeable to You, to know several particulars of our Passage on the Lake, the Siege of the Fort, and the apparent Situation of this Country; I send Captain Prescott, one of my Aides de Camp, with this, that he may give You a clear information, of anything You may chuse to know, and I enclose to You, all papers that I judge may tend to give You, a thorough insight into Affairs here.

I send You a List of the Artillery, Stores &c. that have been taken in the Fort, which I intend to have repaired, as I



think it by much the best situation I can take, for entirely Commanding Lake Ontario, and effectually Covering the Mohawk River, and all that part of His Majesty's dominions, from the Insults or Inroads of the Savages: And I beg leave to add my Assurances, that I shall make the utmost dispatch I can, in proceeding down the River St<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence, and prosecuting the Operations of the Campaign, according to His Majesty's gracious Intentions.

I am with the Utmost Respect, Sir,

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

Rt. Honb<sup>le</sup>

Mr. PITT.

Indorsed—Duplicate  
of M. G. Amherst's Dispatch to the  
R<sup>t</sup>. Honb<sup>le</sup> Mr. Secretary Pitt  
26<sup>th</sup>. August 1760.

R<sup>d</sup>. Octr. 5<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. BARRÉ.

PART IX.—*Amherst's Journal from August 26 to September 8, 1760 (Amherst to Pitt, September 8, 1760: Public Record Office, as before).*

Camp of Montreal

8<sup>th</sup>. Sep<sup>t</sup>. 1760.

Sir,

On the 26<sup>th</sup> August I did myself the honour of writing to you, by Captain Prescott, to give you an account of the Progress of His Majesty's Arms to that time, since which I have proceeded to this Place.

from the 26<sup>th</sup>. to 30<sup>th</sup>. I was employed in repairing

# EMBARKATION RETURN OF MAJOR-GENERAL AMHERST'S EXPEDITION DOWN THE ST. LAWRENCE, 1760.

(Enclosed in Amherst's letter to Pitt, August 26, 1760: Public Record Office, C.O. 5: 59, formerly A. & W. I. 94.)

## Embarkation Return of His Majesty's Forces under the Command of Major-General Amherst from the Camp at Fort Ontario 9th of August 1760.

Regulars.				Provincials.				Two Armed Snows.		Indians.		Total Numbers of the Army.			
Corps.		Commission Officers.	Non Comm <sup>d</sup> & File.	Total.	Corps.		Commission Officers.	Non Comm <sup>d</sup> & File.	Total.	Names.	Number of Men.	Names of the Different Nations.	Numbers.		
Royal Artillery	.	13	124	137	New York. Connecticut. New Jersey. Lyman. Whiting. Wooster. Fitch.	.	25	471	496	Onondago	100	Mohocks & Conajohares	120		
1 <sup>st</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> Royal Highlanders	.	30	462	492		{ Le Roux	.	30	567	597	Mohawk	90	Scohoraees & River Indians	41	
2 <sup>nd</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> Royal Highlanders	.	29	391	420		{ Woodhull	.	27	458	485			Oneidas	56	
Abercrombie's	.	27	599	626		.	.	26	496	522			Canaghserageys	20	
Murray's	.	25	499	524		.	.	44	594	638			Aughuagays & Chughnults	35	
Oughtons	.	23	505	528		.	.	45	549	594			Tuscaroras	30	
4 <sup>th</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> Royal Americans	.	31	439	470		.	.	45	538	583			Onondagas	116	
Montgomery's	.	33	506	539		.	.	45	519	564			Cayugas	115	
Gages	.	21	454	475		.	.						Toderighronos	11	
Grenadiers	.	24	568	592		.	.						Senecas & Chenessios	162	
Light Infantry	.	24	568	592											
Rangers	.	7	184	191											
				287					287	4192	4479			706	
				5299											
				5586											
													Total of Indians	.	706
													Crews of the Vessels	.	190
													Provincial Troops	.	4,479
													Regulars	.	5,586

JEFF. AMHERST.

some part of the Fort, mending batteaüs, and fitting out the Vessels, besides making such preparations, as I judged essentially necessary for the passage of the Army down the River.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>. I sat out, rowed twenty four miles, and encamped on Isle aü Chat, the Rapids were more frightfull than dangerous.

Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>. I passed the long Saüt, marched Covering Party's on the Shore, the boats were obliged to row in Single File and keep at some distance, this took up great time tho' the Current of the River was violent, the Rapids were full of broken waves, the Batteaüs took in water, a Corporal and three men of the Royal Highlanders were drowned, I encamped at Johnson's Point fourteen miles from Isle au Chat. I sent Partys forward on the Lake S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson went to an Indian Village, Asquesaskua, to assure them of protection on their good behaviour.

2<sup>nd</sup>. I rowed twenty four miles down Lake S<sup>t</sup>. Francis and encamped at Point aü Beaüdet, Monsieur La Corne with a party had been here and at the Indian Village. Very violent Rain and Wind came on at night, luckily our boats were in sheltered Coves.

3<sup>d</sup>. the bad Weather continuing the Army halted, a Scouting Party brought in a Prisoner from the Ceders.

4<sup>th</sup>. the Army was in their Boats soon after day break, the weather was favourable for passing the worse part of the River, but I am sorry to acquaint You, the Rapids were the occasion of eighty four men being drowned. We lost likewise twenty nine batteaüs of Regiments, seventeen of Artillery, with some Artillery and Stores, seventeen Whaleboats, one Row Galley were staved, the Guns with some Stores and Provisions will be saved. I encamped this night at Isle Perrot, about two miles from the River, with the Regulars, it was too late for the greatest part of the Artillery and the Provincials to proceed there, and they Encamped on the river side.

5<sup>th</sup>. the Inhabitants of the Island had all run into the Woods and abandoned their houses, some were taken and some came in, I had the Oath of Allegiance tendered to them, and I put them in quiet possession of their houses and they seemed as much surprised with their treatment as they were happy with it, the necessary repairs of Boats put it out of my Power to proceed this day. the remains of the Artillery and the Provincial Regiments Joyned me.

6<sup>th</sup>. the Army was in their boats soon after day break, I rowed in four Columns by the right, as I intended to land on my left, at La Chine on the Island of Montreal, about three leagues from my last Camp, the weather was favourable and I landed without Opposition, some flying party's run into Montreal after a few shots; to make the most of the day I could, I marched on, the Partys had broke up one bridge which was soon repaired, and after a march of two Leagues I formed the Troops on a Plain before Montreal where we lay the night on our Arms, and I got up two 12 Prs., five 6 Ps. & five 3 Prs. of light Artillery—I left the New York Troops and two Connecticut Regiments for the security of the Boats at La Chine.

7<sup>th</sup>. in the Morning two Officers came to an advanced Post with a Letter from the Marquis de Vaudreüil, referring me to what one of them, Le Colonel Bougainville, had to say. the conversation ended with a Cessation of Arms 'till twelve o'Clock, at which time the Proposals came. I returned mine and wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreüil, this was followed by another Letter from the Governour. I sent my Answer, I then received a Letter from Monsieur de Levis which I Answered. The troops lay on their Arms at Night, and soon after day I had a Letter from the Marquis de Vaudreüil, which I Answered, and sent Major Abercrombie into Town, to bring the Articles of Capitulation, signed by the Marquis de Vaudreüil, of which I have sent him a duplicate signed by me, and Colonel Haldimand with the Grenadiers and light Infantry

of the Army has taken Possession of a Post and will proceed to morrow in fulfilling the Articles of Capitulation. I thought it better from the number of Battalions to oblige them not to serve during the present War; than to incumber England with them as Prisoners of War, I shall do myself the honour of sending the Colours of the Battalions to you by the next occasion.

Governor Murray with the Troops from Quebec landed below the Town yesterday, and Colonel Haviland with his Corps (that took possession of the Isle aü Noix, which the Enemy abandoned on the 28<sup>th</sup>.) is this day arrived at the South shore opposite my Camp. I should not do Justice to Governor Murray and Colonel Haviland, if I did not assure you they have Executed the Orders I gave them to the utmost of my Wishes. I must likewise beg leave to say I am obliged to B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage for the Assistance he has given me, and I have taken the Liberty to give in publick orders, my assurances to the three Armys that I would take the first opportunity of acquainting the King, with the Zeal and bravery which has allways been exerted by the Officers and Soldiers of the Regular and Provincial Troops, as also by His Majesty's faithfull Indian Allies.

Sir William Johnson has taken unwearied Pains in keeping the Indians in humane bounds, and I have the Pleasure to assure you that not a Peasant, Woman or Child has been hurt by them, or a house burnt, since I entered what was the Enemy's Country.

A Compleat List of Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, Stores &c. in the Several Posts, as well as those of Montreal shall be made out, which I shall transmit to you, time does not permit this at present to be done.

I am to acknowledge the Honour of receiving on the 30<sup>th</sup>. August your Duplicate of the 14<sup>th</sup>. with your Letter of 20<sup>th</sup>. June; enclosing a Copy of Instructions to Lord Colvill of the 20<sup>th</sup>. June. the Assurances you have been pleased to



give of His Majesty's Approbation, on the Receipt of my several Dispatches, makes me very happy.

I shall now use my utmost Endeavours for Settling Every thing in this Country to keep a sure possession of it, and I shall immediately dispose of the Troops in such manner, that I may compleatly finish the Forts which were began last year, and as far as the Season will permit me, I shall repair or erect such Forts or Posts, as may be necessary, for strengthening and insuring the future command of the Lakes, with the possession of Every Part of the South side of the River St<sup>e</sup> Lawrence.

I enclose to You, Sir, a Copy of the Articles of Capitulation with Copys of all the Letters that have passed for your full information of the whole transaction.

I imagine there may be many particulars you may like to know in what has passed since I dispatched Captain Prescott, and I now send Major Barré with this, that you may receive all the intelligence I can give you of the apparent State of Every thing in this Country

I am with the Utmost Respect,

Sir

Your most Humble  
and most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup>. Honb<sup>le</sup>.

MR. PITT

Indorsed—

Camp at Montreal

8<sup>th</sup>. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1760.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Oct. 5

by Major BARRÉ.

## II

### TWO LETTERS FROM A FRENCH OFFICER OF THE GARRISON OF LOUISBOURG.

[These letters were published, as here reproduced, in the *London Magazine*, 1760, pp. 255-258, 294-296, 344-349. They are translations of Letters XXII. and XXIII. in *Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Politique du Cap Breton, depuis son établissement jusqu'à la reprise de cette Isle par les Anglois en 1758. A La Haye, chez Pierre Gosse, et se trouve à Londres, chez Jean Nourse, MDCCLX*. This work is attributed to Thomas Pichon (alias Thomas Signis Tyrrell), who was secretary to Count Raymond, Governor of Louisbourg from 1751 to 1753. He was then sent as Commissary of Stores to Fort Beauséjour, where he became acquainted with Captain Scott, and furnished him and other British Officers with information regarding the condition and movements of the French. When Beauséjour was captured he became nominally a prisoner. He resided at Pisiquid and Halifax till 1758, when he went to London, where he remained till his death in 1781.]

A Course of Genuine Letters, from a French Officer of the Garrison of Louisbourg to his Friend at Paris, have been lately translated and published here, in which, among other Subjects, there is a particular Account of our attacking and taking that place in 1758; and as this Account comes from a Frenchman, we are persuaded, many of our Readers will be glad to see it, therefore we have given it a Place in our Collection; for though the Author be but a shallow Politician, as every Frenchman must be, who has not divested himself of that phantastick Vanity, which is so peculiar to the whole Nation, and which may be of great Service in the Execution, but is extremely dangerous in the Formation of any enterprise, yet he appears to be

a good officer, and more impartial, with respect to this Nation, than Frenchmen are usually found to be. The Account is contained in the two following Letters, viz.

## LETTER XXII.

SIR,—I own myself not much affected with the loss of the battle of Rosbach, and the violation of the convention of Closter Seven. These two unhappy events would have fixed my attention at any other time; but it is natural to be more sensible of what immediately strikes us; for a misfortune of this kind absorbs every other consideration. From such a preamble you may judge, that we are actually besieged. Yes, Sir, nothing could be more unfortunate; and yet so it is; instead of that powerful squadron which puffed us up with pride last year, our whole defence against the enemy consists of five ships of war, a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, three hundred militia, and a fortification almost ruinous. Such was the situation in which the English found us. You will say, perhaps, that there could not be much glory, where there was so weak a defence. You are mistaken, for to our misfortune, though our weakness exposed us to the mercy of the enemy, it no ways diminished the lustre of their conquest. And, indeed, from the following exact and impartial narrative of the whole affair, you will easily see, that they have been possessed of uncommon bravery to surmount the first obstacles, for which we were indebted to nature; and which less impatience on our side might have rendered insuperable. And to our cost, we have experienced the truth of this maxim; that it is impossible to be too vigorous upon an attack, or too cautious upon a defence. But to the point.

The 28th of May, 1758, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, with sixteen thousand land forces on board, set out from Halifax, under the command of admiral Boscawen, and came to an anchor the 2d of June, in

Gabarus Bay. This armament concluded with a proportionable train of artillery, and a vast number of transports; and what rendered it more formidable, was the ardour with which the breasts of the English glowed, to wipe off the disgrace of the taking of Minorca.

As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, general Amherst, and the brigadier-generals Lawrence and Wolfe, went to reconnoitre the several parts of the north side of the bay, proper for landing, and pointed out three. Yet admiral Boscawen had two days before made an experiment, to see what number of men could be landed at the same time, and what conveniency there was for forming the troops as soon as they got ashore. He had likewise ordered the Royal William to cruize before Louisburg. These generals perceived that we had a chain of boats along the shore, from Cape Noire to Cape Blanc, protected by irregulars, and by batteries wherever a descent was practicable. As it was very difficult for us, with so inconsiderable a force, to guard so extensive a coast, we posted a greater number of men in such places as were of easier access. The creek of Cormoran was judged to be of that nature, and therefore we made several encampments along the shore. The first frigate that advanced, and fired upon us, was the Kingston. We returned the compliment from a battery of two pieces of cannon, and from our small arms. The surf having prevented the enemy three days from landing, it was at length resolved the 8th of June, when the sea was not so rough, to attempt a descent upon that very spot, after making a feint to land at Laurenbec. At midnight admiral Boscawen sent all the boats, with the necessary complement of officers, to land the troops. The order of landing was in three divisions; and at the same time, the Sutherland, Kingston, and Halifax, &c. were directed to support the disembarking with a brisk fire. The Sutherland and Squirrel were to the right, just by Cape Blanc; the Kingston and Halifax to the left, near Creek Cormoran; the Grammont, with the frigates Diana and Shannon, was in the

center. In the mean time, general Wolfe had received orders to send the light troops, and try whether they could not land upon some rocky parts that had always been judged inaccessible, and of course had been left unguarded. Accordingly he sent a hundred men, who were immediately killed or dispersed by the savages, and by some of our people, who flew to that part upon hearing the report of fire arms. About four o'clock in the morning, the enemy tried to land to the left of the creek of Cormoran, with six hundred light troops, a whole battalion of highlanders, and four companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Wolfe. In the mean while, general Whitmore pretended to land to the right of Cape Blanc; and general Lawrence, who commanded the center, made a like feint at the soft water creek. Their intent was to divide our attention; and this was a very proper step for that purpose, considering the smallness of our numbers: But we soon found out the main design of the enemy, when we saw that general Wolfe began to land his men at the creek of Cormoran. Yet nothing ought to have inspired us with a greater confidence than such an attempt: For this being, as I before observed, the weakest part, we had thrown up such entrenchments, that it was impossible for an enemy to land there with any success. We had two thousand regular troops drawn on the shore, and several savages posted in different parts. We were behind a good parapet, defended by several pieces of cannon within proper distances, and by stone mortars of a considerable bore; the whole covered by felled trees, which were laid so close, that it would have been very difficult to pierce through them, even if they had not been defended by our troops under shelter. And as our batteries were masked by this palisade, so that at a distance the whole must have appeared to the enemy like a smooth field; we might have rendered this circumstance of the greatest service to us. We had even absolutely depended upon it, which was the reason of our not being so much alarmed at the weak condition of the town. For what did it



signify to us, whether it was fortified or not, if we could hinder the enemy from landing? In so advantageous a position, on which our whole safety depended, we might have acted a much better part than that of keeping merely upon the defensive; and this would have been the case were it not for an imprudent step, for which we cannot condemn ourselves too much. As the enemy would naturally march up to us, in expectation of finding only a few paltry entrenchments, which they could easily force, it was our business to let them continue in this error, till they had all landed. Then we should have saluted them with our batteries and small arms; and in all probability, every man of them would have been either killed, or drowned in reembarking in a hurry: And so great a loss would, perhaps, have disheartened the enemy to such a degree, that they would never make another attempt. But wherever success depends on command of temper, the French stand but an indifferent chance; as it appeared unfortunately on this occasion. Scarce had the enemy made a movement to draw near the shore, when we shewed ourselves in a hurry to discover the snare, into which they must have inevitably fallen. By our firing upon their boats, they perceived our disposition; nay, we were so precipitate as to unmask it ourselves, by removing the boughs out of their places, whereby we unluckily convinced them of their great danger. Immediately they put back, and the loss they sustained on this occasion, instead of disheartening them, only served to redouble their ardour. They now thought no place so proper for landing, as that which we judged inaccessible. Major Scot, upon this occasion, performed a most gallant action. General Wolfe, who at that time was busy in reembarking the troops, and putting off the boats, ordered him to climb up the rocks, where they had already sent a hundred men. The major went thither with the troops under his command; but his own boat arriving before the rest, and being staved to pieces the instant he landed, he climbed up the rock by himself. He was in hopes

that the hundred men who had been sent before him, were engaged by this time with our people; but seeing no more than ten, he resolved with this small number to get a-top of the rocks. There he found ten savages, and threescore French, who killed two of his men, and wounded three. Still this brave Englishman would not, even in this extremity, abandon a post, on which the success of the whole enterprize depended. He desired the five soldiers remaining not to be dismayed; and even went so far, as to threaten he would fire upon the first man that would flinch. In the mean time, he had three balls lodged in his clothes, and would have had all the seventy Frenchmen upon him at once, were it not for a copse that was between them, and through which he fired a few shot. At length this hero (for I cannot help doing justice to his valour) was seconded by the rest of the English troops, who perceiving there was no other way to succeed, determined to run all risks in order to carry this point.

It is the interest of the conquered not to diminish the glory of the victor; and besides, it is our duty to do justice, even to our mortal enemy: For which reason I confess, that the English on this occasion behaved with such valour, as before the event must have appeared temerity. Yet it must be allowed, that at the same time the difficulty of the enterprize does them infinite honour, it saves ours. Who could have foreseen that they would venture to climb up rocks, till then reckoned inaccessible; that notwithstanding their boats were every instant dashed in pieces, and notwithstanding the surf which drove them back, and drowned great numbers, still they persisted, with their clothes all wet, and their spirits almost exhausted, to mount the rock, in defiance of our batteries, from whence we plyed them most vigorously, as soon as we perceived their design?

The surprize we were thrown into by the boldness of this attempt, contributed greatly to its success; so that when the enemy attacked the battery which took them in flank, they

carried it with ease. Besides, it is very certain that notwithstanding we might have hindered their descent with a little more prudence and circumspection; yet neither one nor the other, nor even the most heroic bravery would have availed us, when once they had effected their descent. The best thing therefore we could do, was to retire, which we did the more precipitately, as we were informed that general Whitmore, in the confusion we were under, had landed to the right of Cape Blanc. We had great reason to be afraid that he would cut us off from Louisburg, where we had left only three hundred men; for in that case all would have been over with us. Though our loss, on that fatal day, amounted to about two hundred men killed and taken prisoners; and though our town was in so bad a state of defence, still we did not despond. We had reason to expect we should not be deserted; and that M. de Montcalm, as we had been promised, would come with a squadron to our assistance.

Besides so well-grounded an expectation, the council of war considered, that by retarding, as much as possible, the reduction of the place (upon a supposition that no succours at all arrived) we should retard also the expedition of the enemy against Canada, and even render their design abortive, at least for this year. For this reason we detained five French men of war in the road, though the commodore had asked leave to retire; and we prepared to render our defence at least of some service to our country, if it could be none to ourselves. Besides this resolution, we prayed heartily that the enemy would shew less conduct and bravery in their other enterprizes: So greatly was our tone altered since the misfortune and retreat of admiral Holburne.

In the mean while, we had left the enemy in possession of some provisions, and arms, and fourteen pieces of cannon, with twelve stone mortars, and two fourneaus for red-hot balls, one of which was ready charged. As our flight could not be effected the directest way, and a great many of us were obliged

to make our escape over rocks and morasses, we did not get under the cannon of Louisburg, till ten o'clock in the morning. And then we ended this affair, in the same unlucky manner as we began it, with an act of imprudence. By a discharge from our ramparts, the enemy were apprized of the reach of our batteries, when we might very easily have foreseen, that they were at too great a distance to receive any detriment. Thus we regulated the situation of their camp, which accordingly they kept during the whole siege.

Sir Charles Hardy, who was cruizing at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent our receiving any succours, could not hinder a French man of war from passing through his squadron by the help of a thick fog. In vain did admiral Boscawen order this vessel to be chased; it got safe into Louisbourg road; so that we had now six ships of the line, and as many frigates. After the junction of Sir Charles Hardy's squadron to that of admiral Boscawen, occasioned by a sickness on board the fleet, the *Echo*, one of our frigates, ventured to put to sea. She was to sail to Canada, and to run all hazards, in order to apply for speedy assistance: But she was stopped short in her voyage. Admiral Boscawen ordered the *Scarborough* and the *Juno* to give chase to her, and she was taken. In the mean time, some of the enemy's ships had advanced as far as *Loirebec*, with fascines, ammunition, and artillery. The ninth day after the enemy's landing, they pitched their camp within about three hundred fathoms of Louisbourg. They had likewise posted some troops in the creek of *Cormoran*, and other adjacent parts, in order to prevent the incursions of the savages. There was also another detachment to secure the communication between the camp and the sea side. The eleven hundred men, under the command of major Scot, with three hundred irregulars, were continually beating the rounds, in order to prevent any surprize from the savages or Canadians, whom we expected to come to our assistance.

All these precautions, however, did not hinder four hundred



of the regiment of Cambise, from throwing themselves into the town, after landing at Port Dauphin, nor the men of war that brought them, from getting safe back. In the mean time, Sir Charles Hardy returned to his former station, with a view to block up the harbour, lest our ships of war should take the opportunity of a fog to make their escape.

The 11th, whilst the enemy were employed in cutting through rocks and in draining morasses, in order to open the necessary passages through the camp; and while our men were endeavouring to repair the fortifications; a sergeant-major, and four soldiers of Fischer's regiment of foreign volunteers, deserted to the English. No doubt but they encouraged the enemy's workmen, by letting them know our situation, our incapacity of bettering it, and the great despondency of the garrison, who were ready to desert. They likewise told them, that we had destroyed the great battery, together with that of the light-house, and every thing that we could possibly destroy around the town.

Upon this intelligence, major Scot was commanded the next day to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and to make himself master of the light-house battery. He was followed by brigadier-general Wolfe, who had under him four companies of grenadiers, and twelve hundred men detached from the lines. They found that the deserters had informed them right, and that we had left only four cannon, and those nailed up. The situation of this post being extremely advantageous to the enemy, as they might easily annoy our ships from thence, and throw bombs upon the island battery, they sent away immediately for a sufficient quantity of artillery and machines. But the impossibility of maintaining this post obliged us to abandon it; for it was more than we could do to guard the batteries and ramparts of the town. Not far from hence there was a little creek, very convenient for landing of provisions and artillery, or any other necessaries; and to complete their good fortune, on that very same spot they



found, in two small camps which we had abandoned, all sorts of provisions, and among the rest, some Lorembec fish and very good wine. True it is, that we had not any reason to be sorry for this last capture. For we had no scarcity at all; nay we could have wished that we had mouths enough to consume our provisions. This plenty was the cause of great waste; and the soldiers were so used to profusion, that they would neither work, nor go upon a sally, unless they were half drunk. A person must have been witness to the indulgences, which a commander is obliged to shew to disheartened troops, when there is no longer a possibility of concealing from them, either their own weakness, or the superiority of the enemy; before he can be a judge of the situation we were now reduced to. Honour and glory are the incentives of gentlemen; but as for the common people, when the bounds of fear are once broke through, we must substitute those of interest and condescension, though even these do frequently prove insufficient and dangerous to officers who are obliged to have recourse to such an extremity.

As there was a possibility of landing in those places where the English took post, we had erected parapets and palisades in the same manner as at the creek of Cormoran, but had not time to destroy those defences. The English, however, knew how to apply them to a proper use. Early the next morning, in order to divert the enemy from their works, we sent out a party, who made a feint as if they intended to advance towards general Wolfe: But this officer having received the alarm, by a messenger from major Ross, who commanded a detached guard betwixt the camp and town, our men immediately retired, after making a shew as if they had no other intention than to burn a few paltry houses. We could not spare to lose many of our men, and yet we should have been glad to retard the enemy's works. At length we resolved to trust something to fortune, when we saw them all hard at work in their great camp, and that they had already raised three redoubts

between the right and left of the eminence where they were posted. For which reason three hundred of our men made a sally in open day upon their advanced parties, but were repulsed with loss.

Nothing now remained, but to annoy the light-house camp as much as possible from the island battery, which we did with success, till the English judged proper to remove their line to a position out of our reach. True it is, that they acted on this occasion like men of spirit, for their grenadiers continued on this dangerous spot till the next day.

This same 14th we feigned another attack on the right side of major Ross; or rather we should have really attempted it, if a body of troops, much superior to ours, had not come up to his assistance. We towed afterwards a shallop to the mouth of the harbour; and mounted two twenty-four pounders upon it, with a view of annoying Mr. Wolfe's new camp, which was situated near the shore. This shallop cast anchor near the island battery, and after firing her guns for some time, returned to her former situation in the harbour. This operation she renewed several times, which caused more uneasiness than real damage to the enemy. She likewise played upon the two men of war that had drawn near to observe us; but as they returned the fire, six of her men were killed: Yet the enemy did not venture to pursue her, because she was covered with ten forty-two pounders on the island battery.

Notwithstanding all we could do, from the 14th to the 19th, we had the mortification to see the entrenchments round both the camps of the enemy completed; neither was it in our power to hinder the transporting of the several implements and utensils destined for the siege. It was about this time that the frigate *Echo*, which I mentioned to you before, was taken; and that Sir Charles Hardy's squadron returned to the position, which it had quitted in order to join the admiral.

Yesterday, the 19th, towards evening, the enemy in the light-house camp opened a battery of cannon and mortars,

which played very briskly upon the island battery, and upon the ships till morning. We answered them with the same vivacity, but not with the same advantage, because the situation of the enemy, upon an eminence, hindered us from doing them any great harm; and besides, they have a good shelter behind the precipices and high grounds. In short, this very morning the light-house battery continued to thunder upon our ships with such fury, that they were obliged to draw six hundred yards nearer the town, which indeed keeps them a little more out of cannon-shot, but at the same time leaves more room for the enemy to approach, and makes it less inconvenient to advance their works, which the fire from our ships had greatly obstructed.

I am very sensible, that upon the receipt of this letter, which I am going to send you by the *Arethusa*, a frigate just ready to sail, you will be under the greatest inquietude: Yet what would you say of me, were I to neglect this opportunity of acquainting you with our misfortune? Doubtless you would receive the news from others, and would be disobliged with me for leaving you in such an uncertainty in regard to our fate. I promise to continue a faithful narrative of the siege: If the town is taken by storm, this account perhaps will never reach you; but as a good citizen, more than as a soldier, I hope we shall capitulate, when we are no longer able to defend ourselves. In all probability, I shall see you very soon after my next, if I do not bring it myself. In the mean time you will allow, that I was not so much mistaken in predicting and lamenting what has happened; and I had reason to say, that your fatal war on the continent would prove the ruin of this valuable and flourishing colony. What an immense sum it will cost to restore it to its former condition, supposing that the English, who are but too well acquainted with the value of it, should consent to part with it again, or that we should be able to compel them! What an infatuation, that we should thus neglect a settlement, the preservation of which was of the

utmost importance to us; and to neglect it for paltry concerns, no way interesting to us, and in which we are very likely to be duped! Adieu; I should never have done, were I to give a full scope to my lamentations: I shall be imitated in Europe, when it is too late.

I am, &c.

#### LETTER XXIII.

*The Siege of Louisbourg continued. Resistance of the Garrison, who are at length obliged to capitulate. Treatment of them and the Inhabitants, &c.*

SIR,—You will not receive my last letter so early as I imagined; neither shall I follow this so soon as I could have wished. The *Arethusa* tarried here 15 days longer than I expected; but, as she only waited for a favourable opportunity, and was every minute ready to sail, I have not been able to add to my former accounts the operations that have been carried on during that time. Since this colony has fallen under the dominion of the English, my ailments, and the inquietudes inseparable from our dismal situation, have prevented my embarking for France. Very likely I shall stay here some time longer, thanks to the humanity of our conquerors; and, in truth, nothing but their valour can equal their generosity. But my narrative and encomiums shall keep pace together: Therefore let us continue to recount the effects of that virtue for which we have paid so dear; and we shall afterwards come to the other, of which every one of us ought to preserve the most grateful remembrance. I left off, if I am not mistaken, at the recital of a situation which had revived my expressions of sorrow; and you will now be able to judge whether they were just or not.

The 21st of June, our ships made a most terrible peal upon the light-house battery, which was said to have been



somewhat damaged. We fired against the enemy from all sides, as far as our strength, or the showers of bombs, would permit. All the next day there was a very thick fog, of which the enemy availed themselves, to erect an advanced redoubt betwixt the center of the grand camp and that to the right. By this step it became easier for them to get possession of an eminence, which commanded the part of the camp towards the town, at the distance of about 800 yards from the glacis. They likewise erected a battery of six cannon at the light house, in order to silence the island battery, by which they were greatly incommoded. They erected another against our ships; and, last of all, they made an epaulement to facilitate their approaches to the town by the eminence. This work was about a quarter of a mile in length, sixty feet wide, and nine deep, consisting of gabions, fascines, and earth. Four days were spent in these preparations, and the 25th we experienced their effect. One of the embrasures of the island-battery was damaged, so that we could only make use of bombs. This defect was supplied, as much as possible, by our battery of Cape Maurepas, and by the cannon of our ships.

The 26th we resolved to set fire to the enemy's new fort; but those who attempted it were repulsed without effecting their design.

The 27th, perceiving that the enemy was continually advancing, we redoubled our fire without being able to interrupt the workmen; on the contrary, we ourselves were terribly incommoded by the enemy's bombs. Besides, the admiral, extending his vigilance to every part, caused 400 soldiers to be landed in the creek of Cormoran; a precaution of great use to the besiegers.

Two days after, we sunk two frigates and two ships in the narrowest part of the mouth of the harbour, and fastened them together, to the end that, if the enemy's ships should attempt to force their way through, there might not be room for above one at a time. During this operation, our frigate



Arethusa ventured out as far as she could; and her guns extremely incommoded the enemy's workmen. The English returned the fire with the same vivacity; and being impatient to make their approaches, they used all their endeavours to drive our ships back. Matters were thus pretty uniform on both sides during the space of four days.

The 1st of July a detachment of our people sallied out of the wood, and advanced about a mile beyond the pond, upon which, Mr. Wolfe went to meet them with 5 or 600 regulars. There was a very brisk skirmish; but at length our men were obliged to retire. This they did in good order, firing all the time upon the enemy, who gained nevertheless two very advantageous eminences, on which they immediately threw up a redoubt. On our side we sunk two frigates more, and left their masts standing above water. The following days the enemy formed their lines, and their light troops defended themselves against the savages, who hovered about the camp in order to pick up any stragglers.

There is no manner of doubt, but, notwithstanding the advantages the English had over us, in the valour and ability of their general officers, they were sensible of the arduousness of their enterprize. For our part, the length of our defence had surpassed our expectation; and we could not help sighing when we considered that it would have been impossible for the enemy to succeed, had we been but upon an equal footing.

Yet, as we were determined not to surrender till the last extremity, we made a sally, the 8th, upon a detachment of workmen commanded by brigadier-general Lawrence. We surprized them by the help of a very dark night: But what could 900 men do against the whole vanguard of the enemy, who immediately flew to the assistance of the sappers? We had two captains and a few soldiers killed. The day following we sent a flag of truce, to beg leave to bury the dead.

The 10th, the admiral set 200 miners to work. In the mean while, we fired chain-shot at them, and made as much

noise as possible. The *Arethusa* employed the time she was hindered from sailing, in such a manner, as made us amends for this involuntary delay. The night of the 11th, we perceived a great fire in the woods; and, as it was a signal of the approach of M. des Herbiers with a reinforcement of Canadians and savages, we began to pluck up our spirits. Besides, we knew that, as M. des Herbiers piqued himself more for his bravery than for his humanity, there was no doubt of his harrassing the enemy as much as possible, with the troops which he would keep hovering about their camp, after he had reinforced the garrison. This same officer had the good fortune to snap up an English soldier that was driving a cart; and being apprized, by this fellow, of the situation of the enemy's camp, he immediately let us know it, to the end that we might point our batteries accordingly.

The 15th, a thick fog arising, the *Arethusa* embraced the opportunity to slip away in the night; and, tho' the enemy used all possible expedition in giving chase to this ship, she got clear off. Yet I am of opinion, that her departure gave more pleasure to the English than to us.

The 16th, Mr. Wolfe made himself master of the post occupied by our piquets, situated within 400 yards of the West gate; and there he maintained himself in spite of all our fire from our cannon and bombs. A deserter from the camp having informed us where the enemy's magazines lay, we directed our shells in such a manner, as to alarm them greatly. The ensuing days their approaches towards the town were carried on with success, as were also the new batteries, one of which began to play very briskly on the Dauphin bastion, and the West gate.

The 21st proved fatal to us: Our ship the *Entreprenant*, of 64 guns, having been set on fire by a cannon shot from the enemy, blew up in the middle of the harbour; and in its fall the fire spread itself to two more ships, the *Celebre* and the *Capricieux*, which were both burnt. The other vessels escaped

with very great difficulty and risque, being obliged to pass between the enemy's battery and the cannon of the ships on fire, which played upon us as well as upon them. Several of our small craft were burnt; in short, it was a night of horror and desolation. The Prudent and the Bienfaisant, of 64 guns, which had escaped this time, soon after fell a prey to the enemy.

Admiral Boscawen had given orders for each ship under his command to get ready two boats, two pinnaces, and a barge, armed with musquets, bayonets, cutlasses, hatchets, and pistols. These, under the command of the captains La Forey and Balfour, entered the harbour in great silence, on a very dark night. As our batteries and ramparts had been very much damaged these three days, and as the fire of the enemy's small-arms made it almost impracticable for us to maintain ourselves on those same ramparts which we were endeavouring to repair; and, lastly, as a breach had been already made in the Dauphin bastion and the West gate; we did not want for work. Besides, we had seen the besiegers bring ladders to the trenches; and, as we apprehended a scalade every moment, we kept continually firing our small-arms on the ramparts, while the enemy plied us in the same manner without intermission. It is not, therefore, at all surprizing, that, in such confusion and alarm, we did not perceive the boats, which, as I mentioned to you before, slipped into the harbour. Their aim was against the two only ships we had left; and they succeeded. Captain La Forey attacked the Prudent, and captain Balfour, the Bienfaisant. The report of the guns made us sensible of our fresh misfortune; but it was too late. In vain did we direct every battery, that was still in a condition to play, against the enemy's boats: We could not hinder the Bienfaisant from being towed close by our walls into the North-East harbour, under the protection of the enemy's batteries; nor the Prudent, which was a-ground, from being set on fire.

I must confess, Sir, that this action did as much honour to the English, as damage to us: And, indeed, so long as our ships remained in the harbour, it would have been difficult for them to make a general assault. Here then was our *coup de grace*. Of this we were convinced, the next day, by the shocking spectacle before us. We were under the greatest concern to see our harbour desolated, and laid waste: It was covered with the wrecks, as well of those ships that had been burnt, as of those which either we or our enemy had sunk. When we turned our eyes to view the situation of the town, our affliction was heightened. Our batteries were almost ruined; not above twelve pieces of cannon were in a condition to fire; a breach had been rendered practicable; our numbers were greatly reduced; and the redoubling of the enemy's fire had nearly destroyed us. Add to this, no ways and means to repair our losses; no appearance of relief; nay, we had seen the enemy, a few days before, seize on two Spanish vessels that were bringing us succours.

In so melancholy a situation, there was nothing left but to capitulate; so that we suspended our fire, and sent to demand a truce, in order to regulate the articles of surrender. We insisted upon terms far more honourable, and more advantageous, than we had a right to expect; and, in case of a refusal, we were resolved to hold out to the last. The officer charged with the proposals of our commandant, M. de Drucourt, returned with the following letter from general Amherst.

"In answer to the proposal received on the part of your excellency, I have nothing further to say, than that his excellency admiral Boscowen and I have determined, that our men of war shall enter the harbour to-morrow, in order to make a general assault. Your excellency knows full well the situation of the army and fleet, as well as of the town; but, as admiral Boscowen and myself are both desirous of avoiding any further effusion of blood, we give your excellency an hour to determine on the only capitulation we are willing to grant, which



is, to surrender yourselves prisoners of war; otherwise, your excellency must be answerable for all the fatal consequences of so useless a defence."

M. de Drucourt, being extremely exasperated at these hard terms, resolved, in a council of war, to defend the town to the last extremity. In consequence of this resolution, he was going to send an answer to the enemy, intimating that he would wait for a general assault; when the commissary, M. Prevost, came and presented a petition to him in behalf of the inhabitants. During this interval an officer had been sent back to Messrs. Boscawen and Amherst, in order to obtain more favourable conditions: But, as they persisted in the same answer, nothing further remained but to comply immediately, either with the desire of the officers of the garrison, who were ready to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, or with the petition of the commissary, which, without all manner of doubt, was the most prudent step that could be taken, under our present situation. He laid a very great stress, not upon the inutility of the defence, for that was visible; but on the duty of a good citizen in preserving a colony, the ruin of which must be attended with that of all the French possessions in North America. He observed further, that the councils which M. de Drucourt had hitherto called, consisted only of military gentlemen, whose deliberations were entirely directed by the glory of the king's arms, and their own honour; but that these considerations, though of as great weight with himself as with any man whatever, ought to give way to the publick welfare, for which he thought they were accountable; in short, that, in their present condition, the most heroick valour could be regarded only as an act of desperation.

So solid did these arguments appear, that there was no answering them; so that M. de Drucourt acquiesced, and submitted to the law of the conqueror. The capitulation was soon drawn up, and the articles were as follow.



“First, the garrison of Louisbourg shall surrender themselves prisoners of war, and be transported to England on board of vessels belonging to his Britannick majesty.

Secondly, all the artillery, ammunition, as well as arms, of what kind soever, at present in the town and islands of Cape Breton and St. John, shall be consigned into the hands of commissaries appointed for that purpose, in order to be delivered up to his Britannick majesty.

Thirdly, the governor shall give orders to the troops in the island of St. John, to surrender to such ships of war as the admiral shall please to send to take them on board.

Fourthly, the gate called Dauphin shall be opened to his Britannick majesty's troops by ten o'clock to-morrow morning; and the garrison, as well as those who have borne arms, shall be drawn up to-morrow upon the esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, and military accoutrements; after which they shall go on board those vessels which are to transport them to England.

Fifthly, the same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, as of the subjects of his Britannick majesty.

Sixthly, the merchants and their clerks, that have not borne arms, shall be sent to France on board such vessels as the admiral shall judge proper to appoint.”

This capitulation was made the 26th of July, and, of course, after a bloody siege of two months, which we could never have maintained for so long a time had it not been for those four ships of war which we were unfortunately obliged to sacrifice.

The day following, at the hour agreed to, major Farquhar took possession of the gate Dauphin at the head of three companies of grenadiers. By noon general Whitmore, who had so greatly contributed to the taking of the place, had the honour, due to him, of receiving the submission of the garrison on the esplanade. He then caused the arms and colours to be

carried off, ordered corps de gardes and centinels, and, in short, acted as governor of Louisbourg.

We had only one misfortune more to apprehend; though, perhaps, this gave no great uneasiness to those silly fools (and many such there were amongst us) who never troubled their heads, either about what is past, or to come; for would you imagine how our officers were employed during the heat of the siege? When they were not upon duty, they assembled together, and gamed so very high, that, to see them, one would have thought they were certain of the future inutility of their money. Perhaps it was a mark of courage: I should say so if a tranquility during the moment of destruction merited that name; but I am very far from being of this opinion. I could not help censuring the folly of those bold gamesters, whom a single bomb, out of a thousand that fell every day, might have crushed to pieces in the midst of so laudable an occupation. You will tell me, perhaps, that I am going to turn preacher. Not I, indeed: At least, I shall give no lecture of morality; but, as to an elogium on our conquerors, I hope you will indulge me in it: Both justice and gratitude demand it of our hands; and therefore I have only to return to the subject which preceded this digression.

Yes, Sir, we had one misfortune more to apprehend, viz. that our enemies should, on the present occasion, copy after our example. They had not forgot the extraordinary barbarities and cruelties which we had suffered the savages to practise upon them, after the taking of Oswego, and Fort Henry-William, which had surrendered, nevertheless, upon a more advantageous capitulation than that which we had but just concluded. There had not been time enough to efface the memory of that action; and the continuation of the war had kept up the spirit of just resentment. Besides, though we were conquered, we frequently let fall some expressions that shewed our animosity, and were far from soothing exasperated minds. The evening before the English took

possession of the town, we suffered the soldiers to plunder the magazines; and the priests spent the whole night in marrying all the girls of the place to the first that would have them, for fear they should fall into the hands of hereticks. Besides, the exhausted state of the military chest had raised a suspicion which was likely to create more ill blood; but, notwithstanding all these circumstances, the probity, honour, and humanity, of the English chiefs, prevailed. Messieurs Boscawen and Amherst, after acting with that spirit of harmony which is so uncommon in joint commanders, and redounds so greatly to their honour, and after conducting this enterprize with equal valour and ability, shewed themselves possessed of those virtues that form the man of honour, as much as of those that distinguish the hero.

The vigilance of the admiral during the whole time of the siege; his application in search of the proper means to bring it to a happy issue, his judgment in the choice of those means, as appeared most evidently in executing the scheme against our two men of war; his activity, which was not satisfied with the business of the fleet committed to his care, but induced him to come every day to the camp, in order to concert matters with general Amherst; these are objects which the English will never lose sight of, and which, undoubtedly, must command the perpetual gratitude of his country. Our acknowledgment is also due to him upon a very just title, though of a different kind; and our esteem is a tribute which he most richly deserves on both accounts.

To be brief, Sir, no body here can perceive, at least by any personal inconveniency, that we are in a conquered town. The garrison has embarked with as much tranquillity, as if it had been going upon a voyage of pleasure. Every soldier has taken away whatever belonged to him, without suffering the least injustice. M. de Drucourt has received all the honours which a person of his rank deserved. The admiral has shewn all the respects to Madame de Drucourt, as were due to her

merit: Every favour she ask'd was granted. True it is, that such behaviour does honour to the discernment of the gentlemen that shewed it. This lady has performed such exploits, during the siege, as must entitle her to rank among the most illustrious of her sex; for she fired three cannon every day, in order to animate the gunners. After the surrender of the town, she interested herself in behalf of all the unfortunate people that had recourse to her mediation. In this number, M. Maillet de Grandville was a striking instance of the instability of fortune. He left France at the age of 17, and arrived at Quebeck in very indifferent circumstances: But, by his industry and application to business, he soon advanced himself in the world, so as to be able to purchase the lordship of Mount Louis, which cost him fourscore thousand livres: But now, by the Taking of Louisburg, he loses upwards of 150,000, and is left quite destitute with a numerous family. Yet what have these private losses, you will say, to do with our country in general? A great deal, I assure you; though the persons entrusted with the reins of government, seem to act as if these were matters of no concern at all. Do you imagine that there will be such numbers, henceforward, so ready to quit their country, and to spend their days in incessant toil, when they might pass them agreeably at home, if they find that they are to be stripped of the fruit of all their labour, by a most shameful neglect of our colonies? But this revives my old lamentations; and, in all probability, you have had enough of that strain already in France. Nothing, therefore, remains, but to let you know, that I purpose very soon to have the pleasure of embracing you, if my departure, which depends on my state of health, should be so near at hand as I expect: Yet I fancy you will have another letter before that time. I have contracted a particular intimacy with an Englishman of extraordinary good sense, with whom I have been several times in company. I purpose giving you an account of our conversation; and I fancy you will not be displeased to

hear what our enemies think in regard to the importance of their conquest; and you will be able thereby to form a better judgment of the reasons we had to be so strenuous, both for the defence, and recovery, of that fortress. But I shall conclude with giving you a commission, which, I fancy, will be extremely agreeable to your disposition: This is, to tell our merchants, that the enemy have done no injury or violence here at all to people in trade, but have suffered them to dispose of their effects in what manner they pleased; to let our officers know, that the gentlemen of the army have been treated with all the respect and moderation imaginable; to acquaint the common people, that the most humane usage has been shewn to persons of their condition; and, lastly, to apprize all our countrymen in general, that, if this reverse of fortune should increase their natural antipathy against the English, it furnishes us with another motive to endeavour to get out of their debt; and therefore we ought to embrace the first opportunity of making them a proper return, not so much for the loss we have sustained, as for their humane behaviour to our people. I think, and doubtless you will think so too, that such ought to be the wishes, and such the conduct, of a generous mind.

Your most, &c.



### III

#### LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED DURING THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758.

[Based on Amherst's Return: see *London Magazine*, 1758, p. 420.  
The names have been identified by means of the Army Lists.]

James Fenton, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st or  
Royal Regiment of Foot February 16, 1756.

[Killed.]

James How, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st or Royal  
Regiment of Foot February 2, 1757.

[Killed.]

Henry Nicholson, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment  
January 11, 1758.

[Killed.]

Colin Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment Sep-  
tember 4, 1754.

[Killed.]

William, Earl of Dundonald, appointed Captain 15th Regi-  
ment February 2, 1757.

[Killed.]

Godfrey Roe, Ensign of the 48th Regiment. (His name does  
not appear in the Army List for 1758.)

[Killed.]

Lieutenant Hart of the 60th Regiment. (Probably Abraham  
Hart, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 16,  
1756.)

[Killed.]

Charles Baillie, appointed Captain 63rd Regiment (later 78th)  
January 10, 1757.

[Killed.]

John Cuthbert, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment January  
18, 1757.

[Killed.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 121

Lieutenant Fraser of the 63rd Regiment. (Probably Simon Fraser, appointed Lieutenant February 8, 1757.)

[Killed.]

John Murray, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment February 6, 1757.

[Killed.]

Francis Ceruthers, Ensign in Capt. Rogers' Rangers.

[Killed.]

John Henry Bastide, Chief Director of Engineers in America and Colonel of Foot January 4, 1758.

[Wounded.]

Francis Fitzsimons, Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st or Royal Regiment, appointed Lieutenant September 16, 1754.

[Wounded.]

Alexander Baillie, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st Regiment February 2, 1757.

[Wounded.]

Dudley Ashe, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st Regiment November 22, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Henry Waterson, appointed Ensign 2nd battalion 1st Regiment November 22, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Henry Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 2, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Francis Mukins, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment March 30, 1756; Adjutant August 29, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Joseph Money Penny, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment October 6, 1757.

[Wounded.]

Paul Rycout, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 17th Regiment February 2, 1757; Captain same regiment July 10, 1758.

[Wounded.]

Francis Tew, appointed Lieutenant 17th Regiment February 2, 1757.

[Wounded.]

Piers Butler, appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment February 16, 1755.

[Wounded.]

John German (or Jermyn), appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment May 4, 1757.

[Wounded.]

William Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment October 25, 1756.

[Wounded.]

## 122 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

- Arthur Brown, appointed Captain 28th Regiment December 10, 1755. [Wounded.]
- Richard Allen, appointed Captain 35th Regiment February 16, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Lieutenant Brown of the 35th Regiment. (Probably Thomas Brown, appointed Lieutenant February 16, 1756.) [Wounded.]
- John Cockburne, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment November 26, 1756; Adjutant March 25, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Armstrong, appointed Ensign 35th Regiment April 9, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Moses Lily, appointed Ensign 40th Regiment June 26, 1755; Lieutenant same regiment March 18, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Hopkins, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment June 6, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Edward Smith, appointed Captain 58th Regiment January 26, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Donald McDonnell, appointed Captain 63rd Regiment January 12, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment May 7, 1757. [Wounded.]
- John McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment July 23, 1757. [Wounded.]

### LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED AT QUEBEC

FROM JUNE 26 TO OCTOBER 1, 1759.

[Compiled from the official returns in Gen. Wolfe's despatch of September 2, 1759 (*Royal Magazine*, 1759, p. 207); Gen. Townshend's of September 20 (*ibid.*, pp. 212-213); and Gen. Monckton's of October 8 (Public Record Office, London: A. & W. I., Vol. 88, published in



To. Edward Barron Gent.

By virtue of the Power and Authority  
I constitute and appoint You to be  
Captain, in the second Battalion  
Americans, whereof Jeffery Amherst  
and diligently to discharge the  
both the Inferior Officers and to  
follow such orders and Direct  
His Majesty, Myself, or any other  
Discipline of war. Given at  
In the Thirty <sup>Third</sup> Second year of  
the Grace of God, King of Great  
Britain &c

By Command of the General  
James Oglethorpe



By James Wolfe Esq. Colonel of the  
Sixty Seventh Regiment of Foot, Major General  
and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's  
Forces in the River S. Lawrence.

By the Authority to me given by His Majesty, I do hereby  
sign on that Company whereof \_\_\_\_\_ is  
His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment of Royal  
at Esq. is Colonel. You are therefore carefully  
of Ensign, by exercising and well disciplining  
of that Company. And you are to observe and  
as from time to time as you shall receive from  
your superior Officer, according to the Rules and  
at Levi this Fourth Day of Sept. 1755  
By the Command of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by  
Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the

Jam: Wolfe.

Entered in the Office of  
The Hon. Esq. Comptroller General  
of Munitions — Robt Porter  
Comptroller of Munitions at Dublin



## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 123

*Siege of Quebec*, Vol. III.). The names have been verified by means of the Army Lists, and, so far as possible, the dates of the casualties inserted from the various journals of the campaign.]

### GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS.

Major-General Wolfe. (See note, Vol. I. p. 206.)

[Killed September 13.

Brigadier-General Robert Monckton. (See note, Vol. I. p. 163.)

[Wounded September 13.

Adjutant-General Isaac Barré. (See note, Vol. I. p. 331.)

[Wounded September 13.

Quarter-Master-General Guy Carleton. (See note, Vol. I. p. 330.)

[Wounded September 13.

Captain the Hon. Richard Maitland, Major of Brigade, appointed Captain 43rd Regiment September 4, 1754; Lieutenant-Colonel August 22, 1760.

[Wounded August 8.

Captain John Spital, Major of Brigade, appointed Captain 47th Regiment November 24, 1755; Major, March 1, 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Captain Hervey Smyth, Aide de Camp, appointed Captain 15th Regiment November 8, 1756.

[Wounded September 13.

Captain Thomas Bell, Aide de Camp, appointed First Lieutenant Marines March 1757; Captain, 1758.

[Wounded July 26.

Colonel Simon Fraser, appointed Colonel 78th Regiment January 5, 1757.

[Wounded on or about July 26.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Burton, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 48th Regiment October 15, 1754. (See note, Vol. II. p. 464.)

[Wounded July 31.

Major Paulus Æmilius Irving of the 15th Regiment. (See note, Vol. II. p. 4.)

[Wounded August 8.

Major Augustine Prevost, appointed Major 60th Regiment  
January 9, 1756. [Wounded July 21.]

Captain Arthur Loftus, appointed Captain 15th Regiment  
March 12, 1754. [Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Captain Ralph Cory, appointed Captain 28th Regiment May 2,  
1751; Major same regiment February 27, 1760.  
[Wounded September 13.]

Captain Alcomb Milbank, appointed Captain 28th Regiment  
March 8, 1757. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain James Mitchelson, appointed Captain 28th Regiment  
April 9, 1756. [Wounded July 26.]

Captain Thomas Spann, appointed Captain 28th Regiment  
August 28, 1753. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain George Fletcher, appointed Captain 35th Regiment  
April 8, 1755. [Killed July 26.]

Captain Luke Gardiner, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 35th  
Regiment February 1756; Captain same regiment Janu-  
ary 24, 1758. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain Charles Ince, appointed Captain 35th Regiment  
February 24, 1756. [Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

(Captain Ince made an excellent drawing of the Entry of  
Louisbourg in 1758, which was published in 1759.)

Captain John Maunsell, appointed Captain 35th Regiment  
January 5, 1751; Major same regiment September 1761;  
Lieutenant-Colonel same regiment October 1762.  
[Wounded September 13.]

Captain Samuel Gardiner, appointed Captain 47th Regiment  
December 1753. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain Thomas Smelt, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment  
June 1750; Captain same regiment March 20, 1758.  
[Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 125

Captain William Edmestone, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment June 1755; Captain same regiment March 23, 1758. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain George Byrd, appointed Captain 58th Regiment December 27, 1755. [Wounded September 13.

Captain John Leland, appointed Captain 58th Regiment December 30, 1755; Major 98th Regiment January 1761. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain John Nuttal, appointed Captain 58th Regiment December 26, 1755. [Wounded September 13.

Captain Robert Brigstock, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 1756; Captain, February 1760.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain Samuel Jan. Hollandt, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment 1756; Captain-Lieutenant, May 1757; Captain, August 1759; Major, 1770.

[Wounded September 13.

Captain David Ochterloney, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment, Royal Americans, 1756; Captain, April 1759.

[Wounded July 31; died August 23.

Captain John McPherson, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 5, 1757.

[Wounded on or about July 26.

Captain Thomas Ross, appointed Captain 78th Regiment July 1757. [Killed September 13.

Captain Hugh Cameron, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain, September 1759.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain Simon Fraser, Sr., appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 11, 1757. [Wounded September 13 and died

soon after.



Captain Simon Fraser, Jr., appointed Captain-Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 1758; Captain, April 1759.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain John McDonell, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 1757. [Wounded September 13.

(The two officers whose names follow belonged to the companies of grenadiers detached from the garrison of Louisbourg for service at Quebec.)

Captain Otto Hamilton, appointed Captain 40th Regiment June 1754; Major, November 1761; Colonel, 1770.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain John Cosnan entered the Army December 1745; appointed Captain 45th Regiment October 1755; Lieutenant-Colonel February 1762.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant James Leslie, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment June 9, 1758. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant John Maxwell, Sr., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment May 1756; Captain same regiment May 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Maxwell, Jr., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1756. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Francis Mukins, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment March 30, 1756.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Robert Ross, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1757. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Samuel Rutherford, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1754; Captain same regiment September 1760. [Wounded August 10.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 127

Lieutenant William Skene, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment October 1757; Lieutenant same regiment December 1758.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant William Cooper, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment April 1756.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant William Evans, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment March 1757. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Charles Ruxton, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment February 1756; Captain 35th Regiment 1762.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant William Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment April 1756.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant William Mason, appointed Ensign 35th Regiment February 1756; Lieutenant same regiment January 1758.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant Richard Allen, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment February 1756; Captain same regiment October 1760; Major same regiment December 1768.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Theophilus Blakeney, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment April 1756; Captain same regiment, August 1761.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant John Cockburne, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment November 1756; Adjutant same regiment March 1757.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant James Field, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment November 1756; Captain 44th Regiment June 1766.

[Wounded July 26.

Lieutenant Charles Gore, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment February 1756; Captain same regiment June 1760.

[Twice wounded, September 13 and previously.

Lieutenant Gabriel Maturin, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment April 1756; Captain 31st Regiment June 1767.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Henry Clements, appointed Lieutenant 43rd Regiment December 1755; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment March 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Kenneth Matheson, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment March 1758; Lieutenant same regiment April 1759.

[Killed July 31.

Lieutenant William Edward Seymour, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment June 1755; Adjutant same regiment 1757.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant John Elphinstone, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment July 1755; Captain 74th Regiment October 1760.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Garnet Ewer, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment December 1756; Lieutenant same regiment May 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Price Guinet, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment March 1758; Lieutenant same regiment April 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Henry Henning, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment August 1757; appointed Lieutenant in the field.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant George Mountain, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment June 1755; Lieutenant same regiment December 1756.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Joseph Peach, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment June 1755.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Joshua Percival, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment July 1755.

[Reported as killed in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 129

Lieutenant John Hathorn, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment June 1755. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Thomas Webb, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 1755; Quarter-Master same regiment October 1754. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant John Grant, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment November 1755; Lieutenant same regiment January 1758; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment June 1762.

[Twice wounded, September 13 and previously.

Lieutenant Horace Hayes, appointed Lieutenant 58th Regiment January 1756; Captain same regiment June 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant David Kemptie, appointed Lieutenant 58th Regiment February 1756; Adjutant same regiment February 1756. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Walter Kennedy, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 1756; Lieutenant same regiment May 1757.

[Reported as killed in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant George Archbold, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 1756; Lieutenant same regiment December 1756; Captain same regiment January 1772.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant James Calder, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment November 1755; Lieutenant 60th Regiment May 1757.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Peter De Witt, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment May 1757; Lieutenant on the field 1759.

[Wounded about August 26; died soon after.

Lieutenant Simeon Ecuyier, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 1756; Captain-Lieutenant February 1760; Captain same regiment April 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Thomas Grandidier, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 1756; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment October 1770. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Henry Howarth, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment July 1758. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant James Jeffries, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 1756; Lieutenant same regiment March 1758.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant William Jones, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment May 1757.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Henry Peyton, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment May 1757; Captain 74th Regiment October 1760.

[Wounded July 31.

Lieutenant Alexander Shaw, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment December 1756; Lieutenant same regiment June 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Charles Willington, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment January 1756.

[Reported as wounded during the campaign, in Gen. Monckton's despatch October 8.

Lieutenant Alexander McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment February 1757.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant Roderick McNeil, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757.

[Killed September 13.



## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 131

Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment May 1757; Captain same regiment October 1760. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain same regiment April 1760. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Douglas, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment June 1757. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, Sr., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 1757. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Ronald McDonald, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain same regiment October 1759. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Charles McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment October 1759. [Wounded about July 21.

Lieutenant Hector McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

(The following five officers were in the companies of grenadiers detached from Louisbourg.)

Lieutenant Humphry Jones, appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment September 1756. [Killed September 13.

Lieutenant Samuel Bradstreet, appointed Lieutenant 40th Regiment June 1755; Captain same regiment November 1761. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Gilfrid Collingwood, appointed Lieutenant 45th Regiment March 1751. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

132 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Lieutenant Hugh Nevin, appointed Ensign 45th Regiment  
June 1755; Lieutenant same regiment March 1758;  
Captain same regiment September 1769.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Pinhorne, appointed Lieutenant 45th Regiment  
May 1752. [Wounded September 13; died  
September 28.

Ensign Rigby, Surgeon's Mate, attached to the 15th Regiment,  
on the field. (A surgeon's mate ranked as an ensign.)

[Killed July 25.

Ensign Samuel Barker, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment May  
1759. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Ensign Edmond Worth, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment  
December 1758; Lieutenant same regiment April 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Ensign Essex Edgworth, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment  
March 1757; Lieutenant 12th Dragoons September 1763.

[Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign Wm. Henry Fairfax, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment  
November 1757.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Lewis Jones, appointed Ensign 43rd Regiment November  
1756. [Wounded September 13.

Ensign Walter Nugent, appointed Ensign 43rd Regiment  
April 1756; Lieutenant same regiment March 1760.

[Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign Samuel Dunlop, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment  
January 1759; Lieutenant same regiment May 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 133

Ensign Thomas Faunce, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment  
April 1759; Lieutenant same regiment February 1761.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Nicholas Tottenham, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment  
February 1758. [Killed September 13.

Ensign Thomas Denty, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment  
May 1759. [Wounded September 13.

Ensign Samuel Johnson, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment  
July 1758. [Died of wounds September 2.

Ensign Charles Cameron, volunteer, appointed on the field,  
Ensign 60th Regiment.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Richard Fahie, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment  
March 1758. [Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign George Mackay, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment  
June 1759; Lieutenant same regiment March 1761.

[Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign William Snow Steel, appointed Lieutenant 60th  
Regiment June 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Malcolm Fraser, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment  
June 1758; afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel.

[Slightly wounded September 13.

Ensign Alexander Gregorson, appointed Ensign 78th Regi-  
ment June 1758; Lieutenant same regiment May 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign James Mackenzie, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment  
May 1757; Lieutenant same regiment September 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

## ENGINEERS.

Captain William Green, appointed Engineer-in-Ordinary with rank as Captain January 1758; appointed Sub-Director and Major September 1759.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain Adam Williamson, appointed Engineer-Extraordinary with rank as Captain-Lieutenant January 1758; Captain 40th Regiment April 1760.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Adolphus Benzell, appointed Lieutenant 1st Regiment February 1757; Engineer-in-Ordinary January 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

## RANGERS.

Captain Benoni Danks. (See note, Vol. I. p. 196.)  
[Wounded 9th July.

Captain Lieutenant Armstrong.

[Wounded July 9; reported as killed in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Meech.

[Killed on or about August 4.

Lieutenant Stephens.

[Wounded probably July 22.

LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED,  
AND PRISONERS AT QUEBEC

FROM APRIL 27 TO MAY 21, 1760.

[Based on the Return enclosed in Murray's letter to Pitt of May 25, 1760: Canadian Archives, M. 221, p. 116 (C.O. 5: 64; formerly A. & W. I. 99). The names have been identified by means of the Army Lists.]

John Maxwell, Sen<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment of Foot May 12, 1756. [Killed.]

William Cockburn, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 15th Regiment July 16, 1758. [Wounded.]

Francis Mukins, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment March 30, 1756. [Wounded.]

John Maxwell, Jn<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1, 1756; Captain same regiment May 2, 1761. [Wounded.]

Andrew Cathcart, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1757; Captain same regiment August 21, 1765. [Wounded.]

Thomas Winter, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment July 19, 1758. [Wounded.]

William Irving, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment July 29, 1758; Captain 47th Regiment May 6, 1767. [Wounded.]

John Lockhart, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment April 26, 1759. [Wounded.]

Joseph Money Penny, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment October 6, 1757. [Wounded.]

Horace Pearce Barbutt, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment June 9, 1758. [Wounded.]



- Thomas Mills, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment April 26, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Samuel Barker, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment July 22, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Henry Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 2, 1756, and Captain same regiment October 30, 1762. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- George Montgomery, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment July 29, 1758. [Killed.]
- Hunt Walsh, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 28th Regiment February 2, 1759; Colonel 56th Regiment May 22, 1766. [Wounded.]
- John Dalling, appointed Major 28th Regiment February 2, 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel 36th Regiment December 4, 1767. [Wounded.]
- Joseph Capel, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 28th Regiment March 8, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Spann, appointed Captain 28th Regiment August 28, 1753. [Wounded.]
- James Mitchelson, appointed Captain 28th Regiment April 9, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Charles Tassell, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment January 22, 1753; Major same regiment June 17, 1767. [Wounded.]
- Francis Brown, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment April 9, 1756; Captain same regiment December 25, 1765. [Wounded.]
- William Phibbs, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment November 22, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Richard Gilmer, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment April 27, 1756. [Wounded.]
- John Sheppard, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment November 22, 1756; Lieutenant same regiment June 11, 1762. [Wounded.]
- Levin Beall, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 137

Charles Ince, appointed Captain 35th Regiment February 24, 1756. [Wounded.]

Lieutenant Brown. (Thomas and William Brown were Lieutenants in the 35th Regiment. William Brown was appointed Lieutenant July 21, 1757; and promoted to the rank of Captain in the regiment February 3, 1767.) [Wounded.]

Cornelius Lysaght, appointed Ensign 35th Regiment January 24, 1758. [Wounded.]

Boughey Skey, appointed Captain 43rd Regiment May 2, 1751. [Wounded.]

David Maitland, appointed Captain 43rd Regiment March 21, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

Henry Clements, appointed Lieutenant 43rd Regiment December 10, 1755. [Wounded.]

Nicholas Lysaght, appointed Lieutenant 43rd Regiment December 25, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

Crank Maw, appointed Ensign 43rd Regiment November 22, 1756. (See note, Vol. II. p. 400.) [Wounded, Prisoner.]

John Hussey, appointed Major 47th Regiment March 19, 1758. [Killed.]

Thomas Archbold, appointed Captain 47th Regiment May 23, 1759. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

William Sheriff, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment January 25, 1755; Major and Quarter-Master-General in North America January 25, 1768. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

John Forster, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment July 4, 1755; Captain 46th Regiment December 25, 1765. [Wounded.]

Charles Bassett, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment November 24, 1755. [Wounded.]

Garnet Ewer, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment May 23, 1759. [Killed.]

Henry Stratford, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment March 28, 1758. [Wounded.]

# 138 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

- Thomas Gibson, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment June 9, 1758. [Killed.]
- William Ustick, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment June 9, 1758; Captain 7th Regiment December 25, 1765. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Handfield, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment May 23, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Sir James Cockburn, Bart., appointed Captain 48th Regiment March 22, 1758; Major same regiment March 4, 1769. [Wounded.]
- Theodore Barbutt, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 21, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Stephen Waterhouse, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 13, 1754. [Wounded.]
- Vere Royce, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment July 2, 1755. [Wounded.]
- Richard Crow, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 10, 1755. [Wounded.]
- Henry Moore, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment February 11, 1756. [Wounded.]
- James Campbell, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment August 23, 1758; Lieutenant same regiment June 15, 1760. [Wounded.]
- William Johnson, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment February 21, 1759; Captain same regiment February 25, 1768. [Wounded.]
- William Nicholson, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment July 20, 1758. [Killed.]
- Charles Davers, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment March 28, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Archibald Conway, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment 1759. [Killed.]
- William Snow Steel, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment June 20, 1760. [Wounded.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 139

- Donald McDonald, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment February 14, 1760. [Wounded.]
- John Young, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 60th Regiment April 26, 1757. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Rodolp Faesch, appointed Captain 60th Regiment December 27, 1755. [Wounded.]
- James Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 30, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Henry Charteris, appointed Captain 60th Regiment January 8, 1756. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Donald Forbes, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment February 11, 1756. [Killed.]
- George Faesch, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment February 15, 1756. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Alexander Grant, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment August 23, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Stephens, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment April 13, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Lewis Forbes, Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment. (A Lauchlan Forbes appears in the Army Lists as appointed Lieutenant in the 60th, April 14, 1759.) [Wounded.]
- Thomas Pinckney, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment December 12, 1756. [Wounded.]
- John Mackey, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment December 14, 1756. [Killed.]
- James Hill, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment August 23, 1758. [Wounded.]
- David Stewart, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment April 13, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Simon Fraser, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 78th Regiment January 5, 1757 ; Colonel, February 19, 1762. (See note, p. 142.) [Wounded.]
- John Campbell, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 9, 1757. [Wounded.]

- Alexander Fraser, appointed Captain 78th Regiment September 15, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander McLeod, appointed Captain 78th Regiment September 4, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Donald McDonnell, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 12, 1757. [Killed.]
- Cosmo Gordon, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 24, 1757. [Killed.]
- Archibald Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 23, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Hector McDonnell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 27, 1757. [Killed.]
- Donald McBean, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 28, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Fraser, Sen<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment February 12, 1757. [Wounded.]
- John Nairn, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 16, 1757; Major, October 13, 1761. [Wounded.]
- Arthur Ross, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 17, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Fraser, Jun<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 27, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Simon Fraser, Sen<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment June 18, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Archibald McAllister, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 23, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Fraser, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 22, 1757. [Wounded.]
- John Chisholme, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment January 17, 1757; Lieutenant, September 4, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Simon Fraser, Jun<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 25, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Malcolm Fraser, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 25, 1759. [Wounded.]



## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 141

- Donald McNeil, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.
- Alexander Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment May 7, 1757. [Prisoner.
- Henry Monroe, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment July 23, 1757. [Wounded.
- Robert Menzies, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment September 15, 1758. [Wounded.
- Charles Stuart, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment September 25, 1759. [Wounded.
- Duncan Cameron, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment September 25, 1759; Adjutant 43rd Regiment October 6, 1762. [Wounded.
- William Robertson, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.
- Alexander Gregorson, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment June 10, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.
- Malcolm Fraser, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment June 18, 1758. [Killed.
- Charles McDonald, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 78th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.
- John Goodwin, appointed Major of the Royal Artillery November 20, 1759; Lieutenant-Colonel November 1, 1762. [Wounded.
- Thomas Heathcote, appointed Second-Lieutenant Royal Artillery January 4, 1758. [Wounded.
- Alexander John Scott, appointed Second-Lieutenant Royal Artillery February 1, 1759. [Wounded.
- John Davidson, appointed Lieutenant Fireworker Royal Artillery, February 8, 1758. [Wounded.
- Benjamin Cock, appointed Second-Lieutenant Royal Artillery January 1, 1759. [Wounded.
- Patrick Mackellar, appointed Major in the Engineers January 4, 1758. (See note, Vol. I. p. 225.) [Wounded.

Captain Hazen of the Rangers. (See note, Vol. I. p. 296.)

[Wounded.]

Alexander Cameron, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 21, 1757. [Wounded by an Explosion.]

John Makilwain, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment August 18, 1759. [Wounded by an Explosion.]

*Note.*—[See p. 139.] Simon Fraser, sometime Master of Lovat, was the eldest son of Simon, twelfth Lord Lovat, executed in 1747. He was born October 19, 1726. When the Jacobite rebellion broke out, in 1745, he was studying at the University of St. Andrews. He was summoned by his father to lead the clan. After some hesitation, he became active in the cause, and was included in the Act of Attainder of 1746. He surrendered, and was kept a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle from November, 1746, to August, 1747, when he was permitted to reside in Glasgow during the king's pleasure. In 1750 he was granted a full and free pardon. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War he obtained leave to raise a corps of Highlanders, which became the 78th, or Fraser's Highlanders. His commission as colonel was dated June 5, 1757. He took his regiment to America, and was at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758, and in the expedition to Quebec, under Wolfe. He was wounded at Montmorency, July 31, 1759, and again at the second battle of the Plains, April 28, 1760. He appears to have been still serving in America in 1761. In 1762 he was a brigadier-general in the British forces sent to Portugal. He was appointed to a command in the Portuguese army with the temporary rank of major-general. At the peace of 1763 the regiment was disbanded and Fraser put on half-pay. By a special Act of Parliament his family estates were restored to him in 1774. At the outbreak of the American War of Independence, Fraser, then a major-general, raised another regiment of Highlanders, but did not accompany them to America. Fraser was returned to Parliament for the county of Inverness, when in Canada, in 1761, and represented the constituency until his death. He married a Miss Bristo, an English lady, who survived him. He died in Downing Street, London, February 8, 1782.

## ETAT DE LA PERTE DU 13 SEPTEMBRE.

M. de Montcalm, lieutenant général, commandant-en-chef;  
 Le sieur de Senezergues, brigadier et lieutenant-colonel de la Sarre;  
 Le sieur de Fontbrune, lieutenant-colonel de Guyenne.

Régiments.	Officiers tués.	Soldats.	Officiers prison- niers du 13 ou pris à l'hôpital de Québec.	Soldats et com- prenant les passés en France.	Officiers de la garnison de Québec ou passés en France.	Total des Soldats.	Total des Officiers qui manquent.	Officiers blessés présents.
La Sarre.	Senezergues, Bourniot, lieu- tenant.	33	La Ferté, cap. B., Savornin, cap. B., Lenoir, lieutenant B., Laubanis, lieutenant B.	89	Lestang, cap. Flavrian, lieutenant.	128	8 dont 2 morts.	Despertés, lieutenant. Paonnet, lieutenant. Laubanis, lieutenant.
Royal-Rous- sillon.		9	Bellecombe, aide- major. De Brau, lieutenant B. Palembert, cap. B.	71	d'Oreillan, cap. de Fontaine, lieutenant.	8	5	
Languedoc.	Marillac, cap.	41	Matissart, cap. Castes, lieutenant B.	56	Parfourus, cap. Courcy, lieutenant. d'Arènes, lieutenant. Jeannès, aide- major.	97	7 dont 1 mort.	Vaudray.
Guyenne.	Fourbonne. Cornier, cap. de Grave, cap. Restaurand, lieutenant. Dupont, lieutenant. Fouquet, lieutenant.	23	Darlens, cap. C. Chambeau, cap. d'Artigues, C.B. Toyon, lieutenant.	64	Bigat, cap. Dumesnil, lieu- tenant.	87	12 dont 6 morts.	Bousquet, cap. Chabert, lieutenant.
Béarn.	Kerieux, cap. Maubeuge, cap.	31	Jourdeau, cap. Figneris, lieutenant. Tourville, cap. lieutenant.	72	Daubrespi. Cusson.	103	7 dont 2 morts.	Barot, cap.
La Marine.	La Périère, cap. Saint-Ours, cap.		Beaucour, cap. Ligneris, cap.					

## LIST OF FRENCH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED AT QUEBEC

FROM APRIL 27 TO MAY 17, 1760.

[From the *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis*, pp. 270-272.]

*Liste des officiers tués ou blessés au combat devant Québec,  
le 20 avril.*

MM. de Bourlamaque, brigadier. Partie du gras de jambe  
emporté par un boulet de canon.

Régiment de la Reine :

Montreuil, capitaine des grenadiers. Blessé à mort.

Dufai, enseigne. Le bras cassé.

Chevalier Desnos, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.

Saint-Martin, lieutenant.                   ,,                   ,,

La Sarre :

Deguinier, lieutenant. Tué.

Palmarole, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé à mort.

Duprat, capitaine. Blessé à mort.

Forcet. Blessé à mort.

Duparquet, premier capitaine. Coup de feu à la jambe.

Beauclair, capitaine. Coup de feu au bras.

Méritent, capitaine. Idem.

Chevalier de Savournin, lieutenant. À la poitrine, très  
dangereusement.

Paonnet, sous-lieutenant de grenadiers. Idem, mort.

Lanaudière, lieutenant. Coup de feu à la jambe.

Premillac, lieutenant. Le pied cassé.

Lassus, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.

Grance, lieutenant.                   ,,                   ,,

Chevalier de Laubanie.               ,,               ,,

Royal-Roussillon :

De Rouin, capitaine. Coup de feu à la jambe.  
 Bonnevieille. " " "  
 Léonard, lieutenant. Coup de feu au bras.  
 Beausadet, sous-lieutenant de grenadiers. L'épaule fracassée, mort.  
 Destore, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé légèrement.  
 Trémoy, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
 Lefebvre, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
 Grandjean, lieutenant. " "

Languedoc :

Senneterre, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
 d'Ernanger, lieutenant de grenadiers. Tué.  
 d'Alayrac, lieutenant de grenadiers. Blessé légèrement.

Guyenne :

Morambert, lieutenant. Blessé à mort.  
 Montagnet, capitaine. Coup de feu au bras.  
 Launay, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé légèrement.  
 de Blot, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
 Bellot, capitaine. " "  
 Chassignolet. " "

Berry :

Villemonter, capitaine de grenadiers. Tué.  
 Valentin, aide-major. Tué.  
 Carery, lieutenant. Tué.  
 Trécesson, lieutenant-colonel de bataillon. Blessé à mort.  
 Darseins, capitaine. Blessé à mort.  
 La Marlière, lieutenant. " "  
 La Pelouze, aide-major. Coup de feu à la poitrine.  
 Coespel, lieutenant. Jambe cassée dangereusement.  
 Du Guermé, lieutenant. " " "  
 Vaudaran, lieutenant en second. Jambe cassée dangereusement.



Pélissier, lieutenant de grenadiers. Le bras percé d'un coup de feu.

Laudance. Le poignet cassé.

Sigoïn, capitaine. Coup de feu à la cuisse, dangereux.

Leclerc, lieutenant. Idem.

Dallet, lieutenant. Coup de feu au bras.

Trévis, lieutenant-colonel comdt le régiment. Blessé légèrement.

Pressac, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.

Cambray, capitaine. „ „

Ménard, capitaine. „ „

Beauchamp, capitaine. „ „

#### Béarn :

Vassal, capitaine. Blessé à mort.

Soloignac, lieutenant. „ „

Tolabelle. „ „

D'Alquier, lieutenant-colonel, commandant. Coup de feu au côté.

Monredon, capitaine de grenadiers. Coup de feu aux deux cuisses, dangereux.

Pinsan, lieutenant. Coup de feu à la cuisse, dangereux.

Fay, lieutenant. Idem.

Jacob, lieutenant. Coup de feu à la poitrine.

Malartie, aide-major. Blessé légèrement.

Blénard, capitaine. „ „

Ségla, capitaine. „ „

Raimond, lieutenant. „ „

Meley, lieutenant. „ „

Jourdain, lieutenant. „ „

#### *Troupes de la Colonie, compagnies franches de la Marine.*

De Boucherville, enseigne. Tué. Blessé à mort.

Saint-Martin, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé à mort.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 147

Laronde, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé à mort.  
 Varennes, lieutenant. " "  
 Corbières, lieutenant. " "  
 Du Buisson, capitaine. Coup de feu à l'épaule.  
 Mézières, capitaine. Coup de feu aux deux jambes.  
 D'Hugues, capitaine. Coup de feu à la tête, légèrement.  
 D'Aillebout, sous-lieutenant de grenadiers. Coup de feu à la jambe, légèrement.  
 Hiché, enseigne. Coup de feu au côté.  
 Chevalier de la Corne, commandant de bataillon. Blessé légèrement.  
 Vassan, commandant de bataillon. Blessé légèrement.  
 Saint-Leu, commandant les sauvages. " "  
 Loumier, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
 Le Borgne, capitaine. " "  
 La Noix de Noyelle, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
 Sabrevoix, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
 Chevalier de la Perrière, enseigne. Blessé légèrement.  
 Herbin, enseigne. Blessé légèrement.

### *Officiers des Milices.*

Réaume, commandant le bataillon de Montréal. Tué.  
 Lefèvre. Tué.  
 Pr vot de Sicors. Tué.  
 Gaudet. La main fracassée.  
 Neveu. À la mâchoire, dangereusement.  
 Julien de Rivière. Blessé.  
 La Promenade. "  
 De Cary. "  
 Maugé de Sauniers. "  
 Ménars. "  
 Irtubis. "  
 Pierre Lefèvre. Blessé aux bras.  
 Auge. " "  
 Chevalier. " "

*Etat des officiers tués ou blessés pendant le siège.*

La Sarre : Boischatel, aide-major de la Sarre. Tué.

Languedoc : Pradel, lieutenant. Tué.

Béarn : Barot, capitaine. Mort de ses blessures.

Colonie : De Bonne, capitaine. Tué.

N. de Mélonèze, lieutenant. Mort de ses blessures.

La Reine : d'Herz, aide-major. Blessé légèrement.

Languedoc : La Justonne, lieutenant. La jambe coupée.

Béarn : Mazeray, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.

Colonie : Melonèze, capitaine. Idem.

Herbin, lieutenant. Idem.

Artillerie : du Carny, lieutenant. Idem.

#### IV

### THE CAPITULATION OF FORT FRONTENAC

[Enclosed in Abercromby to Pitt, November 25, 1758: Canadian Archives, M. 209-2; C.O. 5: 50; formerly A. & W. I. 87-2.]

CONDITIONS AUXQUELLES MONS<sup>R</sup>. DE NOYANT, CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE ROYAL ET MILITAIRE DE ST. LOUIS, LIEUTENANT POUR LE ROY DE LA VILLE DES TROIS RIVIERES, COMMANDANT POUR LE ROY AU FORT DE FRONTENAC PROPOSE DE LE RENDRE À SA MAJESTÉ BRITANNIQUE.

1<sup>e</sup>. Le dit Sieur de Noyant promet de rendre le Fort de Frontenac au Colonel Bradstreet, Commandant des Troupes d'Angleterre generally avec toutes ses Dépendances.

2<sup>e</sup>. Que les Officiers et Soldats de la Garnison, et autres Hommes qui si trouvent actuellement ce Poste, resteront Prisonniers de Guerre, jusqu'à ce que il y est accordé entre Mons<sup>r</sup>. Le Marquis de Vaudreuil et Mons<sup>r</sup>. le General Anglais pour en faire l'Echange.

3<sup>e</sup>. Que les Malades et blessés seront soignés aux Frais du Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

4<sup>e</sup>. Qu'il garantira de toute Insulte de la Part des Soldats Anglois et Sauvages, les Officiers, Soldats et autres Espece de Personne telles qu'elles soient qui se trouvent actuellement dans ce Fort.

5<sup>e</sup>. Mons<sup>r</sup>. le Colonel permettra que les Ornemens et les Vases sacrés de la Chapelle soient emportés dans l'Equipage de l'Aumonier, et promet le Sieur de Noyan faire remettre fidèlement toutes les Munitions de Guerre et de Bouche, Ustinciles qui ce trouvent actuellement dans les Magazins du dit Fort.

6<sup>e</sup>. Le dit Sieur Noyant demande qu'il soit fourni à Lui, à ses Soldats et au Reste des Personnes qui sont avec luy dans le Fort des Voitures pour transporter leur Baggage, et leur donner les Commodités pour le Voyage.

*À Frontenac le 27<sup>e</sup>. Aoust 1758.*

Le Colonel Bradstreet vû les Infirmities de Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Noyant, Commandant dans le Fort luy ■ accordé de retourner à Montreal et de prendre quatre Hommes, ainsi qu'à Madame du Vivier, Madame Barollon avec quatre hommes, ainsi qu'à d'autres Femmes de ce Fort sans Hommes.

Noyan JNO. BRADSTREET.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Noyan c'est engage de procurer pour luy l'Exchange du Colonel Schuyler ou d'un autre s'il ce trouvent que le Colonel Schuyler le soit deja.

Après la Capitulation faite le Colonel Bradstreet a permy ■ tous les Francois qui estoient dans le Fort Frontenac de partir pour Montreal en Canada sur la Promesse que M<sup>r</sup>. de Noyan a faite de faire parail nombre de Person et Calité le plutost que faire ce pourât et de les faire rendre au Fort George.

*Au Fort Frontenac le 27<sup>e</sup>. Aoust 1758.*

JNO. BRADSTREET.

Noyan.

*Copy.*

*Endorsed.*—La Capitulation du Fort Frontenac

Aoust. le 27<sup>e</sup>. 1758.

in M. G. Abercromby's (separate)

of Nov<sup>r</sup>. 25<sup>th</sup>. 1758.





## PLAN OF THE TOWN OF QUEBEC

By Patrick MacKellar, accompanying his Report, dated July 12, 1757. From the original in the possession of the Editor. (See Report in Appendix)

### REFERENCES

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| a. { Fort St. Lewis and Governor General's Palace | m. Intendant's House          |
| b. Redoubt of Cape Diamond                        | n. { Church of the low Town   |
| c. Mill Cavalier                                  | o. Vaudreuil's                |
| d. Recolets' Convent                              | p. Dauphin's                  |
| e. { Jesuits' Convent and Hospital                | q. Royal                      |
| f. Urselins' Convent                              | r. Castle                     |
| g. { Parish Church Seminary and its Dependencies  | s. Bastion of St. Lewis       |
| h. Bishop's Palace                                | t. Ice-House Bastion          |
| i. Hospital and Nunnery                           | u. { Half Bastion of Ju- bert |
| k. Church of St. Rock                             | v. Redoubt of St. Ursula      |
| l. { A Battery of 57 Guns without a Parapet       | w. Hangman's Redoubt          |
|   | x. Gallows Hill Line          |
|   | y. Redoubt of St. Rock        |

- Additions not expressed in the original Plan
2. { Dockyard for Ships of War
  3. Public landing place
  4. Battery built in 1756
  5. Bason for landing Stores
  6. Slip for small Vessels
  7. Wharf for Stores
  8. { Soldiers' Barracks where the Prisoners of war were kept
  9. Commandant's House
  10. { Principal Communication between the two Towns on the East Side
  11. { Principal Communication on 3<sup>e</sup> N.W. Side

### NOTES

- 1st. Vaudreuil's Battery marked o consists by some accounts of 16 Guns as laid down, but by others more to be depended upon, it consists only of 4 Guns.
- 2d. The Buildings in the high Town are laid down nearly as they are at present.
- 3d. The Fortifications are laid down as in the original Plan, which appears to have been taken about the year 1740.
- 4th. The River is 960 yards wide at Cape Diamond and 1130 at the royal Battery.
- 5th. Common Spring Tides rise 18 feet, and equinoctial Springs 25 feet.



V

REPORT ON QUEBEC

BY

MAJOR PATRICK MACKELLAR.

[From the original in the possession of the editor.]

*Office of Ordnance, 12th of July, 1757*

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

&

Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Gentlemen

I take the Liberty to present your HONOURS with a Plan of Quebeck, and ■ short Driscription [*sic*], of what (as an Engineer) I thought most worthy of Attention, concerning the Place and the Navagation to it.—

The Plan is copied from a printed one of Bellins Published in Charles Voix, which is the best I have seen; I have Enlarged it considerably to a scale of English Measure, and have made such additions ■ I found wanting in the Places I had Access to see.—

The Discription is made from my own Observations and what Intelligence I could pick up, during the Short Oppertunity I had.—

I would not presume, to trouble Your Hon<sup>rs</sup>; with the Copy, of ■ Printed Plan, unless I thought it more Complete and Expressive than the Originall—& which with the Discription, I think gives ■ clearer Representation of the whole, than any thing I have mett with, As such I present them to Your

Honours and hope they may be Usefull in case of any Attempts that way.—

I am with great Respect

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

&

Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Gentlemen,

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup>.

Most Obedient & Most Host [*sic*] Humble Ser.

PAT MACKELLAR

Eng<sup>r</sup>. in Ordinary.

To The Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Board.

#### A DISCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF QUEBECK IN CANADA, ACCOMPANIED WITH A PLAN.

The place consists of what they call the High and the Low Town. They are parted from one another by a Cliff or Precipice of Rock, which is ■ Natural Fortification to about two thirds of the High Town

The Cliff begins about ■ Mile up the River and is quite Inaccessible where it surrounds the Town excepting in the Communications Under Mentioned.

#### CLIFF

The Greatest height of the Cliff is a little above and below the Redoubt of Cape Diamond, where it must be at least 200 feet high, it falls from thence in several Easey Breaks, to the Elbow (I) at the North End, where it is about 80 or 90 feet. It falls from this elbow to y<sup>e</sup> westward with ■ Gradual Descent, to the Gateway (II) where it may be about 40 or 50 feet, but about the Gateway dies into ■ quick Slope, from this Gateway it runs into the Country to the Westward and Branches into Different Breaks ■ little way without the Town

## HIGH TOWN

The High Town from those Differences of Heights has ■ Considerable Declivity from South to North, and still ■ greater from South East, to North West, it has a great Deal of vacant Ground, and the Buildings ■ few Excepted are so retired from the Edge of the Precipice that it cannott be Easily Damaged by Either Shott or shells from Shipping, and the Precipice upon the East side is so High, that Ship Guns can scarce have Elevation Enough to clear it, or if they do the Shott must fly Over—

## LOW TOWN

The Low Town on the East side is ■ fair Object for both Shott and shells, from Shiping the Buildings are in General, High and Pretty Close, this is by much the Richest part of the whole, being Cheifly taken up with the Dwelings, Warehouses, and Magazines of the Principal Merchants which are reckon'd, of Considerable Value and some of them are said to be the Kings—

This part of the Town can be hurt by Land Batterys, only from the hills, on the South Side of the River, and they are at ■ Distance of 1300 or 1400 yards—

The Remainder of the low Town above the Dock and on the North West side, consists only of Stragling houses, Inhabited by poor people, Excepting the Intendants and ■ few houses near it, in the Dock Yard they build 70 Gun Ships—

## COMMUNICATIONS

There are two Principal Communications between the two Towns, one upon the East side Marked (10) and the other upon the North West side Marked (11).

The former of these Marked (10) leads from the Publick Landing Place, (Marked 3) thro the Low Town, and leads to



the High Town, Either by keeping the Bishops Palace Mark'd (h) upon the right, w<sup>ch</sup> is the main Branch of it, or to the 57 Gun Battery, (Mark'd l) by leaving the Bishops Palace, upon the left, this Communication has at present no Fire upon it, either to flank or scowr it, but being Narrow Crook'd and Steep may be Easily secur'd—

The Communication (Mark'd 11) leads from the Country, the Intendant's House &c through a Gateway, straight forward into the High Town or by the first turning upon the left within y<sup>e</sup> Gateway to the West End of the Battery (l) behind the Nunnery Garden, this Gateway has something of a Flank Fire on both sides, but seems to be too much under the Fire—

There is a Break in the Cliff beyond y<sup>e</sup> 8 Gun Batt<sup>ry</sup> (Marked 4) where four or five people may pass Abreast, it is pretty steep, and may be Easily secured—

Between this Break and the Communication (10) there are two more places, where Men Climb up, Singly, but they must be very Carefull, there is Likewise a narrow rugged path from the Dock Yard, up to the Redoubt of Cape Diamond.

I think there are none of these Communications to be forced, if there is any tolerable Resistance made, three of them are liable to be Surprised, Viz<sup>t</sup> 10, 11, and that by the Eight Gun Battery, but they Communicate with one another, only at Low Water, and the Principal ones 10, & 11, are at half a Mile Distance—

#### DEFENCES TO THE WATER

The Defences to the River or Anchoring Ground are as follows—Viz<sup>t</sup>—

From the High Town	Guns
Battery (r) . . . . .	14
Battery (l) consisting in all of 57 Guns, but to the	
Anchoring Ground points Only . . . . .	36

# REPORT ON QUEBEC

155

From the Low Town	Guns
Battery (o) by some Accounts Consists of 16 Guns but by others more to be Depended on only of . . . . .	4
Battery (q) . . . . .	8
Battery (p) . . . . .	12
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	76
	<hr/>
	[sic]
	<hr/>

Upon Occasion there may be more Guns Mounted towards the Anchoring Ground in several Places Particularly along the Wharf of the Dock Yard.

The other Defences, to the Water on the North West side are as follows viz<sup>t</sup>.

Remainder of the Battery (l) . . . . .	21
Battery (4). . . . .	8
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	29

The Battery (l) has room for a great many more Guns than are there at present

The use of this Defence is to Scowr the Bay or strand along the Rivulet of St Charles at Low water, this Bay is dry and all over passable the Bottom being a flatt Rock, thinly cover'd in some places, with a Little Mud, Sand and Gravel—

## DEFENCES TO THE LAND

The Defences to the Land I can speak of only from the Plan and a Little imperfect Intelligence—

The Plan appears to have been taken about the Year 1740, and I have not heard that there have been any Additions to the Fortifications since that Time—

The Inner Line which runs quite across from the Redoubt of Cape Diamond (b) to the Hangmans Redoubt, (w) is a

Wall of Masonry three or four feet thick, and seems to have been Design'd only against Small Arms, probably against, the Incursions of the Savages—

This Line I saw in severall places and have had a Little Information about it, and think it can make but Little resistance against Cannon; it has a Ditch only before some of the faces, where the Ground seems to Obstruct the Defence of the Opposite Flanks—

The outward Line (s, t, u,) seems to be of a more Modern Construction, and Probably part of a Design intended to be Cannon Proof, and Continued across to the Bay, this Line stands upon the highest Ground without a Ditch, and by the Information I had Continues no farther, than the Plan represents it—

The Lines marked (old Intrenchments) have Probably been thrown up, upon first settling the Country, without the Directions of Engineers, and seems to have been Demolish'd where they Interfer'd with the Designs that were afterwards Executed—

The Redoubt (v, w, x,) seems to be of Little Consequence, but must Probably be Silenced before a Beseiger Comes within them.

The only works within the Inner Line are the Redoubt or Citadel (b) the Cavilier (c) and the Castle, or Chateau (a).—

The two former I can give no Account of, but was told they were at work upon them when we were there, they must however be of Little Consequence, by their Smallness, they neither of them Scowr any of the Streets, they stand high, and were probably intended to defend the Ground without the Line.—

The Castle (a) Likewise calld a Citadel seems Only Intended for the Defence of the Governor Generals Palace, and is a Sort of a Court to it, taken up at present with Guns, Mortars and there Carriages there are a few small Arsenals round it

It is a Wall of Masonry four or five feet thick, and Scowrs only a street or two—

I am persuaded from all the Circumstances I could learn, that the place must be weak, towards the Land, and the Difficulty they made of our seeing it seems to confirm it, there is however one Circumstance much in its favour, which is that they can have Intelligence of a fleets appearing in the Gulf and time to bring the whole Force of Canada to their Assistance, before that Fleet, can probably get up the River—

#### ATTACK BY SHIPPING

From some of the Foregoing Circumstances I think it will appear that Shipping can Annoy the Low Town Only and can do little or no Prejudice to the High Town, but supposing the Low Town Destroy'd or in Possession of the Beseiger he is still as far from being Master of the High Town as he was before, he Can make no Lodgment in the former that he can keep Possession off. nor take any steps that shall facilitate his Getting into the Latter, and the Ships if within Cannon reach Lay Under a great Disadvantage ■■ they are Exposed to the fire of ■ Considerable Batt<sup>y</sup>. (1 of 36 Guns) to which they Can do no hurt, but if it is thought worth while to destroy the Low Town, for its own Sake, I should think it most adviseable to do it by Shells Only, and at ■ distance beyond the reach of Cannon Shott—

#### ATTACK BY LAND

An Attack by Land is the Only Method that promises Success, against the High Town and in all Probability it Could hold out but ■ very few Days against a Sufficient Force properly Appointed—

There is no judging with any Certainty where the Attacks

may be shortest and Easiest Carried on, without having seen the Ground, which I am told is very Uneaven and Rockey very thin of Soil and the Rock Extreemly hard—

The Weakest part by the Plan, seems to be the half Bastion (8) and the Bastion to the Left of it, but the Ground least favourable, and, were [*sic*] the Ground appears best Viz<sup>t</sup> round the Gardens about the Bastion (S) the works seems to be the Strongest which they were Undoubtedly aware of. but the Choice of an attack Cannott Long remain a Doubt, after the Place has been Properly reconiterd—

If the Beseiger once Gets into the Town there is nothing of Concequence, that Can afterwards oppose him, The Works (a, b, c,) are the Only things that Can, and they have been already Discribed as far as I know about them—

It will be very Proper in Case of Getting in, to take Possession Imediately of the Buildings, round the Great Square, Particulary [*sic*] the Jesuits Convent (e) and the Parish Church (g) The 57 Gun Battery (l) ought to be secured, at the same time and its Guns made use of, in Case of Necessity against the above works, which will save Time and Trouble—

#### NAVIGATION OF THE RIVER ST LAURENCE

Tho the navigation of the River ought not to be undertaken without the Assistance, of a Pilott well Acquainted with the head Lands, Currents & Anchoring Places, yet I am far from thinking it to be as Difficult, and Dangerous as the French would have the World believe. In the Passage down the the [*sic*] River we mett Only with two Difficulties worth Mentioning and they are Observ'd by Charles Voix, and in a Chart of the River Lately Publishd by M<sup>r</sup> Jeffery's—

The first was in the Traverce or Crossing at the Lower End of the Isle of Orleans, were [*sic*] the Channel is very Narrow and some what Crooked, and not to be Attempted but with



Enough of Day Light, and a fair Wind, there are Directions in Jeffery's Chart for Sailing through it—

The next Difficulty was at the Island of Coudres, where [*sic*] there is a whirl Pool, that forms to Different Currents According as it happens to be Tide, of Flood or Ebb and these Currents carry the Vessels inevitably Ashore, Unless they have fair wind Enough to stem them,

I remember Charles Voix mentions severall other Difficulties in the account of his Voyage up the River, particularly [*sic*] some round the red Island, and Contrary to the received Opinion he says there is no Harbour in the Island of Anticosti. Tho his Account is worth perusing it is not to be Supposed, Compleatly as he was no Seaman and never made the Voyage but once

The Baron Dieskau and his Aid de Camp Mons<sup>r</sup>. Berneir taked [*sic*] at New York of an Invention, the French had Discoverd, for Infallibly Destroying Ships Going up the River — AT QUEBECK we found this Invention to be w<sup>t</sup> they Call (Radeaux a Feu,) Fire Rafts of which there is a Store provided, They are Loggs of Timber tyed together by the Ends so as to form a Chain, and Coated over with a Strong Composition, they are to be set on Fire when the Ships are Near and floated off from some of the Islands down the Stream, and Clinging round the Ships Bows set them on fire, tho this Invention does not seem to threaten much Danger, Especialy if the Boats are out, it is adviseable to be Prepar'd against its taking Effect—

#### LANDING THE TROOPS

It will be an advantage to Land the Troops on the Town Side of the River, which is the North, but I am very doubtful whether their Landing, within a proper distance of the place, Can be Coverd by the Shiping, it is said there is not Water Enough in the North Channel of the Isle of Orleans for vessels of Burthen, and above the Island that it is shallow Water along the North shore a good way out—

For these Reasons I should think it most adviseable to Land upon the Island itself and make it a Rendezvous, the ships may Get to a Proper Anchoring Ground Either in the South Channel or between the Island and Town, and I think Measures, may be taken, for making a Descent, or Landing from thence in an Easier and better Manner than from On board it will Probably make the Enemy more Doubtfull were [*sic*] the Landing is Intended, which may be ■ Very Considerable advantage—

I should think it very Comodious to keep Possession of this Island while the Troops remain there, but to this, the Great Extent of it may be an Objection—

PAT MACKELLAR Eng<sup>r</sup> in Ord<sup>y</sup>

## VI

### PAPERS RELATIVE TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL MURRAY'S EXPEDITION ABOVE QUEBEC, AUGUST, 1759.

[From General Murray's Letters, Canadian Archives, M. 98, D.]

(I) *Journal, August 5 to 8. (Incomplete; perhaps a portion of the succeeding document.)*

Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 5th of August march'd with y<sup>e</sup> Detachment to Gorehams post, arrivd there about one of the morning of the 6th but the boats in place of going there went to y<sup>e</sup> Sutherland, it was therefore one o'clock afternoon before we could embark in the boats, we reach'd the Ships about 6 o'clock. in my way I made a faint to land at St. Mitchel where they were intrenchd and Sufficiently on their guard. At Cape Rouge they have taken post I can't say I observ'd any in-trenchment Tuesday the 7th. the Ships moved up ■ far as Cape Anthony, the Pilots would not take even y<sup>e</sup> cats farther, As our Ships moved up, ■ considerable body of foot kept pace with us, they appear'd to be regulars, and this day the dragoons and some foot took post on the hight of St. In°. I determin'd to push up with y<sup>e</sup> boats Sloops, & floating batteries to de Chambau and Attack y<sup>e</sup> magazines while the Admiral was employ'd in sounding & making himself master of the Channel, gave therefore orders for y<sup>e</sup> necessary provisions &c for this enterprize but the current ran so strong that it was put off till Thursday.

Wednesday the 8th in y<sup>e</sup> morning I perceiv'd three of the french floating batteries at point au Tremble, the Admiral

agreed, that it was very practicable to cut them off and drive them on Shore : he made a disposition for that purpose of the two Sloops, and the two floating batteries, & I determin'd to land the troops at low water, a little above point au Tremble the only place within reach free from precipices, & wood, this with a view to bring the Enemy to fight in defence of their floating batteries. In attempting to land with the light infantry supported by Amherst's Regt. & ye other Batt<sup>n</sup> the Highland comp<sup>y</sup> got first on Shore, but a ledge of rocks prevented the others to push where they were order'd. As the Enemys fire was pretty smart tho' at too great a distance, & we saw them powering from all Sides to reinforce ye body defending the shore, I imputed the retardment, the Sunken rocks had occasioned, to fear in the other troops, and therefore in hopes to animate y<sup>e</sup> rest I instantly joind the Highlanders the others were not long in following me, but alas we found ourselves in the same Situation you was in near the Montmoranci, viz an impassable Depth of water betwixt us and the Shore, we were galled much in our attempts to ford it, but when I found it impracticable from y<sup>e</sup> then flowing Tide I beat y<sup>e</sup> retreat, which was obey'd with less confusion than I could have conceiv'd. Some of the boats gave us notable and [? aid] on this occasion with their Sweevels, & the behaviour of men & officers cannot be too much commended. As this Disappointment was animating to the Enemy, & discouraging to our troops, & the numbers they had at that time Shew'd was what I thought I could cope with especially as I could be reinforced by the floating batteries & one of the Sloops, (the other had run on Shore in pursuit of y<sup>e</sup> french batteries) I resolv'd to wait 'till near high water, & then to attack them without any interruption to my boats. I alter'd my former disposition by ordering Amhersts to land on the right betwixt y<sup>e</sup> windmill & y<sup>e</sup> Church of p. de Tremble, hoping by this to cut off the retreat of Enemy, or at least to make the Debarkation very easy for the other two Corps. but I was mistaken

they were every where in force, & carefully conceal'd, till we were too farr engaged.

Their Regulars were drawn up to y<sup>e</sup> right of & behind y<sup>e</sup> Church, and the Canadiens marchd down in Crowds from all the adjacent woods. Our boats were soon thrown into confusion, many of the Seamen killed, & wounded which obliged most of the boats of the light infantry to retreat, or ly an unactive object to y<sup>e</sup> Enemys fire. When I saw this, & that they had lined the wind mill, houses, Church & occupied the whole front where Amhersts could land that the Tide was now beginning to ebb, and would soon leave the boats dry, I gave it up and order'd the troops on board.

Endorsed, Papers relative to Gen<sup>l</sup> Murrays Expedition  
above the Town.

(2) *Report of Brigadier-General Murray to Major-General Wolfe, August 28. (Incomplete.)*

the only fortification was a very large Square Stockade with a good Banket in the front of the Church for any thing I know it never was meant for more than the Curés Garden, it was large enough however for a thousand Men, commanded the road, and from its Situation was strong enough to be defended against any number of men without Cannon. I immediately sent Col<sup>o</sup> Young to examine the Magazine which I visited in person. I gave him orders to search for papers and to burn all the Officers baggage. which agreeable to your orders he did, and reported to me that it consisted of that the Cloathing spare Camp Equipage Arms &c of the Regular troops in Canada, and of the Marquis de Montcalms & Monsieur de Levis personal baggage, there were many explosions whence I conclude some of the Casks in the Cellar were gun powder or Cartridges. The Col<sup>o</sup> for what reason I know not did not examine them. the rest of the day was employ'd in destroying all that could be of service to the Enemy, and in skirmish-



ing with the french foot Dragoons, and Indians, who never came near enough to hurt a man of my detachment tho they fired constantly upon Us for two or three hours. I impute this to the dread they had of the English Musket which I found necessary to use in their way at a distance & am confident by so doing I have saved the lives & limbs of a great many of your troops.

Tides are more apté to attempt any thing you may think proper against y<sup>e</sup> north shore from Cape Rouge to Jake Quartier the proscribed bounds for our Shipping, from what I have seen & know Canadiens will never attack Us but in woods, or when We are in your boats, their arms & order will not admit of it. have therefore [*torn*] wisht I could have had it in my power to attack any of their intrencht posts, You are the Judge if it will be prudent after the Cheques we have met with to attempt them without a few light pieces, and ■ small reinforcement, a landing from Gentlemans bay may be stole at any time but it must be in the night, . . . at high Water the impossibility of doing it under l . . . cover of your Ships & the nature of the Shore makes that necessary. & the Detachment & your humble servant will be ready to obey your commands the night of the 2<sup>d</sup> of September the soonest the tide will answer.

JA: MURRAY.

Endorsed: To Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe. The Report of the Detachment above Quebec under y<sup>e</sup> Command of Brigadier Murray August y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>.

but  
(3) As I judge [*sic*] am of Opinion I could not answer attacking any of their intrencht posts this side Jac Quartier with the small detachment I have, without artillery, or any thing to cover my retreat, You are the best judge if it will be proper I with the Detachment will chearfully and zealously attempt to execute your orders.

(4) *Letter of Brigadier-General Murray to Rear-Admiral  
Holmes, August 11, 1759.*

St Antony, August y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1759

SIR,

I just now receiv'd a message from you by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton, viz that you would go five miles further up the River if I thought it consistant with the safety of the Troops encamped here.

I understand the principal bussiness of the Ships, and Troops under your command & mine to be that of the Distruction or taking the Enemys Ships which are up the River You are best Judge if that is now practicable if you think it is I am confident no time should be lost in attempting it. and the Troops shall embarke this afternoon or to morrow and follow the Ships, whose protection is not necessary while we are on Shore. The Second object is the Distruction of the french Magazines at de Chambau, that is a land operation, I know not only from the intelligence I have got from y<sup>e</sup> prisoners, but from ocular demonstration that the Enemy are stronger than I am, and that therefore what I attempt against them must be by surprize I never can surprize them by moving with the fleet or in the day their motions on Shore must be quicker than yours by the tide, I did therefore yesterday propose to You that we should remain where we are 'till the tides will admit of going up to Chambau in the boats in the night, and that the fleet might follow y<sup>e</sup> next Tide by which time the Stroke at Chambau would be struck you then seemed to relish my proposal so much that till I receiv'd the Message by Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton I understood is [*sic*] was settled betwixt us that it should be put in Execution, but reflection or perhaps some intelligence you have got has made you alter your opinion if so I am as I said before ready to follow with

166 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

the troops and you need not loose ■ moment on their account  
I have the honor to be Sir

Your most obedient &

most humble Servant

JA: MURRAY

copy in Murray's handwriting

endorsed : Copy of a Letter to Admiral Holmes

S<sup>t</sup>. Antoine

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup> 1759

## VII

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC.

[From *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay*: *Canadian Archives*, C<sup>n</sup> I. 105-3 (otherwise F. 105<sup>ter</sup>): transcript from the original in the *Archives Nationales* (*Archives des Colonies, Canada, Correspondance Générale*, 1764).

This *Mémoire* was published under the direction of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1861.]

- (1) Instructions of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Ramezay, the 13th September, 1759.
- (2) Letter of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Ramezay, the 13th September, 1759.
- (3) Another letter of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Ramezay, the 13th September, 1759.
- (4) Petition of the citizens of Quebec to the Commandant and higher officers of the city.
- (5) The Council of War held by the Sieur de Ramezay on the 15th September, 1759.

(1) COPIE DU MÉMOIRE DE MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS DE VAUDREÜIL, POUR SERVIR D'INSTRUCTION MONSIEUR DE RAMZAY, COMMANDANT DE QUEBEC, ECRITTE AU QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL, LE 13 SEPTEMBRE 1759.

La position que l'ennemi occupe audessus de Quebec malgré les puissans efforts que nous venons de faire pour l'en déposter devenant de moment en moment encore plus inac-

cessible par les retranchemens qu'il ■ faits, ce qui joint à l'échec que nous avons eu, et au deffaut de subsistances dont nous manquerons totalement, nous met dans l'absolüe nécessité de faire nôtre retraite n'ayant point d'autre parti à prendre pour nous maintenir dans la Colonie.

Nous prévenons Monsieur de Ramezay, qu'il ne doit pas attendre que l'ennemi l'emporte d'assaut, ainsi si-tôt qu'il manquera de vivres, il arborera le drapeau blanc et enverra l'officier de la garnison le plus capable et le plus intelligent pour proposer sa capitulation conformément aux articles cy-après que nous appuyons de nos observations en marge.

#### ARTICLE PREMIER

Demander les honneurs de la Guerre pour sa garnison, et qu'elle soit ramenée à l'armée l'armée en sureté par le chemin le plus court.

*Nota.*—Ce n'est pas le cas d'insister, il faut consentir à être prisonnier de guerre pour être transporté, officiers, soldats et matelots en France, à la charge de n'y pas servir jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient échangés.

#### ARTICLE 2

Que les habitants soient conservés dans la possession de leurs maisons, biens, effets et privilèges.

#### ARTICLE 3

Que les dits habitans ne pourront être recherchés pour avoir porté les armes à la deffense de la ville, attendu qu'ils y ont été forcés, et que les habitans des Colonies des deux couronnes y servent également comme milices.

*Nota.*—Si l'ennemi fait quelque difficulté, consentir qu'il ajoute au premier article, jusqu'à ce que la possession du Canada soit déterminée par un traité de paix et luy faire entendre que c'est l'intérêt de S. M. B. dans le cas où elle



voudroit le garder. Si le général demande le désarmement des habitans et qu'ils promettrent de ne plus servir contre S. M. B. y consentir.

ARTICLE 4

Qu'il ne sera pas touché aux effets des officiers et habitans absents. Doit être accordé.

ARTICLE 5

Que les dits habitans ne seront point transférés ny tenus de quitter leurs maisons jusqu'à ce qu'un traité définitif entre S. M. E. C. et S. M. B. ayant réglé leur état. Doit être accordé.

ARTICLE 6

Que l'exercice de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine sera conservé, et que l'on donnera des sauvegardes aux maisons des ecclésiastiques, religieux et religieuses particulièrement M. l'Evesque de Quebec, que rempli de zèle pour la religion, et de charité pour le peuple de son diocèse désire y rester constamment, exercer librement et avec la descendance que son état et les sacrés mystères de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine exigent, son autorité épiscopale dans la ville de Quebec lorsqu'il jugera à propos, jusqu'à ce que la possession du Canada ait été décidée par un traité entre S. M. E. C. et S. M. B.

*Nota.*—Prouver que c'est l'intérêt de S. M. B. dans le cas où le Canada lui resteroit, et qu'en Europe toutes les conquêtes que font les divers souverains, ils ne changent point l'exercice de religion, qu'en tant que ces conquêtes leur restent.

ARTICLE 7

Que l'artillerie et les munitions de guerre seront remises de bonne foy et qu'il en sera fait et dressé un inventaire.

*Nota.*—Si l'ennemi refuse l'inventaire, l'article à ne pas disputer.

## ARTICLE 8

Qu'il sera usé envers les malades, blessés, commissaires, aumôniers, médecins, chirurgiens, apoticaire, et autres personnes employées au service des hopitaux conformément au traité d'échange du 6 février 1759, convenu' entre leurs M. E. C. et B.

*Nota.*—Article nécessaire et insister quand même la garnison se rendroit prisonnière de guerre.

## ARTICLE 9

Qu'avant de livrer la porte et l'entrée de la ville aux troupes anglaises, leur général voudra bien remettre quelques soldats pour être mis en sauvegarde aux églises, couvents et principales habitations.

## ARTICLE 10

Qu'il sera permis au lieutenant de Roy, commandant dans la ville de Quebec, d'envoyager informer le Marquis de Vaudreuil, Gouverneur Général de la Reddition de la Place, comme aussi que ce général pourra écrire au Ministre de France pour l'en informer.

## ARTICLE 11

Que la présente capitulation sera exécutée suivant sa forme et teneur, sans qu'elle puisse être sujette à inexécution sous prétexte de représailles ou d'une inexécution de quelque capitulation précédente.

*Nota.*—Le général anglois traittera peut être cet article d'inutile. Il faut luy répondre modestement qu'il est d'une précaution convenable pour obvier à toute difficulté au reste s'il y en apporte ce n'est pas un article à s'oppiniâtrer.

Fait à nôtre Quartier Général le 13 Septembre 1759.

Signé DE VAUDREUIL.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

(2) COPIE DE LA LETTRE DE MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS  
DE VAUDREÜIL, ÉCRITTE AU QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL LE  
13 SEPTEMBRE 1759 À 6 HEURES DU SOIR.

A Monsieur de Ramezay.

J'ay reçu Monsieur les deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire par lesquelles je vois votre attention d'observer la position de l'ennemy, elle luy devient d'instant en instant plus avantageux, ce qui joint à d'autres motifs, me met dans la nécessité de faire ma retraite ces motifs sont détaillés dans l'instruction que vous trouverrés cy, jointe à laquelle je vous prie de vous conformer avec tout le zèle que je vous ait toujours connu pour le service du Roy lorsque les circonstances l'exigeront, du reste je ne puis que m'en rapporter à vous et à votre amour pour la patrie. Je vous donnerai de mes nouvelles demain.

Vous connoissés l'attachement sincère avec lequel j'ay l'honneur d'être Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé VAUDREUIL.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAYE.

(3) COPIE D'UNE AUTRE LETTRE DE MONSIEUR  
LE MARQUIS DE VAUDREÜIL, ÉCRITTE LE 13 7<sup>BRE</sup>.

Monsieur de Ramezay.

J'ay reçu Monsieur, toutes vos lettres, vous avez vu par celle que j'ai eü l'honneur de vous écrire et l'instruction qui y étoit jointe, le parti que je suis obligé de prendre, en égard aux circonstances, ainsi je ne puis que m'en rapporter à tout ce que je vous ai marqué. Comme je pars dans le moment je

vous prie, de ne plus m'écrire dès ce soir. Je vous donnerai de mes nouvelles demain.

Je vous souhaite le bonsoir.

Signé DE VAUDREUIL.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

(4) COPIE DE LA REQUÊTE DES BOURGEOIS DE  
QUEBEC PRÉSENTÉE AUX COMMANDANT ET OFFICERS,  
MAJORS DE LA VILLE DE QUEBEC.

Messieurs les Commandant et Officers, Majors de la Ville de  
Quebec.

Le lieutenant général civil et criminel de cette ville et Maire d'Icelle, Jean Claude Panet, notaire Royal et Procureur du Roy commis de la ditte ville, Jean Eachet négociant et syndic des négociants de la ditte ville, et autres bourgeois et citoyens d'icelle et marchands forains soussignés, ont l'honneur de vous représenter Messieurs, qu'il falloit un évènement aussi fâcheux et décisif que celui du treize pour intimider les citoyens de cette ville et leur donner lieu à penser à leur conservation et à celle de leurs biens, jusqu'à ce fatal jour, un bombardement de soixante trois jours, ne les avoit point intimidés, les veilles et un service fatigant ne les avoit point rebutés, si des vivres médiocres avoient affoiblis leurs forces, le courage et l'espérance de triompher de l'ennemi le relevoit; enfin la perte actuelle de leurs biens même ne les touchoit point, ils étoient insensibles à tout, si ce n'étoit au désir de conserver la ville cette flatteuse espérance étoit soutenüe par une armée qui les couvroit qui leur laissoit le passage libre et qui leur assuroit la communication des vivres, mais malheureusement pour eux, elle ne subsiste plus et ils ne voyent qu'avec peine la plus sensible que les trois quarts de leur sang, rependu n'empêcheroit point l'autre quart de tomber sous le joug de l'ennemy pour devenir les victimes de leur fureur.

Quel spectacle pour cette petite portion de voir leurs femmes et leurs enfants immolés à leur rage ! ces habitans infortunés n'ont d'autre ressource que de rendre leur joug le moins dur qu'il leur sera possible, ce qu'ils vont avoir l'honneur Messieurs, de vous prouver par des raisons aussi simples que solides.

#### PREMIÈRE RAISON

Vous n'ignorez point Messieurs, que nous n'avons de vivres dans cette ville à fournir à mi-ration pour huit jours ; le compte exact que vous vous en êtes fait rendre nous l'assure.

#### DEUXIÈME RAISON

La communication des vivres qui pouvoient être destinés en partie pour la subsistance des cytoyens de cette ville nous est interdite, et ne peut être utile qu'au reste de l'armée, qui ne nous couvre plus ; quelle dure condition de tomber sous le joug de l'ennemy en luy demandant à manger le jour de sa soumission dans le tems qu'il est lui même peut être réduit à se retrancher.

#### TROISIÈME RAISON.

Le peu de troupes réglées et de citoyens exténués qui restent dans cette ville, la majeure partie en ayant diserté depuis le jour du treize pour se retirer dans les campagnes n'est point suffisant pour en garder surement l'enceinte avec d'autant plus de raison que nous avons deux parties de la ville à découvert, celle le long du cap aux diamants qui n'est fermée que par des pieux, partie voisine du terrain où est retranché l'ennemi, celle du Palais dont il est le maître des dehors, n'y a-t-il pas tout lieu de craindre à tous moments que l'ennemy puissant en nombre, soit par force ou par ruse ne se trouve dans le cœur de la ville le fer à la main, immoler sans distinction de qualité, d'âge et de sexe tout ce qui se présentera sous ses coups.

Enfin le tems presse d'obtenir une capitulation honorable, l'ennemy flatté d'une espérance de continuer ses conquêtes et de



pouvoir s'assurer une récolte pour nous faire vivre, eux-mêmes rendra nôtre sort plus doux, au lieu qu'en reculant sans espérance de pouvoir réussir nous ne ferons qu'augmenter ~~en~~ fureur.

Jettés donc Messieurs, des yeux de compassion sur le reste, tachés de les conserver pour leurs femmes, et leurs enfants, conservés même ceux et celles qui sont renfermés dans cette ville. Enfin sauvés leur le peu qu'il leur reste de l'incendie, il n'est point honteux de céder quand on est dans l'impossibilité de vaincre. C'est ce que les citoyens de cette ville se flattent de vous avoir démontré, Messieurs, et ils espèrent de votre humanité que vous ne voudrés pas les exposer aux rigueurs d'un assaut et de la famine, signés Daine, Panet, procureur du Roy, Eachet syndic de Commerce, Pierre Jehannes, Ch. Morin, Boisseau, Voyès, Messieurs Riverin, Dubreuil, Cha. Cosseau, Larcher, Cardeneau, Formel, Meynardie jeune, Moreau fils, Monnier, Gautier, J. Lassale, L'Evesque, Fremont, Grellaux, Lée, Boissey, Jean Monnier, et Malroux.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

(5) COPIE DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE TENU PAR  
MONSIEUR DE RAMEZAY DE QUEBEC.

Aujourd'huy, quinze du mois de Septembre mil sept cent cinquante neuf. Monsieur de Ramezay Lieutenant pour le Roy au Gouvernement de Quebec, ayant jugé nécessaire d'assembler le Conseil de guerre des principaux officiers qui composent sa garnison, pour délibérer sur les moyens de deffense de la Place de Quebec bombardée et canonée depuis le 12 Juillet dernier et investie du treize du mois de septembre, après la perte d'un combat et la retraite de l'armée qui couvroit la place; et après avoir fait lecture des ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil Gouverneur général, il a été verifié que cette place peu susceptible de deffense étant fermée en partie

d'une simple palissade auroit pû par son artillerie et ses munitions de guerre, résister quelque tems aux efforts de l'ennemy si la partie des vivres s'étoit trouvée aussi abondante, mais les états produits par les comis du Munitionnaire général, et les recherches exactes faittes chez les différents particuliers de la ville ont prouvé qu'il ne restoit en vivres de toute espère qu'environ quinze ou seize mille rations, les dittes rations réduite à la moitié et même au quart pour nourrir plus plus de six mille bouches, dont deux mille deux cent combattants, miliciens, ou matelots, deux mille six cent femmes, ou enfants, mille à douze cent hommes aux hopitaux, employés, communautés d'hommes et de femmes ou prisonniers de guerre.

D'après cet exposé Monsieur de Ramezay président en sa qualité de Lieutenant pour le Roy dans la Place ■ requis Messieurs le Chevalier de Bernetz Lieutenant colonel d'Infanterie, le Chevalier Doms Delestang de celles, Daurillan, Daubrepy de S<sup>t</sup>. Vincent, Deparfourn, de Bigat, de Marcel capitaine d'Infanterie, Messieurs de Piedmont, de Lusignan, capitaine d'artillerie, de Cerry, et de Pellegrin capitaine de port. Monsieur de Joannès capitaine ayde major au régiment de Languedoc, Major de la Place de donner leur avis par écrit pour décider sur le parti à prendre dans la conjoncture présente lesquels ont opinés comme il suit.

Vu l'exposé du Conseil de guerre et les raisons qui ont obligé Monsieur de Ramezay de l'assembler, je ne vois point d'autre parti à prendre que de tâcher d'obtenir de l'ennemy la meilleure capitulation qu'il sera possible à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé      PELLEGRIN.

Vu le manque total de vivres, étant sans aucune espérance de secours, mon sentiment est de remettre la Place, et d'en sortir avec le plus d'hommes que nous pourrons à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé      DAILLEBOUST CERRY.

L'investissement de la Place fait, les batteries de l'ennemi au moment de jouer, sans espoir de secours, l'armée qui nous couvroit s'étant repliée, comme nous en pouvons juger par le mémoire instructif de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil à Monsieur de Ramezay, menacé de famine sous deux jours, j'opine qu'il est tems de composer avec l'ennemy pour pouvoir obtenir des conditions honorables qu'il nous refuseroit s'il étoit instruit du manque de vivres où nous nous trouvons à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé LUSIGNAN, fils.

De réduire encore la ration et pousser la deffense de la Place, jusqu'à la dernière extremité à Quebec les 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé PIEDMONT.

D'après l'exposé de Monsieur de Ramezay, le seul article des vivres me détermine d'opiner qu'il n'est guère possible d'attendre une plus grande extrémité pour tâcher d'obtenir de l'ennemy la capitulation la plus honorable possible tel est mon avis à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé MARIET.

Vu l'extremité où la Place se trouve réduite pour les vivres, mon avis est de demander à capituler à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé BIGART.

Vu les raisons cy-dessus exposées et prouvées et après avoir réduit la garnison de cette place à la plus petite ration mon avis est de capituler à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé PARFOURN.

Vu l'exposé qui nous assemble, le dénombrement des vivres, la quantité de bouches qui est dans cette place investie de toutes parts. Je conclus qu'il est à propos d'obtenir de

## THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC 177

nos ennemis, une capitulation aussi avantageuse qu'il sera possible. A Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé ST. VINCENT.

Vu l'exposé et le peu de vivres, je conclus à capituler le plus honorablement qu'il sera possible à Quebec le 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé DAUBREPY.

L'extrême disette de vivres où est la place, l'impossibilité d'en recevoir, et de très mauvaises fortifications délabrées m'oblige à opiner qu'on obtienne au plutôt une capitulation honorable aux armes du Roy, et dans laquelle les troupes réglées soient libres d'aller rejoindre leurs corps à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé DAURILLANT.

Vu le peu de vivres qui sont dans la Place, nous devons tâcher de faire une capitulation honorable à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé DE L'ESTANG DE CELLE.

Sur le compte qui a été rendu, le Conseil de guerre, assemblé, la disette de vivres où se trouve la Place, mon avis est de faire des propositions à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé LE CHEVALIER DOMS.

J'opine attendu la disette des vivres qui nous manquent totalement de capituler aux conditions d'obtenir du général anglois, la meilleure capitulation et la plus honorable à Quebec le 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé LE CHEVALIER DE BERNETZ.

Vu l'état des vivres qui prouve qu'il ne peut y avoir de vivres que pour six à sept jours dans la place, en réduisant la ration au quart et qu'en faisant sortir même les femmes et enfans, cela ne pourroit prolonger que de peu de jours, la

reddition de la place, mon avis est qu'après avoir fait sortir de la ville un détachement choisi d'environ six cent hommes plus ou moins pour rejoindre et renforcer l'armée, le reste pris par préférence sur les Miliciens de la ville et gouvernement de Quebec, capitule pour obtenir les instructions de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil,<sup>1</sup> les conditions les plus honorables à Quebec le 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé JOANNÈS.

Vu les instructions que j'ay reçues de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, et la disette des vivres prouvée par les états à moy donnés et recherches que j'ay fait faire, je conclus à tâcher d'obtenir de l'ennemy la plus honorable capitulation à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre-François de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, was born at Montreal in 1704, the son of Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, and Louise Elizabeth de Joybert. His father was Governor of Canada from 1703 to 1725. The younger Vaudreuil, known first under the name of Cavagnal, entered the army, and became captain in 1715, major in 1726, and was made a Knight of St. Louis in 1730. Three years later he was appointed Governor of Three Rivers, and in 1742 of Louisiana, in both of which situations he was very popular. He became captain in the Royal Navy in 1746, and succeeded to his father's title in 1748. In 1755 he was elevated to the high position of Governor-General of Canada, being the first and only Canadian-born to attain that honour. He was also the last Governor under the French *régime*. His administration saw the brilliant victories of Montcalm, with whom he quarrelled, and the malversations of Bigot, whom he did not check. By the capitulation of Montreal, 1760, Canada became British, and in October Vaudreuil went back to France, where his capitulation was disapproved as premature, and unsatisfactory in its terms. He was even accused of having participated in the frauds and peculations of Bigot and his clique, and was imprisoned at the Bastille from January 21, 1761, to January 27, 1764, but was acquitted at the trial.

Vaudreuil, who had married, in Canada, Jeanne Charlotte Fleury de la Gorgendière, widow of François Verrier, seigneur de Rousson, had his *hôtel* in the Rue des Deux Boules, parish of St. Germain d'Auxerrois. His wife died in the autumn of 1763. Vaudreuil seems to have resided in Paris up to the time of his death, which took place there on August 4, 1778.



## VIII

### MÉMOIRES SUR LA DÉFENSE DE QUÉBEC, PAR LE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

[From the *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, edited by the Abbé Casgrain, vol. iv. pp. 168-170, 177-180.]

31 mai 1759.

Le salut de la colonie dépend principalement du succès d'un combat. Toutes nos vues doivent donc se porter à ne pas diviser nos forces et à ne pas faire des travaux inutiles, qui ne sauroient être achevés, qui fatigueroient trop le soldat, qui ne sauroient être gardés, ou, s'ils l'étoient, affoibliront trop l'armée.

J'ajouterai à ce premier principe incontestable, que notre grande attention doit être sur les moyens de passer la rivière Saint-Charles pour aller au-devant de l'ennemi, et sur ceux de repasser celles du Cap-Rouge et de Jacques-Cartier, dans le cas d'un événement malheureux. D'après ces deux principes, voici les ouvrages les plus importants et les plus pressés à faire, et auxquels il faut employer tous les bras possibles, sans perdre un moment, et distribuer les divers objets non seulement à MM. les ingénieurs et officiers d'artillerie; mais aux officiers particuliers capables d'exécuter :

1° Travailler aux ponts sur les trois rivières de Saint-Charles, le Cap-Rouge et Jacques-Cartier;

2° L'ouvrage pour couvrir la tête du pont;

3° Arranger les deux bâtiments dunkerquois et y établir des batteries;

4° Employer le plus de bras qu'il sera possible pour fermer de son mieux la haute et la basse-ville. On convient que la

basse-ville ne sera jamais bien fermée ; mais au moins il faut qu'elle en ait l'apparence pour en imposer à l'ennemi et lui en rendre l'attaque difficile et meurtrière ;

5° Mettre toutes les batteries en état et se borner pour ce qui est de la basse-ville aux pièces qui y sont actuellement ;

6° Fournir le plus de Canadiens maniant la hache que l'on pourra à la construction, pour achever la batterie flottante, les bateaux portant du canon, les chaloupes carcassières et les brûlots et cajeux.

Il faut dès ce soir faire le détail de tout ce qu'on peut fournir d'ouvriers, tant des troupes de terre que de celles de la colonie et des Canadiens, et les employer dès après demain avec les officiers, et ne songer à commencer aucun ouvrage que ceux-là ne soient finis.

Ces ouvrages une fois parachevés, on pourra employer toutes les troupes et Canadiens à faire une redoute à l'entrée de la rivière Saint-Charles, et un retranchement à tous les endroits de la dite rivière qui sont guéables. Tout autre ouvrage me paroît inutile dès qu'on ne peut se flatter d'avoir le temps ni les moyens de faire tous ceux qui avoient été projetés. Il faut seulement s'occuper d'une bonne formation de troupes de la colonie, des moyens d'avoir quelques pièces de campagne et de quoi conduire les munitions à la suite des troupes.

Ces objets remplis, M. le chevalier de Lévis, avec les officiers de l'état-major, ira leur marquer le camp de guerre déterminé ce matin sur les hauteurs de Beauport et voir d'en préparer les communications, et il faudra attendre les ennemis avec autant de tranquillité que de courage.

A l'égard des opérations maritimes, il faut décider la question des frégates.

J'estime que deux au-dessus de Québec, dans la partie de Sillery, feront très bien.

Disposer d'avance les cajeux, les bateaux armés, etc. Si l'on avoit des chemises souffrées, on en pourroit faire usage,

dès à présent qu'ils sont à l'ancre et qu'ils s'en doutent moins, vu notre éloignement.

Tel est l'avis que j'ai l'honneur de proposer.

MONTCALM.

Fait à Québec, le 31 mai 1759.

28 juin 1759.

L'avant-garde des ennemis est maintenant à quinze lieues de nous. Nous ne savons pas ce qu'ils ont en arrière qui peut être joint d'un moment à l'autre. Notre armée ne sera pas rassemblée et en état de combattre avant quinze jours. Si les ennemis viennent avant, qu'est-ce qui peut faire notre salut ? Ce ne sera pas la défense de la ville : ce sera donc le succès des brûlots et des cajeux. D'après cela mon avis est : De réduire l'artillerie aux cent travailleurs que nous leur donnons de nos soldats, et que l'artillerie se presse de mettre du canon sur la branche droite du quai de l'ancienne construction ;

Que le génie se contente de cinquante Canadiens maniant la hache, avec les charpentiers qui les conduisent actuellement, sans y en mettre davantage, le travail qu'ils font ne pouvant jamais être que pour obtenir une espèce de capitulation pour la place, l'armée battue ;

Que les dunkerquois soient coulés aux endroits indiqués avec la plus grande diligence et garnis d'artillerie ; que l'on emploie tous les bras aux opérations maritimes et que, pour cet effet, on rende à la rade ses matelots, et que l'on envoie de suite les Canadiens, à mesure qu'ils arriveront, pour faire les cajeux avec le sieur Courval.

A l'égard des ponts absolument nécessaires sur les rivières Saint-Charles, le Cap-Rouge et Jacques-Cartier, besogne longue, je les simplifierois au moyen de bacs ou radeaux qu'on tireroit avec la cinquenelle, d'autant que le passager assure l'avoir mesuré cet hiver sur les glaces, et que la rivière Saint-Charles a cent et quelques toises de largeur.

Pour cet objet, M. de Pontleroy donneroit les bois qu'il

avait destinés à des blindages, dont il n'est plus temps de s'occuper, et d'autres bois, si on en trouvoit dans la ville, à des particuliers.

Mettre nos frégates en état de combattre le plus tôt possible. Le régiment de Languedoc travaillera de suite à faire un ouvrage pour couvrir les bacs de la rivière Saint-Charles; M. de Pontleroy le conduira.

Envoyer des partis par terre avec des Canadiens et sauvages. Si on n'a point d'officiers canadiens pour les conduire, j'offre MM. de La Rochebeaucourt, Calan et autres officiers des troupes de terre qui ne demandent pas mieux en leur donnant des Canadiens pour guides.

Je propose de mettre en vigie le Sieur Duserre, capitaine malouin, avec une lunette, à la pointe de l'île d'Orléans ou autre lieu que M. Pellegrin indiquera; il établira en conséquence la communication par des signaux.

M. Le Mercier doit songer à faire charger ses bombes, mettre ses batteries en état et à avoir une disposition nécessaire de canonniers et de bombardiers, pour se porter de suite au service des batteries en cas d'alerte, ainsi que l'état nécessaire des hommes à prendre dans la rade. D'ailleurs, il faudroit attacher un officier de la rade uniquement occupé de la partie des artifices, et, s'ils on besoin de bras, on leur en donnera.

On pourra employer à cet ouvrage tous les tambours, comme il est d'usage dans les places assiégées, en en réservant deux pour le service de la place.

M. Dumas doit dès aujourd'hui ranger par compagnies tout ce qui est en état de se porter en avant ou de combattre dans la ville, et leur attacher des officiers de milices ou notables bourgeois, en attendant qu'on puisse avoir des officiers de troupes réglées.

Je crois qu'il seroit très avantageux de former de suite des compagnies de volontaires canadiens.

Tel est mon avis, ce 28 au matin.

MONTCALM.

Je propose encore 1° de faire toutes les batteries qui environnent la basse-ville, à barbette, sans même de genouillères, ni plates-formes, si on ne peut pas les faire actuellement. Ces batteries n'auront d'effet qu'autant que l'ennemi en mouilleroit de fort près, et alors on n'y tiendrait pas mieux avec des épaulements ;

2° De repartir dès ce moment officiers et soldats d'artillerie à leurs postes ;

3° Enfin de faire, pour le cas d'une alerte, la répartition générale de tout le monde, terre, marine et colonie, sauf à ajouter à la disposition à mesure que nos forces augmenteront.



## IX

### MÉMOIRE POUR LA DÉFENSE DES ENVIRONS DE QUÉBEC, LA CAMPAGNE DE 1759, PAR LE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS. (Incomplet.)

[From the *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, edited by the  
Abbé Casgrain, vol. iv. pp. 162-164.]

*Disposition générale pour s'opposer à la descente depuis la rivière  
Saint-Charles jusqu'au Sault de Montmorency, de même que  
pour se retirer derrière la rivière Saint-Charles dans le cas  
que l'on fût forcé à la descente ; projet pour défendre cette  
rivière et ordre de bataille pour combattre et pour camper toute  
la campagne.*

#### ORDRE DE BATAILLE

La brigade du gouvernement de Québec, composée de . . .  
soldats de la marine ou Canadiens, et la brigade du gouverne-  
ment des Trois-Rivières, composée de . . . soldats de la  
marine ou Canadiens, camperont à la droite de l'armée.

Les troupes de terre, composées des bataillons de la Sarre,  
Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc, Guyenne et Béarn camperont  
au centre.

Les milices de la ville de Montréal composées de . . .  
hommes, et la brigade du gouvernement de Montréal, com-  
posée de soldats de la marine ou Canadiens camperont à la  
gauche de l'armée.

La réserve sera composée de la cavalerie, des troupes  
légères et des sauvages. L'artillerie, aux ordres de M. Le

## LA DÉFENSE DES ENVIRONS DE QUÉBEC 185

Mercier, et les vivres camperont aux endroits les plus commodes et qui seront indiqués, de même que l'hôpital ambulante.

Les milices de la ville de Québec, composées . . . hommes, resteront pour servir de garnison à Québec, aux ordres de M. de Ramezay, lieutenant du Roi.

Les deux frégates du Roi resteront armées, et du désarmement des autres bâtiments, on armera les bâtiments destinés à combattre en avant de la rade, et, à mesure que ces bâtiments de viendront inutiles, les équipages entreront dans la place pour servir aux batteries qui leur auroient été indiquées d'avance.

M. Vauquelin, commandant de la rade,\* aura la direction de tous les bâtiments pour les employer dans les endroits qu'il croira le plus utile au bien du service, et, selon l'exigence des cas, il donnera ses ordres à tout ce qui est de la marine. Il ne peut avoir assez attention que les matelots avec les officiers se rendent exactement aux endroits où ils auront été destinés.

Comme M. de Ramezay ne pourra pas donner ses ordres en même temps dans toute la ville, il seroit nécessaire qu'il y eût un commandant particulier pour la basse-ville, qui seroit cependant aux ordres de M. de Ramezay et qui agiroit de

■ La rade est composée de cent un officiers et de seize cents matelots, dont il y en a quatre cents pour les deux frégates qui restent armées, et quatorze officiers;

Pour la garde des bâtiments au-dessus du Richelieu, vingt-quatre officiers et quatre cents matelots ;

Au lac Champlain quatre officiers et cent matelots ; ce qui fait quarante-deux officiers et neuf cents matelots.

Officiers et matelots employés pour le service de la rade qui doivent rentrer après leurs opérations :

Pour douze bateaux, cent cinquante-six, et vingt-quatre officiers ;

Pour trois chaloupes carcassières, quarante-cinq matelots et six officiers.

Pour les cajeux, vingt-cinq matelots et trois officiers ;

Pour la redoute flottante, vingt-cinq matelots et trois officiers.

Pour sept brûlots, deux cents matelots et quatorze officiers ;

Pour la gabarre, vingt matelots et quatre officiers ;

Pour les deux bâtiments qui sont en batterie, six officiers et quatre-vingt-huit matelots ; ce qui fait cinq cent soixante-dix-neuf matelots.

Il en reste cent vingt-un qui ne sont pas employés, et tous les officiers le sont.

concert avec lui, de même que les officiers du génie et de l'artillerie.

*Dispositions pour s'opposer à la descente.*

La ville de Québec livrée à ses propres forces, et à celles de la marine, l'armée passera la rivière Saint-Charles.

La droite, composée des brigades du gouvernement de Québec et des Trois-Rivières campera dans la plaine depuis. . . .

## X

### PRIVATE DIARY KEPT BY SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AT NIAGARA AND OSWEGO, 1759.

[From *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, by William L. Stone, Albany, 1865, vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 394-429.]

The garrison of Niagara surrendered July 25th at 7 in the morning. The number of which consisted of 607 men and 11 officers, besides a number of women, children, &c. The former to be sent to England by the way of New York, and escorted to Oswego by a detachment of the 46th, consisting of 300, the latter to the 1st French post with one Priest.

#### *Officers' Names in Garrison.\**

Chevalier Pouchot, captain of the regiment; De Bearn Condé Vilar,<sup>1</sup> captain of the regiment. La Saire Servier,<sup>2</sup> captain of the Royal Roussillon; Chevalier De La Roche Veinay,<sup>3</sup> captain of marines; Bouraffons, commanding officer of artillery; Consnoyer,<sup>4</sup> lieut. of a detachment of marines; Soluignag,<sup>5</sup> officer of the regm't of Bearn; Le Chevalier De Larminac,<sup>6</sup> lieutenant of marines; Joncaire, captain of marines.

Chabear Joncaire.<sup>7</sup>

Morambert, Lieut., De Guyendre,<sup>8</sup> Chirurgion, left to take care of the sick.

*July 26th.*—They embarked, after grounding their arms, and proceeded to Oswego.

\* See p. 244. The names appear as follows in the List of Officers (*Canadian Archives*, Series B, vol. xxvii. p. 22):

<sup>1</sup> Comte Villars.	<sup>2</sup> Servies.	<sup>3</sup> Vernys.
<sup>4</sup> Solvignac.	<sup>5</sup> Lerminac.	<sup>6</sup> Chabert Joncaire.

<sup>7</sup> The punctuation of these paragraphs is obviously incorrect; the pause should be placed after the regimental names, which should read: "Béarn," "La Sarre," "Royal Roussillon," and "Guyenne."

List of the officers, and cadets, taken in the action of July 24th, the whole consisted of 30 officers, of which three only escaped, the following were taken prisoners, and the rest killed, viz :

Aubrey, <sup>1</sup>	}	Comdts.
De Ligneris,		
Chevalier De Villier, <sup>2</sup>	}	Captains.
Montaigny, <sup>3</sup>		
Chevalier Desponligney,		
Mr. Marin,		
Mr. Gamelin, Captain of Militia.		
La Chauirgre, <sup>4</sup>	}	Lieutenants.
La Noye, <sup>5</sup>		
La Moelle, <sup>6</sup>		
Baitlent, <sup>7</sup>		
Mortisanbert, <sup>8</sup>		
Derius, <sup>9</sup>		
Feran, <sup>10</sup>		
Dequindre, Col.	}	Militia officers.
La Motte Domeille, Major, <sup>11</sup>		
Defilete, <sup>12</sup>	}	Cadets.
Deligneris,		
Soumandre,		
Barroiz, <sup>13</sup>		
Mr. Duclos ■ la garde.		
Boiford, <sup>14</sup>		Chirurgion major with their attendants.

27th.—I divided among the several nations, the prisoners and scalps amounting to two hundred and forty-six, of which ninety-six were prisoners. The officers I with difficulty released from them, by ransom, good words, &c.†

<sup>1</sup> Aubry.	<sup>2</sup> Villiers.	■ Montigny.	■ Chauvignery.
■ La Noue.	■ La Moele.	<sup>7</sup> Bailleuil.	■ Montizambert.
<sup>9</sup> Devins.	<sup>10</sup> Ferend.	<sup>11</sup> Douville.	<sup>12</sup> Defilet.
<sup>13</sup> Barrois.		<sup>14</sup> Boisard.	

\* Johnson probably took the names down by sound.

† Referring to the prisoners taken in the action of the 24th.



28th.—The greatest part of all the nations set off in boats with ■ deal of plunder for their several countries.

*Do. Die.* Buried Brigadier General Prideaux in the chapel, and Colonel Johnson with ■ great deal of form. I was chief mourner. The evening of the 27th, I sent 3 whale boats with ■ party of above 30 men to reconnoitre Fort Toronto, and on their return, propose to send to destroy it.

Colonel Haldimand arrived here with Captain Williamette<sup>1</sup> from Oswego, to claim the command, which I refused giving up, as my commission gave me rank of him. He gave up the point, until General Amherst's pleasure was known, which may be soon, ■ Col. Haldimand, on receipt of my letter, wrote him upon it.

In order to secure this important post to his majesty, it is necessary to leave for the present a garrison of 700 men, who are also to repair the works, which have been hurt by our cannon, and put the fort in the best posture of defence they can, with the assistance of an engineer, who is to be left here for that purpose.

To have the two vessels fitted out, armed, and manned to escort the battoes with the remainder of the army to Oswego; also endeavor to take the French schooner.

Artillery and ammunition to leave here, and have Captain Stretchy's<sup>2</sup> opinion in writing thereupon—also some artillery men and gunners.

The French officers and other prisoners to take with me to Oswego, and send them to York in order to be sent to England.

To write Governor De Lancey to send all the French prisoners to England as soon as possible.

5 days' provisions for the troops' journey to Oswego, and to get a return of the remainder.

Ammunition to carry with me to Oswego, and some

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Willyamos, appointed Captain 60th Regiment March 8, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Strachey, appointed Captain Royal Artillery February 4, 1757.

artillery—also working tools—good ship carpenters to send for immediately to New York; and everything necessary for building and completing two vessels of force, without which we cannot maintain the two posts of Oswego and Niagara, particularly the latter; also rigging for two other smaller vessels already built; about forty or fifty good house carpenters to be immediately sent up to make ■ fort at Oswego, and repair Niagara.

To write the secretary of state and send him a plan of Niagara; also, give him an idea of the consequence of it to his majesty's Indian interest; the extension of the free trade, and, above all, its cutting off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

To send Governor De Lancey ■ copy of the plan of the fort as soon as I can, in order to have it printed, or plates of it published for the benefit of the public.

To write to, and settle with the general how far my limits extend, for taking care of or managing Indian affairs, that I may regulate my passes and Indian trade.

29<sup>th</sup>.—I gave the French officers shoes, stockings, and blankets. I wrote by De Normandy to Oswego for all the ship carpenters to come here, to build 2 vessels of 18 guns each, and to bring all the naval stores, and as much provision, as they can, along as soon as may be; the house carpenters then to repair the battoes and make a number of oars, paddles, &c., against I get there; a detachment from the York regiment to come with the convoy. *Do. Die.* I write a letter to the secretary of state with ■ short account of the siege of Niagara; also sent him ■ plan of the fort, and ■ return of the killed and wounded in the siege and action of the 24<sup>th</sup> July—being 60 killed and 180 wounded, besides—3 Indians killed and 5 wounded—63 killed, 185 wounded.

30<sup>th</sup>.—At night Lieutenant Francis returned from Toronto, and reported that the enemy had burned and abandoned that post, and destroyed many things which they

could not take along, viz. working utensils, arms, &c. A Chippaway chief came to me with Mr Francis in order to speak with me.

31st.—I settled the garrison to be left here, and gave orders accordingly; also the train engineer, artificers, ammunition and provision. Also ordered the building of two good armed vessels at this place to carry 16 or 18 guns each.

*Do. Die.* I wrote a letter to General Amherst with a plan of the fort, a list of the killed and wounded, also a return of the effectives now here, and a list of artillery stores wanted for Niagara, given by Captain Stretchy. With which I sent Captain John Butler express and 7 of my batteau men with him.

*August 1st, 1759.*—I went to see Niagara Falls with Colonel Haldimand, Mr. Ogilvie, and several officers, escorted by three companies of light infantry. Arrived there about 11 o'clock; in my way at the thither end of the carrying place, I met a flag of truce from Presque Isle, desiring to know the number of officers I had in my hands, from the action of the 24th, and begging I would advance them anything they might want, they being men of fortune and credit. One letter was from the commandant of Presque Isle named Chevalier Poitneuf, the other from Mons. de Couagne, who came with the flag of truce, with 9 men and Indians. I ordered them to stay in the woods, and left Mr. Rogers with a guard with him, until I sent a message to them and provisions. The artillery was this day partly shipped on board the batteaus, the readier to be shipped to-morrow, with ammunition, &c.

22d.—I wrote a letter to the Chevalier—by the flag of truce, and sent Captain McLeon with a party to escort them to their boats. This day I ordered all the boats, &c., to be made ready for embarking the troops, &c., which are to go to Oswego, in order to leave this on the morrow. Spoke to the Chippaway sachem, Tequakareigh. With a string and two belts of wampum, I bid him welcome and shook him by the

hand. By the 2d, which was ■ black belt,<sup>1</sup> I took the hatchet out of the hands of his, and all the surrounding nations; recommended hunting and trade to them, which would be more for their interest than quarreling with the English, who have ever been their friends, and supplied them at the cheapest rates with the necessaries of life, and would do it again, both here and at Oswego, provided they quit the French interest. This I desired he would acquaint all the surrounding nations with. A black belt, the third and last, was to invite his, and all other nations living near them, to repair early next spring to this place and Oswego, when there should be ■ large assortment of all kinds of goods fit for their use; also recommended it to them to send some of their young men here to hunt and fish for the garrison, for which they would be paid, and kindly treated. Told them at the same time, that I would send some of my interpreters, &c., with him on the lake to the next town of the Mississigeys,<sup>2</sup> with whom I desired he would use his best endeavors to convince them that it would be their best interest to live in friendship with the English, and that we had no ill intentions against them, if they did not oblige us to it. To which he answered, and said it gave him great pleasure to hear so good words, and was certain it would be extremely agreeable to all the nations with whom he was acquainted, who, with his, were wheedled and led on to strike the English, which he now confessed he was sorry for, and assured me they never would again, and that should the French, according to custom, ask them to do so any more, they would turn them out of the country. He, at the same time, begged earnestly that a plenty of goods might be brought here and to Oswego, and there, they, as well ■ all the other nations around, would come and trade; and their young men should hunt for their brothers whom they now took fast hold of by the hand, and called upon the Six Nations, who were present, to bear witness to what he had

■ Black = purple.

■ Missisagas, Messesagus, Missisagais.



promised. He also desired I would send some person to the Mississagay town, near where Toronto stood, to hear what he should say to that nation, and to see that he would deliver my belts and message honestly. I clothed him very well, and gave him a handsome present to carry home. Then took from his neck ■ large French medal; gave him an English one, and a gorget of silver, desiring whenever he looked at them, he would remember the engagements he now made.

This day I agreed with Mr. De Couagne to serve at Niagara as interpreter, until relieved, at the rate of £12 per month. Colonel Haldimand, with Captain Williamore,<sup>1</sup> set off for Oswego with 2 whale boats. I desired him, on his arrival there, to send away the French women to La Galette immediately, with ■ good officer, capable to make remarks and draw the situation of that part of the country, so that I may know what to do in case it should be thought proper to attempt anything that way. Also have the boats ready against I arrive at Oswego, to send the French officers in from New York.

3rd.—I gave Lieut. Nellus and De Couagne orders to go over the lake with the Chippaway chief, and call the Missessagays, and speak with the commanding officer of Niagara and Oswego; also to trade with and hunt for their brethren the English. They, the interpreters, are to remain at Niagara, until further orders, and assist the commanding officer here all in their power.

This day I ordered some guns for the vessel and carriages, so as to be ready to-morrow morning to sail for Oswego with me. I sent a string of wampum by three Chenusios<sup>2</sup> to their nation, telling them now my surprise at their going away from hence in so a——\* manner, not allowing me a meeting where I in-

<sup>1</sup> Willyamos.

<sup>2</sup> Chenussios, the largest tribe of the Senecas residing in the Niagara district.

■ Illegible in the manuscript.



tended to have said something to them, and the rest of the nations—3 strings wampum. I sent them a white belt to thank them for the good salve they gave me for my wounds, meaning Niagara, and to desire they would continue to have a careful eye over it, and not suffer any nation to insult, or hurt it.

*Saturday, August 4th.*—I was to embark at 5 o'clock in the morning with the troops, &c., for Oswego, but the two French schooners appearing off harbor prevented our embarkation until 5 in the evening, when I left Colonel Farquhar everything in charge; also some Indian goods to give occasionally to such Indians as might come upon business to him. Then set off with all the Yorkers except one company; all the light infantry, and grenadiers, and the general's company of the 44th regiment, and arrived at Oswego, Tuesday, about 3 o'clock P.M., with everything safe.

*Wednesday 8th.*—Enquired into the state of the provisions, and everything else, and find provisions so short, and slowly sent up, that I fear those two posts on the lake will suffer greatly, unless other measures are taken to supply them, than hitherto has been. I sent away Ensign Brown D.I.M. to Fort Stanwix, also Major Hogan, in order to hurry up the bateaux with provisions. Also sent from hence this day 21 French officers with a captain, 2 subalterns, and sixty men, as a guard to Fort Stanwix. I also sent away to Fort Stanwix all sick and wounded, who were judged by the doctor unfit for service, or likely to continue so during the campaign, to prevent the consumption of provisions.

*9th.*—I was regulating the camp and works.

*10th.*—Getting returns of the state of everything belonging to the army, and writing to General Amherst, Governor De Lancey, &c. *Do. Die*; Some Mohawks, Onondagas, &c., arrived here from Niagara.

*11th.*—I dispatched an express, one ——— to Albany, with letters to the general and others. Also sent to Captain Jn. Butler to come up with what number of Mohawks, and others

he could, immediately. At the same time, I sent Captain Fonda, Lieutenant Hair, an interpreter, and others, to Onondaga, to call the young men of that nation here, to go upon service. I sent a black belt of wampum by him to speak with, and to send it to the other nations from thence. In the afternoon Captain De Fere arrived with part of the escort, went to the French garrison, and brought some provisions with them.

12th.—In the morning, the little schooner arrived here from Niagara with Captain De Normandy, and brought me a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar, commanding officer there. It rained very hard, which stopped the workmen. Very windy also.

In the afternoon I went to the woods, where the party were at work cutting and drawing timber, also building a small redoubt to cover the working parties—cut vistas through the woods, also, for the same purpose.

Monday 13th.—Very stormy in the morning. Had the schooner loaded notwithstanding, with the rigging, &c., belonging to our vessel, and fifty barrels of provisions. I wrote Colonel Farquhar by her, and employed Mr. Thody to go, and bring the new schooner down to this place. Gave orders to seize all sutler's rum, and put it in the king's store. Sent an order to the officer commanding at the falls, not to suffer any bateaux, &c., to pass with sutlers, or others, without they take the opportunity of an escort.

Tuesday 14th.—Sent an order to the Oneida Lake post, to keep 50 of the Provincials, who were a guard to the French garrison, to remain there, in the room of 50 sailors there, who are to come here in order to navigate the vessels. I sent Lieutenant Francis with 60 men and 2 Indians, in 3 bateaux, to Irondequat and the Seneca river, in order to pick up, and bring along with him, all the whale boats, and bateaux he may find there, or along the lake, with 10 days' provisions. Two Yorkers just now arrived here from the royal galley, and say that on seeing our schooner, the master and all the crew run

ashore, and left her at anchor, about 8 miles this side of Sodus. They have seen nothing of the remainder of the crew since. I ordered them to the guard, until the affair is cleared up. —8 *at night*; 3 more of her crew arrived, and reported her taken by the enemy, and her masts, rigging, and anchor cut away.

*Wednesday 13th* [15].—Early in the morning more of her crew arrived, and the galley, also, brought in by some of Dr. Normandy's crew, with a letter from him. This day I sent some Onondagas to Swegatchie as Spies; and on their return, they are to bring me a prisoner if possible, for which they are to have 100 dollars; they are to be back in 5 or 6 days.

*Wednesday 15th*.—Works carrying on as usual. Block houses building in the wood, and vistas cutting to the lake, and a battery, to prevent the enemy's annoying our working parties.

*Thursday 16th*.—Brigadier General Gage arrived here in the afternoon with 300 drafts for the 3 regiments here. I gave up the command to him, and General Amherst's instructions to the late Brigadier Prideaux, also his last letter to Do., which I received on my way from Niagara. He then showed me a letter or two he received from General Amherst, with orders to proceed to this place, and take the command. Also to proceed to Niagara, if not yet taken. If taken and the troops returned, then to proceed to La Galette and take post there, which (in case General Wolfe should be defeated) would make a frontier, with Niagara, Oswego, and Crown Point. He told me that on reading General Amherst's letter, he gave him as his opinion, that he thought it impracticable to establish a post there in so short a time, and furnish it with provisions. General Gage brought up about 140 barrels of provisions, only, with this reinforcement. We have now about 3 weeks' provisions here for the whole—the New Hampshire regiment coming by land with cattle.

*Friday 17th*.—Fine weather. General Gage agreed to the

plan of the fort proposed by Engineer Lowers, viz. : a pentagon. Accordingly, they set about it, and marked out the ground. This day I made up an affair between Colonel Massey and Captain Forbes, which, otherwise, was to be tried by a general court martial. The drafts were this day divided among the 3 regiments here.

*Saturday, 18th.*—A fine morning. Colonel Haldimand came to my tent, and on our talking over several matters, among other things, I asked him whether the general had said anything to him about advancing to Swegatchy. He answered, that the general had showed him all his instructions, but said nothing about going to La Galette, on which I gave him my opinion that our going to La Galette and destroying it was practicable, and might favour General Amherst's designs, but to remain there was impossible on account of provisions, and being too late to make such a respectable work there, as the French would not be able to take. He expressed himself against attempting it, for the above reasons, and further, that the enemy might carry on an expedition against it in the winter, adding, also, that if one of our convoys should be cut off, it would ruin the whole, and oblige us to abandon even this post, &c.—General Gage expressed himself the same way, and added, farther, that his honor was as dear to him as General Amherst's could be to him, and did not understand running his head against a wall, or attempting impossibilities, with a great deal more to that purpose, and what I thought not unreasonable, after telling me the state of everything, particularly artillery, ammunition and provision. I told General Gage that I thought our going to and destroying La Galette practicable, but not to take post there, for the several reasons given to Lieutenant Colonel Haldimand, the same day. The general then said he would get a few stray boats built to carry each a piece of large cannon in the bow, to guard against the French vessels, and would then make a trial.—I asked him then, whether he would have me send for the several nations of



Indians to come immediately and join us, to which he made no answer.

*Sunday August 19th.*—Fine weather. Lieutenant Francis, with his party, returned with several whale boats &c., from Irondequat. Also came in this day, some Onondagas, and Chenusios, who told me they were sent to let me know that several sachems and others were coming to Oswego to meet me, also two sachems of the Mississagues, and would be here in four or five days; that they had ■ great many furs and skins to trade, and hoped there would be plenty of goods for that purpose. I represented to General Gage, the necessity of having traders come up here, and to Niagara, for that end. He told me to act in that as I thought best for the service, and to give papers to such as I thought desired them.

*Monday 20th.*—Cloudy weather. I gave General Gage ■ rough draft of the River St. Lawrence from Frontinac to the island below La Galette, drawn by the Red Head, an Ondaga<sup>1</sup> Indian. Dined with General Gage, after which we took a walk, and talked together about going down to La Galette—to which he agreed, as soon as artillery, vessels, &c., could be got ready. Mr. Brown arrived from Fort Stanwix with 24 bateaux with provisions, and rum, &c.

*Tuesday 21st.*—Very stormy, and rained all night—continued stormy all day. I wrote a letter to my brother by Lieutenant Linall of the Highland regiment; another to Kelly, Corry, Date, Wallace, and my daughter Nancy. Sent another to Molly, by Hance Clermont, not to come here.

*Wednesday 22d.*—Very stormy, and rain. Lieutenant Linall came for my letters, and set off for army with General Amherst by whom I sent word I should have ■ many Indians, as necessary. Provisions being scarce, I cannot collect ■ great number. Major Graham arrived about 2 o'clock, with 2 of the Highlanders. About 6 in the evening the schooner arrived from Niagara. When she left, the evening before, all well

<sup>1</sup> Ondages or Onondagas.



there. By letters from thence, I learn that the Mississagays came there on my invitation, and have made peace with us, ~~as~~ by Colonel Farquhar's letter, and Lieutenant Nellar's will appear, which letters must be entered in the Indian Records. Captain Fonda returned from Onondaga with the Bunt,<sup>1</sup> and others of that nation, and tells me there will be about 100 of that nation here to-morrow. He brought me a letter from Mr. Croghan, dated July 20th, and brought by Tiaquandean, an Onondaga warrior, returning with five prisoners and some scalps from the Catawbass' country.<sup>2</sup>

*Thursday 23d.*—Fine weather. The Bunt, chief of Onondaga, with several of his nation, came to my tent. I bid them welcome; told them I was glad to see them, and, as I heard they were not yet all assembled, would defer saying anything upon business, until they arrived, when I would let them know what news I had, and the reason of my sending for them. Then ordered pipes, tobacco, ■ dram, and some punch, and sent an officer to see them take up their ground for encampment, also to draw provisions, so parted. They soon got drunk, and were very troublesome.—This day my express returned after delivering his letters at Albany, and brought ■ packet from General Amherst, for Brigadier Gage and me. His to me was dated the 6th at Crown Point, very kind and polite, and pressing me to get as many Indians as I can to join General Gage on another enterprise. Received also a letter from Dirck Vanderhuyden of London, by which he appears in my debt £144. 4. 7. sterling for ginsing of mine which lay in his hands ■ long time, and now sold at 3 c, & 3-3 ptt.

*Friday 24th.*—Fine morning. I propose this day speaking to the Indians.—All drunk, could not meet them. Major Christie arrived about 12 o'clock from Crown Point in 10 days. Brought me a letter from General Amherst, and

<sup>1</sup> The Bunt, or Bundt, an Onondaga Sachem.

<sup>2</sup> Catawbass, or Catabus, Indians of the Siouan family.

another from Colonel Eyre. General Gage showed me his letter from the general—also all his to him, to Mr. Kilby, Country, &c., in all, settling the state of the army. Provisions, artillery, boats, and tools, which, when ready, he would lose no time in following his orders. Major Christie told me he had heard at Canajoharie that Captain Butler was passed there on his way hither, so that I soon expect him with the Indians. The schooner is this day sent to Niagara, for one 18 pounder—2 fourteen pounders, some shot and other things for our expedition, which I fear will delay us.

*Saturday 25th.*—Fine weather. About 11 o'clock, 3 bateaux, with Senecas, Chenusios, to the amount of 70, arrived from their country, and fired 3 volleys when near our camp, which was returned by the guard of the 14th battalion of royal artillery. I then sent Captain Fonda<sup>1</sup> and an interpreter to show them their ground for encampment, the opposite side of the river, and get them provisions. The same time old Saquerisera, sachem of Onondaga, and his party came to my tent; wished me joy of our success at Niagara, and wished a continuance of it. I thanked them, and told them as soon as it suited them, I should be glad they would all meet, and allow me an opportunity of acquainting them what had passed between the Northern Indians and me, since they parted with me at Niagara—also some other matters which concerned our mutual interest. They promised to give me notice when they were ready, and so parted.

*Sunday 26th.*—Fine weather. The interpreter Prindup arrived from Onondaga with above fifty warriors, and a number of women and children. Encamped them over the river, and sent them word I would meet them all this afternoon. The interpreter tells me the messenger who was sent with my belt to call the Indians, returned last Wednesday from Cayuga, and reported that a great number of that nation, as well as Senecas, were on their way hither, and would be soon here.

<sup>1</sup> Gelles Funda; see Stone's *Life of Sir William Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 178.

They got an ox among them this morning. No news yet from General Wolfe except what was in the prints. This day General Gage desired I would not yet let the Indians know our design of going to La Galette, but endeavor to get a party of them to fetch ■ prisoner for intelligence, from Cadaraghqui<sup>1</sup> first. In the evening I went over and condoled their losses by sickness &c., with three strings of wampum, and told them as it was then late I would meet them next morning at this camp. Two Onondagoes arrived with an account of the enemy's taking one, Mr. Bean, a sutler, prisoner, and killing his two bateaux men, and destroying his bateaux this side of the Oswego Falls. I acquainted General Gage of it, and advised him to send one hundred of the light infantry in whale boats to cut off their retreat, and get 50 Indians to go with them. 10 o'clock at night.

*Monday 27th.*—Still good weather, but windy. About 9 o'clock a party of the Onondaga warriors, with their speaker, came to see me at my tent, where I gave them a dram, pipes and tobacco, and bid them welcome as customary. They told me they had a number of arms and utensils out of order, which they begged might be mended. I told them our smiths here were much employed, however at times they should mend such things for them as they wanted most, and that as soon as I got home, I would provide ■ smith to work in their country for them. They then parted, and I went to meet the rest in council. About 12 o'clock, the Onondagas and Senecas met, when the chief of Chenussio returned with three strings of wampum, the compliment of the ceremony of condolence. After which I told them what had passed between me and the chief of the Chippaway Nation at Niagara, as well as what the Mississagay had done in consequence thereof, which gave great satisfaction. I then desired they would let me know what news they had from the Ohio, and other parts; when the Chenusio chief, named Karaghyianaghqui told, as follows; viz. :

<sup>1</sup> Cataraqui.

that after the battle of Belle Famille,<sup>1</sup> the Ottawas, and others, then with the enemy, held a council at the Falls, and came to a resolution to go back to Niagara, and speak with the English, and Six Nations, and make peace, but the French would not allow them, on which they, notwithstanding, sent 2 of their people to Chenusio, to know whether they were angry with them for the part they had acted, and to assure them they were much pressed to it by the French. The Senecas reminded them of the friendly messages they had sent them last year to Teughsaghruntie, which they expected they would have regarded. They told them now, that they were not angry, and desired the two Mississagays to return as soon as they could, with said answer. Soon after another of that nation arrived, charged with the same business, to whom the Chenusios returned for answer, that they had delivered what they had to say to the first two messengers, and had not [anything?] to say further, but to recommend a speedy return to them with their answer. They were not gone when these Indians left home. The chief sachem then told me and the Onondagas, that some of their nation, who came from Ohio, told that the French had burned and abandoned Wenanga, [Venango?] Fort La Riviere [de] Boeuf, and Presque Isle, and that the garrison retired to Detroit. This they affirmed for truth. The Chenusio chief then spoke with a string of wampum as follows :

“BROTHER : I can now with pleasure acquaint [you] that these Indians, whom you have so often called from the southward, are arrived in our country, and as they have left their plantations, cornfields, &c., must now suffer for the want of provisions, unless assisted by you this year, and we for their behalf earnestly request you will assist them, as they are now come to incorporate with us—*Gave 3 strings.*” The new vessel hove in sight while we were met, which I told them

<sup>1</sup> This place was situated on the Niagara River, about three furlongs above the Fort.



was called the *Mississagay*. Her size and name pleased them all much. I then told them as it was late, I would meet them the next day, and talk farther to them on other matters—so parted.

At 7 in the evening, the scout returned from ■ river, about 20 miles from here, when the Indians found by the tracks, &c., that the party which scalped our people the day before were gone. Mr. De Couagne arrived with the *Mississagay* schooner, and tells me he thinks that that nation, as also the Ottawas, are very sincere in what they have said, and determined to settle a firm alliance and trade with us, if properly managed, and encouraged. This evening rained very hard. General Gage came to my tent and told me he intended to leave about 300 \* men to carry on the works, and carry the rest with him. He ordered the survey of the boats to be continued until all examined.

*Tuesday 28th.*—Blustering weather. This morning wind at N.W. I sent for the Bunt, speaker of Onondaga, and 2 Seneca chiefs, viz., Karaghyianaghqui and Belt, to whom I repeated what I intended to say to all the nations present, and to those not here, who are to deliver it to-morrow morning, to the whole in my presence at their own camp, and is as follows:

29th.—“BRETHREN: I have received messages from the Mississagays, and other nations on the lake, very friendly to us, and you. They, among other things, earnestly desire an extension and plentiful trade may be carried on by us at Niagara, and this place, so that they and all other nations around them, may be supplied with the necessaries of life, at as cheap a rate as can be afforded. This is what his majesty has in view; and the building the several forts you see along the country is purely to protect you, and such a trade from the insults of our troublesome enemy the French. I, therefore, by this belt of wampum, desire that you will not be uneasy or alarmed at them.

*A white belt.”*

\* The figures in the manuscript are indistinct. They are designed either for 300 or 900.



"BRETHREN: I understand there are some of our people who have deserted; others who are by some means or other come among you, and harbored by you. As it is not right to keep them among you, or detain them, I expect they [will] all be delivered up to me as soon as you conveniently can—and for the future that you do not allow any to come and settle among you, without our consent. *A belt.*"

"BRETHREN: As you have taken our hatchet and used it successfully this campaign, I must desire you to continue making use of it, as much as is in your power, against your and our common enemy the French; and that you remain here with his majesty's troops, and be ready to join them in any operations, which may be carried on during the season. This will gain you credit with his majesty and all his subjects your brethren, and with the blessing of God, greatly contribute to put an end to the war; after which, with the regulations that may be made in trade, you will live peaceably and be a happy people. And this, I strongly recommend to you all by this belt of wampum. *A Belt.*"

"BRETHREN OF THE SENECA NATION: I am glad to hear that all those of your people, who were living at Ohio, and dispersed about, are now coming to settle among you. It is right to settle in bodies, as by that means, you will be more respectable. You see, brethren, our hands are full at present, putting our new acquisitions into a state of safety, and re-establishing Oswego as fast as we can, for your interest as well as ours; so that really we have enough to do, until this hurry is over, to carry up the necessary supply of provisions for the use of the army. Notwithstanding, you may be assured, all assistance in our power will be given at Niagara, and here, to such as are really in distress. *A string of wampum.*"

*Thursday 30th.*—The schooner arrived with Captain

Walton of the train, and three-pounders, tools, &c. An express from General Amherst came in, by whom I had a letter dated Crown Point, August 21st, an answer to mine of the 9th; General Gage had also a letter. Some letters and papers mention General Wolfe's having begun to bombard Quebec the twelfth of last month; that the French army, under the command of Major Hourlemazhe,<sup>1</sup> were intrenched on an Island six miles from St. Jeans, whither General Amherst was to proceed as soon as a sixteen-gun frigate was finished. In the evening, I went over the river to receive the Indians' answer, to what I had said to them the day before. Being met, the Onondaga Speaker arose, and asked the Senecas whether they were ready. The Seneca chief, named Karagh-yianaghqui, answered they were, and spoke as follows:—Present, Captains Fonda and Lotteridge; Lieutenants Claus and Hair; Clement and Printop, interpreters.

“BROTHER GORAGHKO WARRAGHIYAGEY, AND YOU BRETHREN OF THE ONONDAGA NATION: Give attention to what I am now going to say in behalf of the Senecas, and Chenusios. The news which our friend Warraghiyagey told us yesterday from the Mississagays, and other distant nations, and the assurances he gave us of his Majesty's intentions towards us, and all nations who were inclined to live in friendship with him, as well as that the several forts which he was now building in our country, were to cover them from any attempts of the enemy, and protect the trade, which was to be carried on with them at said posts, gave us much satisfaction, as we hope it will to you, and all our allies: being sensible it must prove greatly to our mutual advantage, if carried on in an honest manner, which by this belt, we entreat it may.

*Gave a belt.”*

“BROTHER: Your request, concerning such of your people as are among us, shall be complied with, but it will require a

<sup>1</sup> Bourlamaque.

little time to collect them, being dispersed among the several villages around us. You may depend upon it, they will be delivered to you at your house, or to the governor of Philadelphia, from whose government, we understand, most of them have been taken by the Delawares, Shawanese, &c. We will (showing the belt) take your belt through the nations and show it to them, and then send it to our brethren of Onondaga, who will doubtless return it to you with such of their people as they may have.

“BROTHER: You yesterday strongly recommended to us to persevere, and make good use of the axe you had given us, against the French, as long as the war continued, which you were of opinion could not be very long. We of the Seneca Nation do assure you, brother, that we will assist our brethren the English, while the war lasts; and wish it to end honorably.

*Returned the belt.*

Then the Onondaga speaker came to me from his council, and assured me, they would do the same, as well as the Seneca nation. They then asked me, what news we had by the express. I told them the account we had from Quebec, and so ended the meeting. I privately spoke to Bunt, the speaker, and others, to encourage their young men to go upon immediate service. They said they would.

31st.—Red Head came, and told me he would set off for La Galette on to-morrow, in order to get a prisoner for our intelligence. He and party were fitted out with every necessary, and [I] gave them money to buy fresh provision for a feast as usual. This afternoon, I advised the general to send a flag of truce to La Galette and Frontenac, to enquire for and demand the officers who ran away from the guard at Fort Herkimer. He agreed to it and prepared a letter, and intends to send Lieutenant Baker with it. I sent away this day, a letter to General Amherst. I took a German deserter's information this day, and read it to the general. This day, constant rain; no work carried on.

*Saturday the 1st of September.*—Weather pretty good, and moderate. I fitted out a party of eleven Onondagas and Senecas, who are to bring a prisoner from La Galette, if possible, and all the intelligence they can of the enemy's strength, and the station of the vessels. They are to be back in ten days, if well. I sent a belt of black and white wampum by them to the Swegatchie Indians, and any others they may see, advising them all to go out of our way, and quit the French interest. If they continue obstinate, and will not take my advice, they must blame themselves for the consequence, which I think will be fatal to them, we being determined to carry that place at any rate. I gained all the intelligence I could from the Indians, of the navigation of the River St. Lawrence to La Galette, which I gave the general. About 12 o'clock, Mr. Baker set off for Cadaraghi in a whale boat, with a letter from General Gage, demanding the officer and two privates of Niagara garrison, who ran away from Fort Herkimer. The sachems of Onondaga came to beg I would stop Red Head's party, and allow them to send others there with a charge to the Swegatchies, to quit the place immediately. I gave them a very smart reprimand, and told them I would rather go without an Indian, than to have any with me who were not quite hearty. On which they told me, they would all go with me whenever I called upon them. I told them I was so much ashamed of their backwardness in going on a scout, that I had a good mind to ask the general's liberty to go on that service myself, without a man of them, as it appeared to me, they either were afraid, or unwilling to have that nest destroyed; which made them look very grave. The Seneca sachems, who were attending without, sent me word they had something to say, and would be glad to be heard, on which the others broke up, and they came in. The speaker said he was very sorry at the Five Nations' abrupt manner of parting after the surrender of Niagara, which did not allow me a meeting with them, as they since



found by the messages I sent them to their country from Niagara, by some of their own people, I intended. He assured me that due regard would be had, by their nation, to the directions sent them at that time, and that they would keep a good look out so that nothing should hurt the people then, if in their power. We then made an apology, for no more of that nation coming at this time, and said it was owing to the death of the chief of all the warriors, who died the third day after their return, which, according to their custom, puts a stop to every kind of business, until his death is properly condoled. He then returned a black belt of mine, sent them some time ago. *A Belt.* He then said a great deal concerning those, begging that goods might not be sold them too dearly; that they had now with them a parcel of skins and furs, which they wished to get rum and goods for, and not be obliged to carry them back so far. So ended. I then recommended to their young men here present, to exert themselves now, and not return until the end of the campaign. I promised them that they should have their skins, &c., exchanged, and that some traders are gone to Albany for goods, some time ago for that purpose, and daily expected. They returned many thanks and parted.

*Sept. 2d.*—Fine weather. Two Oneidas and two squaws set off with a white belt from the sachems, for Swegatchie, in order to bring me intelligence, and to call all the Swegatchie Indians from thence immediately. Red Head's party of eleven men, stopped by the sachems, as they think he would only inflame matters.

*Sept. 3d.*—About 8 o'clock, the sachems of Onondaga and Seneca came to my tent, and told me that the Oneidas or Tuscaroras would not come, as they heard, by some of their people who understand English, from the soldiers at Fort Stanwix, that as soon as all the nations were assembled at Oswego, the English would give them as much liquor as they would drink, then fall upon and destroy them. They,



the Oneidas, &c., would wait the event, and in such case be ready to fall upon the English in their turn. They told me that a great many of the Cayugas were on their way hither, but hunted a little by the road, being a plentiful place of game. They said that a drove of cattle passed their town, and would be here this day. About 12 o'clock, I set off for Little Sodus in a whale boat, with five Indians. Captain Johnson, myself, and two bateau men, to shoot ducks, &c. In the evening, it rained and blew very hard. Got to Sodus about five o'clock; a very pretty shore, and a large bay with a creek running easterly; navigable as far as Captain Lotteridge went, about four miles, for a vessel. Rained all night upon us without covering.

*Sept. 4th.*—We all went out to shoot ducks, &c. Returned about 12 with fourteen ducks and one otter, and stopped at all the creeks and ponds by the way, which are many. There is one creek about eight miles from Oswego, which I think would be a better passage than by the Suego [Oswego?] Falls. The Indians told me it was navigable for boats to the head, which was near the Three Rivers. About 6 o'clock we arrived at Oswego, and found nothing new since we left it, only that the news of three of our men being scalped at the Falls was contradicted. The enemy were seen there, but did no harm. The eighteen pounder had been three times fired on board the little galley, which bore it very well.

*Wednesday 5th.*—Wind strong at S. East. Last night a Cayuga runner arrived, and told me that an express from his nation had overtaken them about two miles above the Seneca Falls, and reported to them that a young Indian of said nation had, in their absence, killed a daughter of Ottawana, a sachem of Cayuga, which made them all turn back, except the Post; they were eighty-four men in the whole. I this morning acquainted General Gage with it, and told him I thought an express from me would bring them here in six days or thereabouts, and desired to know, whether he would have me send

for them. He told me, I should send for them, if they could be got here in that time. I proposed to him the regulation of trade here, and at Niagara, with the Indians, as without some regulation, the trade would be so unjust, that all Indians who felt it, would be dissatisfied, and spread it among all nations, which would greatly hurt his majesty's Indian interest, and be the means of unsettling all that had been done by us for the promotion of it. In the evening the Seneca and Onondaga sachems came to my tent, and proposed sending to-morrow some of their people to Cayuga, and wished some of ours to accompany them, in order to condole the loss of Ottawana's daughter, killed by one of their nation three days ago. I told them it was what I intended to do, and was to have proposed it to them, had they not been before hand. I told them that I would prepare the belts and people against morning, and desired they would prepare theirs;—So ended.

*Thursday 6th.*—The weather a little better, and the wind a little abated; at which I sent Captain Lotteridge, Lieutenant Hair, the Red Head, and a Cayuga Indian, to condole the loss of a woman killed at Cayuga, by one of their own people, and to bring all the warriors with them. They are to be here in six days. I have also sent to the several traders for their services, in order to settle the prices of goods, rum, skins, beavers, &c., so that the Indians may not be imposed upon. Tiyaquande, ■■ Onondaga chief, set off this day with his family for his castle, and is to return with the Cayugas in six days, with all his people. I sent two belts of wampum, and a string by the Red Head to Cayuga—This afternoon I had ■ long discourse with Brigadier Gage, when I told him my sentiments very ingenuously, regarding the present expedition intended. He also spoke his mind freely, and said that General Amherst had missed the opportunity of favoring General Wolfe, and that unless General Amherst pushed for the whole country of Canada, which he thought now too late, an expedition this way would be of no service. Farther, that he thought this little

army had done more than his, and if they could finish a fort here this season, supply this and Niagara with sufficient provisions, they would carry a very great point.

*Friday 7th.*—A fine morning, but a little wind. Lieutenant Beckers arrived about 12 o'clock last night, and says the enemy abandoned Cadaraghi the 29th of August; also the advanced post which they had on the island. He says he saw some boats with a few Indians crossing the lake, and one going to Swegatchie. The two French schooners lie near one of the islands about thirty miles from hence.—About 12 o'clock, the general called some officers who understood something of the sea-faring business, and consulted with them how to take the French vessels. In consequence thereof, an order was given for an attempt of the kind to be made by two hundred volunteers from the several corps, under the command of Captain Parker. They are to endeavor to board them by surprise, by landing in the night on the island close by them. This afternoon, Captain Butler arrived here with twenty-four Mohawks, and Canajoharies. He left home on receipt of my letter, which he got the 16th ult. Was very ill treated at the Upper Oneida town by Ganaghquiesha, and in short by the whole three, but kindly received by Gawche and those at the lake, who promised that thirty of them would follow and join me at Oswego. This evening, the Senecas and Onondagas met at my tent, and spoke with two belts and a string of wampum, as follows: The first, was a black belt I gave them some time ago, to unite them and strengthen our alliance with them, which they now only produced to show me it was fresh in their memory, and to assure me that it had full effect with the Confederacy,—as they had since shown by their actions, and were firmly resolved to continue our friends. The second, was three strings of wampum complaining of the dearness of our goods, and earnestly desiring they might have fairer dealing; otherwise, it would alter the present good dispositions of all the Confederacy and their allies, who expected a more

advantageous trade might be carried on with us, than with the French; which above all things would bring those nations over to us and attach the whole to his majesty's interest—*Gave three strings.* The last and third was a white belt, charging me with being too hasty and inconsiderate in thinking of another expedition before I had returned home, and considered what was next best to be done, and consulted with them, adding that if I now proceeded and should fail, the whole Confederacy would be overset. They, therefore, in the strongest manner, laid hold of me, and insisted on my staying at home. If I did not comply, all their nations would think ill of it, and give them great uneasiness.—I told them I would on to-morrow answer as to the several matters they had now spoken about.—Very wet afternoon, prevented the scout going out. Rained very hard all night.

*Saturday 8th.*—A very windy, wet morning; prevented the party's going after the French vessels, and the men's working until afternoon.

*Sunday 9th.*—Morning wet until eight o'clock; the party, under command of Captain Parker, embarked. Two hundred and fifty rank and file, and Silver Heels with them; also five Mohawks and Printop's son by themselves. About two o'clock, arrived a man, with some letters which were dropped by the post, and found by a Mohawk. In the evening, the post arrived, who was thought to have been scalped, with letters. I had one from Governor De Lancey, and others. No news from General Amherst, or Wolfe, nor Stanwix yet. With the post arrived twenty-two Indians of Canajoharie and Oneida. Late, the general came to my tent, and showed me what a quantity of provisions the Indians consumed.

*Monday 10th.*—Very wet morning. All the men obliged to quit work until 9 o'clock. About 12, the two French vessels appeared in sight, and stood in for this place above two hours; then stood a little off, and was still in sight the whole evening; many conjectures about them. Some would have it



that they were taken by our detachment, which was out in quest of them; but by their not coming in, it appeared they were yet the enemy's. The Seneca Indians came to know when I would answer to what they said last Friday. I told them I would to-morrow at farthest. By a Mohawk, this day wrote a letter to Nancy, another to Molly, and a third to Isaac Quaquenboss, &c., with a pass.

*Tuesday 11th.*—A fine morning, no wind, but a strong breeze; the vessels out of sight. I sent Clement for Abram and Thomas, Mohawks, to let them know the general's pleasure, and give them an answer to what they said last Friday. In this manner; viz.:

*"Brethren of the Six Nations:* It is now four days since you spoke to me on two points, to wit, concerning trade, and my going on another expedition. The reason of my not answering them sooner, was expecting to have heard what General Amherst's pleasure was concerning an expedition this way, so that I might speak to you with certainty. No such letter is as yet come, but daily expected. However, from the conversation I had yesterday, with the general here, I can answer you. With regard to trade I can say no more than what I have already told you, and you may depend upon it, the trifling trade now here, you, nor your people at home, are to judge by, in war time every thing is dear—*Gave them three strings of wampum.*

*"As to the other and last point, I am surprised at, you, a few days ago, assured me that all your people, and the rest of the Confederacy, were determined to act heartily with us during the war, and now press me not to proceed with the army, and say I act rashly, in not first going home, and considering what farther steps are proper to be taken. It seems to me that you have very little confidence in Providence, and no regard for my honor, or character, or your own, when you desire me to stay inactive behind. I desire to know what part you, the Six Nations, will act, in case your request should be*



complied with,—then I will give you my answer. *Returned their belt.* The general desired me to stop the Cayugas and others from coming here (as he finds it impracticable to move from here on an expedition), but to keep a few Indians to scout about here to prevent scalping. He told me that he entirely gave up all thoughts of proceeding to La Galette, but desired I would keep it very private.

*Wednesday 12th.*—Fine morning, but cold, wind northerly. Last night arrived a boat of Parker's detachment, with four prisoners of the ship's crew taken yesterday, as they went on shore to shoot, who, they say, vary in their accounts. One of them says that each of the vessels have forty men on board, partly militia, &c.; that one of them carries ten, the other eight guns, some of them twelve pounders; that they were to cruise eighteen days, then return to St. Paris; that they were then fifteen days out; that two hundred men who were at Cadaraghuqui had lately abandoned it, and retired to Isle Galot; that on said island, Monsr. Levee\* had about two thousand men entrenched, and had Mr. Mercier, an artillery officer, with him; that the vessels are to go to Point Paris or La Galette soon; that the third vessel is ready all to her rigging; and that their allowance of provision was 1 lb. of bread and one quarter of pork per diem. About 12 o'clock, an express arrived from Albany, but no letters from General Amherst. Some letters from his army of the 3d inst. say that he is building a large five sided fort, and five redoubts, which, if all the men are employed, will be completed this season, and that the troops are not to go to winter quarters before finished. This evening, I sent the interpreter to call the Seneca sachems, in order to [hear] what they said.

Some days ago, a party of the Canajoharies came on my call, and offered to go to La Galette on a scout, as soon as I pleased. I thanked them, and told them the sooner the better,

\* Or Sevee; indistinct in manuscript. [*Recté Lévis.*]

and named the morrow for them to set off on this scout. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the sachems and young men of each nation assembled at my tent, when Abraham, chief of the Mohawks, delivered my answer to them; on which four of the chiefs withdrew to consider of what I had said, and what I desired to know of them concerning their desire I should not go any more against the enemy this campaign. They returned in about half an hour, and said that as they had agreed to our going to, and destroying Niagara, they now hoped and expected, that I would comply with their request, adding a great deal about the loss my falling would be to all their nations; and farther, that although they have (agreeably to my repeated advice) spoke to, and used their interest with all the nations, as far as the Canatas, yet, they did not think the alliance so firm as to push things too far, lest they might alter their resolutions, and think you grasping at too much. "This is only our opinion and advice, concerning our allies; as for us, we are determined to stand by you agreeably to our engagements." They thanked me for the promises made them of a trade being established on a fair and regular plan, as soon as the war is over, and assured me, that would be the most effectual method we could take of attaching all the surrounding nations to his majesty's interest. I then told them, that I would take their request into consideration, and give them my answer as soon as ready—on which the meeting broke up.

As the general told me two days ago, that he could not proceed to La Galette, or carry on any expedition, and desired I would stop the Cayugas and other Indians coming, I think to make them this answer; viz.: that if they will engage to keep this post of Oswego, and all other our posts between this and the Mohawks' country, free from scalping by the Swegatchie or other Indians, I will agree to their request. This will please them, and lay them under obligations to us, at the same time that the general does not intend anything

that way. The general sent a boat this day with some orders to Captain Parker.

*Thursday 13th.*—Fine weather and very warm. The two vessels set off for Niagara with provisions. About two o'clock a Swegatchie Indian from the Cayuga nation arrived here; was sent by the Onondagas, whom I sent to Swegatchie for intelligence, and left there with Captain Parker's party last night, and expects they will be here this evening.

*Friday 14th.*—Fine weather. The scout, I sent for intelligence to La Galette, arrived, and brought the following accounts and news, viz.: that on his way thither, he was met by a canoe full of Swegatchie Indians, who were encamped at Point Paris with some French. They went with them to their camp, and told them they were sent by me and the Six Nations, with a message to them, which they would deliver to them in their castle, on which they decamped. The French also decamped on their leaving them, and burnt every thing at Point Paris, and retired to Isle Galot. On their arrival at their castle, they all assembled, and then my messenger told them, I sent them to acquaint them that our army would go that way, and if they would quit the French interest, and leave the settlement, they had an opportunity of saving themselves, and their families. If not, this would be the last warning they were to expect. They, for answer, desired the messengers to return me their hearty thanks for the advice I gave them, and the care I showed for their safety, and assured me in the most solemn manner, that they would not only quit the French interest, but on our approach meet and join us, and show us the best way to attack the enemy on the island, who were not above six hundred. They desired we would make all the haste possible, lest on General Wolfe's being repulsed, the enemy might send up large reinforcements to La Galette, and by that means baffle our design, and charge them with treachery. They told me the enemy carried away most of their cannon from Isle Galot, on one Mr. Bearn's intelligence

of our army being intended to go down the river St. Lawrence. I immediately communicated this intelligence to Brigadier General Gage. About 5 o'clock, I sent a scout of thirty-two Canajoharies, Oneidas, and Onondagas, under the command of Captain Fonda, to La Galette. With him went Lieutenant Francis, Captain Tiebout, Ensign Roberts, and three battoe men of my own, with orders to bring prisoners for intelligence, and make all the useful observations they possibly could. They set off in four whale boats.

*Saturday 15th.*—Rain in the morning, but a northerly wind cleared up the weather, so that the works were carried on very briskly. This morning, Bunt, chief of Onondaga, with his three sons, and others came to acquaint me that they were resolved to go on a scout to La Galette, and set off the day after to-morrow. Silver Heels, Daniel, and others, told me they were resolved, also, to go as soon as Captain Lottridge returned from Cayuga. About 10 o'clock, the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey, and Graham to his hut, when he asked our opinions what number of men we thought sufficient to carry on the fort, so as to leave it this campaign on barbette, which, he said, was as far as the engineer expected to get it, and what number of men for the guards of the camp, woods, &c., and also, what number of men we thought necessary for incidental duty or fatigue. We were of opinion that 1100 men would be sufficient to work at the fort, 200 for guards in our absence, 100 for incidental fatigues or other duties, and an addition of 42 men to Captain Schuyler's company of battoe-men. Then the general cast the whole up, and it appeared that there were about 1000 rank and file to go on an expedition, besides Indians, the number then unknown, as they were constantly coming in from different quarters, and the Cayugas all expected the next day. I told the general that our going and destroying La Galette, would be the means of drawing all the Swegatchie Indians away from the French [interest], and that if we did not



attempt it now, it might be the means of riveting them more firmly in it. Besides that, our destroying La Galette, might make us masters of the French vessels, which then would be out of the way of any relief. All he said was, that it all depended on General Wolfe. After various opinions, our meeting ended in nothing, no resolution having been taken. A little after, the general told me I had better stop the Cayugas then on their way, and send those here home, by telling them the season was too far advanced, and could not complete this post if we went on any expedition, &c. About 1 o'clock, Captain Lotteridge arrived from Cayuga, with Lieutenant Hair, Red Head, and one Seneca, and reported that the Cayugas had received them kindly, and would all be here to-morrow, and desired them to acquaint me, that in case I should be gone on my march, they would overtake me before we could come to action, in which they were all resolved to act the best part they could. A number of Onondagas arrived just now, who came and told me they were come to join us, and that the rest of their nation were all coming with the same intent, and expected we were ready to proceed; if not, they would go by themselves against the enemy. The general told me this evening he had a letter by express from General Amherst, but no news, nor nothing of his proceeding to Mt. Real, or elsewhere, as I can hear.

*Sunday 16th.*—Fine fall weather, windy and dry. An express arrived here from General Amherst, with letters to Brigadier Gage, inclosing him an extract of General Stanwix's letter to him, dated at Fort Bedford, the 16th of August, wherein he tells him that on the taking of Niagara, the French abandoned their posts at Winango, [Venango] River Boeuf, and Presque Isle; and on account of the lowness of the waters, were obliged to burn all their bateaus, &c. This, also, prevented the General sending Major Tulican<sup>1</sup> with 400 Royal Americans to relieve the garrison of Niagara, so that now he

<sup>1</sup> Tullikens.



waits to hear from Niagara what time they can send boats to Presque Isle for the transportation of that body of troops. General Amherst recommends to Stanwix, the sending Colonel Boquet to command at Niagara, if convenient. The general showed me the letter he wrote the 10th inst. to General Amherst, wherein he tells him that it is impossible to do more with the few troops he has, than to make this post tenatable by the latter end of October, and bring up provisions for it and Niagara. As the building there will not be finished until very late, having so few hands, it will be very difficult to get the garrison from them this season. On the whole, the general seemed much perplexed, and said he wished he had not written to Stanwix about the garrison. He also shewed me two letters he had written Bradstreet, in one of which he tells him that unless provisions are sent up with more speed, and greater quantities than hitherto, he would be obliged to abandon Niagara, and these works. Shortly after, the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey, and Graham, to his hut, to learn what intelligence Mr. De Quagne\* learned from the French prisoners, by which the general would have it, that the enemy were very strongly entrenched there, with numbers superior to ours. After all, he desired the opinion of the gentlemen present, not as a council of war, but to enlighten him, as he vowed he was at a loss what step to take. The first that spoke his opinion was Colonel Massey, who said he thought it would be imprudent to go with any thing but a flying light body of troops—about 500—in order to destroy La Galette. I gave the general my opinion as thus—that I was apprehensive [*i.e.* was of opinion] a body of six hundred men might carry La Galette, and the Indians from thence, which would be a thing of great consequence; that if the enemy were weak at Isle Gallot, they might probably, on our destroying La Galette, abandon it, if they did not learn our small number, which should be carefully concealed; that

\* M. de Couagne, French interpreter; at this time, stationed at Niagara.

the vessels might also fall, by our succeeding at La Galette. If we found the enemy too powerful, I thought we could retreat with care, and good conduct; that if we did not attempt anything that way, it might probably fix the Swegatchies firmer in the French interest, and be the means of establishing a stronger post there than ever. The other two gentlemen were very reserved, Haldimand in particular. We broke up without any resolution. The general followed me, and desired I would turn the thing in my mind seriously, and let him know my thoughts further about it. I, on this, spoke with Colonel Massey upon the subject, who said he would gladly go in case I went. I told him I was resolved to go if allowed, and would go directly and throw myself in the general's way, expecting he will ask me my opinion. I did so several times, even to the tent door, with his aid-de-camp and brigadier major, but he avoided talking with me on the subject.

*Monday 17th.*—Very wet weather; no works going on. I intend this day to ask the general for 600 men, to go to La Galette, as the Indians here and there, both, are desirous of it. If he will not agree to it, I shall then desire liberty to go home. Thomas Aaron and his family left this yesterday, and took one of the prisoners, taken from the vessel with them. I wrote to Nancy by them, and to my bowmaster.\* This day, an express arrived from General Amherst, with letters to General Gage, by which, I heard Mr. Gage say, he did not expect anything to be done this way. Accounts from General Wolfe not very favorable. I received a letter from Mr. Amherst, dated 11th inst., another from Mr. Croghan with all his conferences. His letter is dated 16th of August; had not yet received my letter, and three Mohawk Indians. Very severe weather all day.

*Tuesday 18th.*—Cold, raw, windy morning, after the

\* A Bouwmeester is a surveyor, in Nederduitsche; the term has sometimes been applied to the overseer of a farm.

severest night I ever remember for wind and rain. I caught a fellow in my tent drunk, with his firelock. He crept in from the weather. Sent him away to the guard, not as a prisoner, but relieved. I this day wrote to General Amherst pr. return of the express. The Indians very impatient to know whether we are to proceed or not. I have put them off from time to time, in hopes there would be something for them and us to do.

*Wednesday 19th.*—A fine fall morning; wind at S. E. The Bunt's three sons, with seven Onondagas more, came and were fitted out to go scalping to La Galette. I ordered a whale boat for them, and everything necessary. Gave a silver gorget to the Bunt's grandson, who was appointed their leader. His name is Punch.—Soon after Missarung with six more came and were clothed, and joined the other ten Onondagas. In the evening, Karraghiagygo, with eight more, came to acquaint me, they were resolved to go a scalping by themselves the next day. In the evening, the wind turned to N. W., and rained very hard, and blew a severe storm. Rained all night.

*Thursday morning 20th.*—A cold N. E. wind; blew so hard that the parties could not set off, the lake being too rough. I have observed, since I gave my opinion for going to La Galette, that the general is not free or friendly with me, but rather shuns me. This day I answered the Ganughsharagey Indians, and told them, on my return, I would either give them some provisions or money, for their families, which they were very thankful for.

*Friday 21st.*—A fine morning, but cold. I sent Printop over the river to hurry out the several parties, who are going a scalping. About 10 o'clock, I fitted out Karraghiagygo's party, consisting of nine men, with everything necessary. The sachems of the Senecas, &c., came to know what we were resolved to do, whether to proceed or not. I told them I would answer them in the evening. The Bunt being drunk prevented meeting them. This afternoon, the two parties set

off for La Galette with Captain Lotteridge, and the other with Lieutenant Hair. They are to be back in ten days if the weather permits. No news from any quarter; the express expected.

*Saturday 22d.*—A fine morning. I took a whale boat, and Colonel Massey another, and went six or eight miles along the lake side a shooting—little or no game. We went up a creek which is called Red Head's creek. About two miles, very navigable and deep, but no farther. Good fishing in said creek, and beaver also. Nothing extraordinary happened in my absence—the sick all ordered down.

*Sunday 23d.*—A dark morning; wind N. W., no account of our vessels yet from Niagara. We begin to fear they are lost. This day, to the amount of one hundred and fifty sick were sent downwards. Last night, some more Onondagas joined us, and others to come this day from the Falls. About 5 o'clock, several Onondagas came to my tent, and told me they were come according to promise, and are ready to go with us upon service; that their chieftain, named Teiyoquande, notwithstanding he had lost one of his children, whom he had just burried, came with them, and was also resolved to join the army with his party, as he found the Six Nations were now heartily engaged in our cause. I bid them welcome; told them I was sorry for my friend's loss, and would condole it to-morrow. They farther say, that they were told at the falls, by our people and the Indians that there was no expedition going forward, and that they might turn back. They answered, that as they were so far on their journey, and had promised faithfully to return hither, they would come and know from me the certainty, which they now desired I would acquaint them with. I told them I would advise them on the whole, the next day—so parted, after drinking with them, and giving them pipes, tobacco, &c. I also gave Bunt clothes for himself and family—thus ended.

*Monday 24th.*—A very fine morning; quite calm. Our



two vessels returned from Niagara, with all the Yorkers that were left there. They say, Captain Lee with fourteen men went to Presque Isle, in order to learn where Mr. Stanwix was; the Mississagays, of whom there came about one hundred and fifty, to Niagara, brought and delivered up two of our men, taken at Belle Famille in the battle of the twenty-fourth. About 10 o'clock, Weaver, the post, arrived here with but few letters. The news by him was, that General Wolfe was still at Quebec, destroying all the country about. The sachems and warriors of the Onondaga and Seneca nations came to my tent, in order to know what was to be done, or whether the army was to proceed or not. On which I asked General Gage what answer I should make to them. He desired I would tell them, that as soon as the scouting party returned, and he could learn from the prisoners they might bring in, what news at La Galette, or that way, he would enable me to answer them. This I told them, and so parted, after condoling with Tyioquande.

*Tuesday 25th.*—Very fine, warm weather. The Seneca and Onondaga sachems came to my tent, when the former told me, they had lost three of their people since they came here, and many more now very sick, so that they wanted to return home; besides they did not see any sign of going forward. I sent a black string of wampum by them, strongly recommending to their nation, in whose country Niagara was, to keep a good look out, and take care that none of that garrison or traders be molested; otherwise the general will be obliged to take proper measures to punish such a people.

Our two vessels to sail this afternoon for Niagara with provisions. Mr. Vanscaack, and other traders are also going there this day with my pass. Cobus Van Eps asked liberty to go to trade at Irono-quat with the Chenussio Indians. As it is near to their settlement, I agreed to it. Besides, it will be some plea for us to claim some right of building there and trading.



*Wednesday 26th.*—A fine morning; wind at south east. I received a letter from Dominie Hardwick. Mr. Carty arrived here with a number of sheep for the army; lost several by the way. Nothing new this day.

*Thursday 27th.*—a little rain this morning; cleared up with a N. W. wind. Daniel, Belt, Silver Heels, &c., left this on their way home. Gave them some money, orders, &c., and so discharged them. This day nothing new.

*Friday 28th.*—Morning clear, and wind at N. W.; blew hard all the night. This day wrote two letters for London; the one to Alderman Baker; the other to Messrs. Champion and Hayley. About 9 o'clock P.M., Captain Fonda, Mr. Roberts, and twenty of the party, who left this the 14th, returned for the want of provisions, and a good guide. The rest of them are gone on to La Galette, in number, ten. They also saw the two parties pass, who left this last week.

*Saturday 29th.*—A fine morning. Mr. Carty called upon me, and took my two letters for London, and one for Mr. Van Der Huyden. I sent Captain Butler to make a discovery, if he could, of a meadow which is two miles. Returned and found it would not do; is grown over with brush. Dined on a Michaelmas goose with General Gage. The Indians, who came from near Cadaraghqui, say they heard several cannon fired, they think, on board the vessels, about the 25th of this month.

*Sunday 30th.*—Very fine morning. Work goes on very well, and the fort in great forwardness. At 12 o'clock, a boat with Onondagas, some whites, and two French Indians, arrived here. They were Bunt's son's party with Lieutenant Hair, who, meeting a French party coming this way a scalping, turned them back, and brought two Skanendaddy Indians to me from said party. On their arrival here at my tent, they told me all the news they heard in Canada, which I immediately acquainted General Gage of, and is as follows, viz.: That General Wolfe is yet before Quebec; that eleven hun-

dred Ottawas arrived at their, and the Coghnowagey castles before they left home, and were plundering the country; that the priest of La Gallette<sup>1</sup> told them there were twenty-five hundred men on Isle Galot, fortifying themselves as fast as they could; that about seven days ago, a scout of seven men from General Amherst to Gage, was taken at La Gallette with their letters; that there is no news from General Amherst, than that he is at Crown Point building vessels and a fort; that these two Indians were sent by the rest of the party to know whether the news which the Swegatchie Indians told them they received from me was true; if it was, they assured me that all their, as well as the Coghnowaga castles, would pay all due regard to what I said to them, and never more assist the French, &c.

*1st October, Monday.*—Fine weather. Colonel Massey and sundry other gentlemen and myself, went in two boats to Red Head's creek to hunt and fish, but had no luck, so returned. This day an express arrived with letters for the general and others; also newspapers, but little or no news in them.

*October 2d, Tuesday.*—Fine morning; work goes on very well. Gave one McMaster, a pass to trade at Niagara with four battoe loads. The two Indians, who came from Canada, are gone this day to Onondaga to see some of their friends there, and promise to return in four or five days here, and carry a message from me to their nations. The Bunt's

<sup>1</sup> François Picquet, sometimes called "the apostle of the Iroquois," was born in Burgundy, December 6, 1708. He entered the Sulpitian order, was ordained priest April 10, 1734, and arrived in Canada July 6 of the same year. He served at Montreal and at the mission of the Lake of Two Mountains, now known as Oka, obtaining in both places a great influence over the Indians. With the design of winning the Iroquois to Christianity and the French alliance he established, in 1749, the mission of La Presentation (near La Gallette, on the south side of the St. Lawrence, at or near the site of the present Ogdensburg), where he collected about 3000 Indians. Throughout the war he was very active in the French interest in western Canada. In 1760 he returned to France by way of Louisiana. He died at Verjon July 15, 1781. See André Chagny, *François Picquet "Le Canadien."*

daughter-in-law was buried this day, after which he came and dined with me, and assured me he would not move until I did, be it which way it would. At the same time, he told me he would be glad to know what was to be done by us, whether to advance or not, that he might manage affairs accordingly with his nation. I told him that ■ soon as the general let me know his resolution, I would acquaint him. Then parted for this time.

The general told me this afternoon, that General Amherst wrote him the 21st ult. from Crown Point, but nothing of his moving on, nor of ours here, but expects Mr. Gage with his troops will finish this fort, and complete Fort Stanwix.

*Wednesday 3d.*—Fine pleasant morning for work. The general read part of General Amherst's letter to him of the 21st ult. from Crown Point, wherein he expresses his concern at Mr. Gage's not taking post at La Gallette, which is so advantageous a pass, and nothing to hinder it, as all their force is employed below. He then says, that he expects, as he is determined not to take post at La Galette, that he will complete Fort Stanwix and this post, as well as cut open a communication between this and the Mohawk river; that he has written the several governments to continue their troops the month of November, which he does not doubt they will come into; and ■ great deal more concerning the garrisons, provisions, and artillery—six hundred men to be here. He seemed greatly concerned on the whole, and was much surprised at the general's manner of writing. In the evening, he desired I would take up my quarters in one of the barracks, and then walked away. The boat returned from Fish Creek, and brought back the provisions intended for the party on the scout so long; but on seeing no signs of them the sergeant returned.

*Thursday 4th.*—Began to rain about 7 of the clock. The works quitted thereby. This day, invited the General, Colonel Haldimand, Colonel Massey, Colonel Graham, Hancy, Fenton

and Benton to dine with me. In the afternoon, I asked the general how long he thought it necessary to keep me here. He answered no longer than [until] the scouts returned, who are gone to La Gallette, or that it was agreeable to me. This day, received a letter from the general at Crown Point, concerning a party of Mohawks who were detained there by him until he heard their character from me. I answered said letter the same day.

*Friday 5th.*—A fine morning; no wind. All hands at work. A party of Royal Americans sent to Fort Stanwix in order to enable the garrison to make roads and carry on the works there. Mr. Rivet sent to view the three posts between this and Fort Stanwix. The three men who were to be shot are pardoned. This day ten Cayugas arrived here from their country. On their coming to my tent, I condoled with three strings of wampum their losses, and then desired they would let me know what news in their country. They told me that their people were very sickly, and that several had died of the bloody-flux. They told me that their sachems were very negligent, and did not pay that regard or attention to business, which they, the young men, expected they would, and at this time, thought they should. Wherefore they came of themselves to see me at Oswego, and to know what was to be done further; that they expected to have another message sent to them in case we wanted them, and that they would all have come to us. They further added, that on the sachems' finding that they were coming this way, they sent a string of wampum by them, desiring to acquaint me they were in great distress for want of smiths in their country to mend their arms, &c., and begged I would send them such. I told them I would speak to them the next day—gave them pipes, tobacco, rum, &c., and parted for that time. This day Bassy Dunbar<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baziel Dunbar, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, Royal Americans, January 12, 1756.



and Lieutenant Pionier<sup>1</sup> of the Royal Americans, fought a duel, in which the former received a shot in the breast through the lungs, which is thought will be mortal.

*Saturday 6th.*—A dark, hazy morning and warm, after a good deal of rain in the night. All hands at work as usual. This day the first range of officers' barracks is to be raised.

*Sunday 7th.*—Fine, warm day. The general and I took a ride to the half way creek with a guard of the light infantry. Dined with him. Captain Fonda returned from the next Oneida station, from whence to the ford at the Three Rivers,<sup>2</sup> he marked out a road, with three Onondaga Indians whom I employed for that purpose, and says it will not be above ten miles distance. The general much pleased at their finding so good and short a road.

*Monday 8th.*—Excessive hot weather. The sloops or schooners arrived from Niagara and brought five prisoners of ours from thence, who were taken in Major Grant's affair on the 24th July at Belle Famille. One of them is son of Mr. Guist, who gives a very good account of the Detroit settlement, &c. He says they expected to be drove from there by me, after Niagara was taken, and believes had we attempted it, they would all fly before us. Colonel Cole,<sup>3</sup> of Rhode Island, arrived here yesterday, and brought me a letter from Mr. Hunter.

This day Captain Lotteridge and his party of Onondagas and Oneidas returned from their scout, and brought in three prisoners and two scalps, which they took between La Gallette and the island they are fortifying. They bring us the agreeable news of Quebec's having surrendered to the English army the 18th of September. Mt. Calm [Montcalm] killed—shot through the breast. General Wolfe killed, and the next in command, Mr. Ramsay, with six hundred in the citadel, capi-

<sup>1</sup> Probably Peter Penier, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment March 8, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> See map, vol. ii. p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Cole.



tulated. The army retired to a river about fifteen leagues above Quebec. Mr. Levy, going to Quebec with fifteen hundred men, was defeated by our people under the command of Murray.<sup>1</sup> The general proposes sending an express with the news to General Amherst at daybreak to-morrow.

*Tuesday 9th.*—Fine morning; wind at S. E. I wait for the return of four Mohawks yet out about La Gallette. When they return I propose to go home, the general having told me there was nothing more to do at present or for this campaign. The party of Onondagas, who returned yesterday with the prisoners and scalps, came to my tent with the rest here, and divided their prisoners and scalps. I gave one prisoner in the room of Bunt's daughter-in-law, named Kahiuenta, with three thousand wampum. I this day gave De Couagne instructions going to Niagara. The two vessels sailed for that place this afternoon, with provisions, artillery, rigging, sheep, &c. In the afternoon, about thirty Senecas, with their chief man, the Drunkard, arrived here. Mr. Guist came to know if I had any commands down the country, as he was to set off for his regiment next morning with our battoes. Gave him some, and parted. Mr. Edward Cole, of Rhode Island, applied to me for advice and liberty to trade at Niagara.

*Wednesday 10th.*—Fine weather; wind at S. E.; fair for the two vessels. The Onondagas came to know what resolution the general had come to, on examining the prisoners brought in by the Indians, agreeably to his promise made them several days ago. I told them I would acquaint them this day with the general's resolution, concerning what they wanted to know. I spoke with the general about it, who desired I would acquaint them the season of the year was so far advanced, and so much work to be done here to finish the fort, that he did not intend to proceed further this campaign, and that they might return to their respective habitations and country. He desired I would return them thanks for their many ser-

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the story had become confused in transmission.

vices this campaign, and hoped they would be ready the next to join when called upon. This afternoon the Seneca sachems and warriors came to my tent, when I condoled their losses, and then talked to them upon business, and told them I would, the next day, meet all the nations here assembled, and settle all matters with them.

*Thursday 11th.*—Cloudy weather; wind at south. This day the post arrived with letters from the army, and papers of the 1st inst., with an account of Prince Ferdinand's beating the French army.<sup>1</sup> This day I had a general meeting with all the Indians here, viz: Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas and Mohawks, when I spoke to them in the general's name; returned them thanks for their services and attendance here this time past; told them that as the general only proposed finishing the fort in hand here, he did not intend to move further, so discharged them. I then spoke to them all in presence of three Indians sent by the Swegatchie and Coghnauagey Indians to me on business. The first belt was to acquaint them of the general's not going forward this year, and that I had complied with their request, and I saw they did not choose I should go that way; and I told them that I expected they would always comply with my desire, whenever I might apply to them—*Gave a Belt.* *Secondly:* I desired they would all exert and interest themselves in the protection of Niagara, Oswego, and all the posts we have in their country. I also told them that if the Swegatchie Indians and others should attempt to molest any of said posts, or touch any of his majesty's subjects, for the future, I never would speak a word in their favor, but advise the general to cut them to pieces; so hoped they, as their friends, would be careful to prevent them plunging themselves into danger and destruction; that as these forts were for the protection of their country, as well as of that of the trade intended to be carried on with them and their allies, it behooved them to do all they

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Minden, August 1, 1759.

could for the safety of them—*A Belt. Thirdly:* A large black belt sent to the Swegatchie, Coghnowagey and Skanendaddy Indians, letting them know that I have hitherto befriended them; that they have it in their power now, by quitting the French, to become once more a happy people, but if, contrary to the many and solemn professions made to me and the Six Nations, and the assurances they lately, by belts and strings of wampum, gave me of their fixed resolutions to abandon the French, they should act a different part, they must then expect no quarter from us—*Gave a large Belt of Black Wampum mixed.* I then told the Indians I proposed leaving this place in a few days, and that they might expect to hear from me as soon as there was anything of consequence to communicate. They made answer that as it was now late, they would to-morrow say something in answer.

*Friday 12th.*—Rained all the night. Morning wet, so that the works could not be carried on. Wrote to General Amherst this morning per servant, as the post was sent off unknown to me. At 3 o'clock P.M., the Onondaga, Seneca and Cayuga chiefs and warriors came to my tent, when their speaker told me they had all attentively heard what I yesterday said and recommended to their nation; and they assured me, by a belt of white wampum, that they would keep a careful eye over Niagara, Oswego, and all our other posts in their country. At the same time, they said, it would be hard to blame them should any little damage be done at any of the places mentioned, as the French, as well as we, are always persuading parties to fetch prisoners for intelligence. However, we might depend upon their using all their influence with their relations, the Swegatchies, Coghnowageys, and Skanendaddys to quit the French entirely, if not, they must suffer for it. *Here Gave the Belt.*

Next, the speaker said, it was the desire of the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas that I would send a smith and trader to each of their castles; also begged there might be a large

store of goods, &c., at Niagara, Oswego and Fort Stanwix, which, they said, would please the foreign nations more than anything. They then desired to know when I would leave this, that they might tie up their packs, take their hatchets in their hands, and escort me. I told them in two days, if the party of Mohawks returned in that time. I again strongly recommended the care of all the posts in this part of the country to them; promised to send them smiths, &c., and so parted.

Lieutenant Bassey Dunbar died this evening of his wound; and died in peace with mankind, he told Parson Ogilvie.<sup>1</sup> This day I gave orders for packing up, and preparing for a march homewards, as there is nothing to do here.

*Saturday Morning 13th.*—Wet; wind at N. W.; a fresh gale. This morning I began to back up my little things and prepare to set off to-morrow, if God pleases. I waited on the general for leave to go home, which he readily complied with. Also gave Mr. Ogilvie liberty to go with me, and desired I would let him know what I wanted, that he might order Major Christie to get everything ready for me. This night I supped with Colonel Massey, when all the company were very merry. The Onondagas and Senecas spoke for powder and presents, with wampum, which I gave them.

*Sunday 14th.*—Windy; dry weather; the wind at N. E. I was up early, and desired all hands to strike our tents, and load the battoes.”

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John Ogilvie was born in New York in 1723. He was a graduate of Yale College, and was appointed minister at Albany in 1748. He served as missionary among the Mohawks for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1764 he was appointed rector of Trinity Church, New York, where he died November 26, 1774. He had superintended the publication of an edition of the Book of Common Prayer in Mohawk.



## XI

### JOURNAL FAIT PAR LE S<sup>R</sup> LAFORCE, COMMAND- ANT LES BÂTIMENTS SUR LE LAC ONTARIO, DU SIÈGE DE NIAGARA. A COMMENCER DU 6 JUILLET 1759 JUSQU'AU 14 DUD<sup>T</sup>.

[From a copy of the original Journal, which is in the possession of  
M. René de Kerallain, Quimper, France.]

Au nom de Dieu et de la Glorieuse Vierge, &c.

Le Vendredy 6 Juillet, je suis arrivé à Niagara sur les 6 heures du soir, d'un petit vent de Nord-Est.

A 7 heures  $\frac{1}{2}$  dud. un soldat arriva qui rapporta que les sauvages venoient de faire 4 à 5 prisonniers dans le bord du désert et qu'il s'étoit sauvé seul; sur le champ 18 à 20 jeunes gens volontaires du fort, ont sortis pour reconnoître les morts. M. de Serviez,<sup>1</sup> Capitaine au Régiment de Royal Roussillon ■ sorti aussi avec un picquet de 50 hommes de troupes réglées pour soutenir les premiers détachements, lorsque ces volontaires ont été aux  $\frac{3}{4}$  du désert, ils ont reçu une décharge de mousqueterie d'environ 60 à 80 hommes qui ne nous ont tué personne, nos jeunes gens ont riposté mais inutilement puisqu'ils se sont trouvés cernés par cette bande de sauvage, et se sont sauvés au picquet de M. de Serviez, qui a soutenu un bout de temps et ensuite s'est replié au fort suivant l'ordre qu'il a reçu de M. Pouchot.

Nous avons eu pris ou tués dans cette affaire le S<sup>r</sup> Saumandre, Blois Interprete des Iroquois et le fils du vieux forge, nous

<sup>1</sup> Voir son nom, "Serviés," dans les Papiers de Lévis, t. III., *Lettres de la Cour*, p. 49.

[The notes on this journal are by M. de Kerallain.]



avons eu aussy 2 blessés qui se sont rendus au fort, qui sont les S<sup>rs</sup> St Martin et Pramont.

Nous avons pensé que c'étoit un party des 5 nations qui venoit fraper et dont on avoit déjà menacé Niagara depuis plus d'un mois.

Ce matin, à la pointe du jour, 7 dud. les Anglais ont paru dans le désert et ont beaucoup parlés, dont plusieurs parlent bon français et ont fait beaucoup d'argalade,<sup>1</sup> nous avons vu sur le champ 6 berges qui sortoient du petit marais qui est à l'Est de Niagara, à une lieue, elles sont venues au large examiner la place, j'ay envoyé 2 fois ma chaloupe par ordre de M. Pouchot à la découverte, elle a raportée quelle avoit vüe beaucoup de berges et de tentes dans le petit marais et beaucoup de monde qui travailloit depuis leur camp jusqu'au bord du désert. J'ay eu ordre sur le champ de mettre à la voile si le vent le permettoit pour voir si l'ennemy étoit justement en force et s'il avoit de l'artillerie, que s'il n'en avoit pas de tacher de ruiner ses berges et rester a croisé devant leur camp.

A midy j'ay sorty de la Rivierre avec les vents de N.O. et suis venu vis à vis le camp anglois ils m'ont salués de 2 coups de canon ■ boulets, je leur en ay rendu 4 coups ils ont recommencé et moy de même, mais leurs boulets ne se rendoient point à bord, vu que mes ordres sont de ne point m'engager sous leurs batteries, cependant beaucoup de mes boulets se rendoient à leur camp.

A 7 heures  $\frac{1}{2}$  du soir je me suis approché de leur garde avancée et je leur ay envoyé 3 coups de canon, Je ne sçai quel effet ils ont faits ; A soleil couché je me suis aperçu qu'ils avoient levés leurs tentes du petit marais pour saprocher du fort et n'en ont laissé que peu au camp de réserve ils nont faits a ce que j'ay pu voir aucun mouvement proche du fort.

Dimanche 8 depuis hier soir jusqu'à ce matin j'ay resté à croiser devant le fort et observer si l'anglois ne passoit point

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, pour "Algarade," sans doute.

de l'autre côté de la Rivière, je n'ay rien vu de nouveau, sur les 6 heures du matin je me suis approché du camp anglois et luy ay tiré en 3 différentes bordées 15 coups de canon, ils m'en ont rendu à peu près autant, à 9 heures M. Pouchot m'a fait signal de faire voile pour Chouaguin, J'ay envoyé ma chaloupe à terre pour prendre ses ordres, et je les ay reçu à midy pour rester icy a continuer ce que j'ay fait depuis hier ; ■ 1 heure après midy j'ay approché à bonne portée du camp, et ay tiré sur leurs berges. Je n'ay pu voir quel effet mes coups leurs ont faits ils m'ont riposté vivement et j'ay été heureux que leurs boulets n'ayent point porté à bord quoyque 2 ayent bien razés. J'ay tiré dans ce temps 11 coups de canon et eux 6 coups, le fort n'a tiré jusqu'à ce temps que quelques coups sur peu de monde qui paroissoit dans le désert, mais depuis 2 heures jusqu'à 8 ils ont tirés beaucoup il est à présumer que l'anglois ouvre la tranchée dans le désert. Nous les avons vu travailler toute la journée dans le bord du bois ou ils ont fait un désert.

Il faut que leurs barques soient tirées dans le bois, vu que je n'en ay vu tout au plus 60 ou 80, avec un charoy<sup>1</sup> qui paroist grand et plat, il porte un mat et il y a aussy un canot d'écorce.

J'ay vu depuis le matin le feu des costes, je pense que [ce]<sup>2</sup> sont les gens du petit fort qui l'ont mis et se retirent au grand fort.

Sur les 7 heures nous avons vu beaucoup de décharges de coups de mousqueterie proche du fort nous pensons que cette [sic] une sortie que nos gens ont faite.

Lundi 9. Depuis hier au soir jusqu'à ce matin j'ay croisé entre le fort et le camp. Je n'ay rien vu de nouveau, le fort

<sup>1</sup> Le Dictionnaire du Dr. Dionne n'indique pas l'emploi de ces désignations des véhicules de terre pour les transports par eau. On en trouve pourtant des exemples dans les journaux de Mgr. Plessis.

*Charroy* est ici pour *Charrette*, et signifie *embarcation*. Les gens de la Louisiane avaient les mêmes expressions.

<sup>2</sup> Mot omis.

n'a tiré la nuit dernière que quelques coups de canons un nombre de 7 à 8, l'Ennemy n'en a tiré aucun, ce matin, à 6 heures j'ay aproché du petit marais ou étoit le camp Je n'ay vu ny tentes ni berges et bien peu de monde, je pense que nous les avons chagriné hier et qu'ils ont monté leurs voitures <sup>1</sup> dans le bois, Je leur ay tirés quelques coups de canon auxquels ils n'ont point répondu, je ny ay point vu d'artillerie ■ moins qu'elle ne soit masquées, depuis 4 heures ce matin jusqu'à 6 le fort a beaucoup tiré et depuis ce temps ils ont été assé tranquils, a midy j'ay envoyé ma chaloupe à terre pour chercher des rouës d'affuts vu que toutes les miennes étoient cassés et des clous à pompes notre bâtiment faisant de l'eau depuis hier le canon l'a étonné et a fait ouvrir un bout de la coursive de tribord J'ay été obligé d'en mettre 2 pièces à la calle par le deffaut des canons et affuts a 3 heures après midy ma chaloupe est revenue qui m'a appris que le S<sup>r</sup> Blain Off<sup>r</sup> Anglois étoit venu ce matin au fort de la part de son Général pour sommer M. Pouchot de se rendre proposition qui a été bien vite refusée, depuis ce temps ils n'ont fait aucun feu tant d'une part que de l'autre, à 3 h.  $\frac{1}{2}$  j'ay été devant ou étoit le fort Anglois, ayant eu ordre de M. Pouchot d'aller examiner s'il paroissoit encore bien des berges dans le marais, je n'ay pas plus vu que ce matin, je leur ay tiré 3 coups de canons, ils m'en ont rendu autant l'un après l'autre, je pense qu'il n'avoit qu'une seule pièce et que les autres sont en chemin pour mener au fort. Nous ne sçavons que penser à les voir manoeuvrer si lentement.

L'Esquifve ■ passée la nuit dernière mouillée sur la Batture avec 2 pièces de canon ■ son bord pour observer s'il ne traversoit pas de berges de l'autre costé, tandis que je croisois plus au large. Les décharges de mousqueterie que nous avons entendu hier au soir étoient sur des sauvages qui aprochoient du fort on leur a tiré de la demie l'une.<sup>2</sup>

Mardy 10. Depuis hier au soir jusqu'à ce matin les vents

<sup>1</sup> Leurs bateaux.

<sup>2</sup> La demi-lune.

ont variés du O. au S.O. joly frais nous avons louvoyé toute la nuit devant le fort ; à la pointe du jour nous avons eu de la pluie et du tonnerre. Environ 2 heures ensuite le temps s'est paré, le fort n'a pas beaucoup tiré cette nuit, mais depuis le matin il n'a pas discontinué de faire feu de son artillerie, Je pense que l'Ennemy ouvre la tranchée, sur les 11 heures ce matin j'ay été sous la volée du camp anglois ou j'ay tiré 2 bordées sans qu'il m'aye répondu, je pense qu'il vouloit me laisser plus engager pour me désenparer j'ay ensuite couru ma bordée le long de la coste du sud environ 3 lieues voir s'il ne venoit point une autre division de berges, pour tacher de les ruiner, je n'ay rien vu qu'un batteau françois qui a élongé le long de la coste, c'est seurement un batteau qui a été en dérive de Niagara. J'ay vu aparence du vent de N.O. J'ay viré de bord au large étant près de terre à une portée de fusil, ■ 3 heures il s'est élevé un orage dans le N.O. avec des coups de tonnerre affreux des éclairs de la pluie en abondance et peu de vent qui a fait le tour du compas, j'ai été à my-canal afin de ne point m'engager sous les terres, à 5 heures du soir le temps s'est paré et le vent petit frais au N.O. j'ay fait route sur Niagara il continué toujours de tirer beaucoup.

Mercredy 11. Hier au soir sur les 9 heures les françois du fort ont fait un feu d'artillerie et mousqueterie très violent qui a duré 1 h.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Je n'ay pu voir quel feu les anglois faisoit étant trop au large et en calme, les vents sont venus ensuite au Nord bon frais, J'ay été toute la nuit a l'onvoyé pour ne me point afaler au sud ayant apparence de gros vent, Ce matin j'étois entre les grandes Ecores et Niagara environ 2 lieues plus bas les vents se sont rangés petit frais au N.E. J'ay couru sur le fort ensuite ils ont variés au sud. Je n'ay pu de tout le jour aprocher Niagara de près, ils n'ont pas tant tiré aujourd'huy qu'hier quoyque nous ayons vu assez souvent des volées de 5 à 6 coups de canons à la fois il ne paroît pas que l'Ennemy ayent encore des batteries d'establies vu qu'ils ne font aucun feu d'artillerie.



Jeudy 12 hier au soir sur les 9 heures le fort a commencé un feu d'artillerie et de mousqueterie considérable qui n'a point discontinué jusqu'à ce matin, il est surprenant que le feu soit si violent au monde qui est dans le fort, L'Ennemy a fait aussy plusieurs décharges de mousqueterie, Je ne sçai s'ils ont tiré du canon cette nuit n'ayant pu distinguer d'où sortait le feu d'artillerie au juste. Ce matin ils ont tirés plusieurs bombes sur le fort qui n'ont pas paru faire grand effet vüe qu'elles crevoient en l'air; ils ont continués tout le jour à en tirer mais très lentement, a Midy M. Pouchot m'a fait signal d'envoyer ma chaloupe à terre je l'ay envoyé sur le champ et l'ay amené jusqu'à l'entrée de la Rivierre ou j'ay distingué une tranchée que les anglois ont ouvert à la moitié du Désert qui ne paroît pas considérable, à 4 heures du soir ma chaloupe est revenu qui m'a rapporté un collier que 3 sauvages des 5 nations qui sont actuellement avec les Anglois devant le fort ont apporté à M. Pouchot. Ce collier est de porcelaine blanche apporté par un vieillard chef pour demander la paix avec Onontio, disant que les Anglois ■ force de présents, marchandises et eau de vie, les ont obligés d'accepter la hache, leur faisant entendre qu'à leur arrivée à Niagara, que ce fort seroit tout de suite à leur disposition, mais qu'à présent ils reconnoissoient leur faute et qu'ils étoient fâchés d'avoir frapés sur Onontio et qu'ils le prioient d'oublier le tout à quoy M. Pouchot a répondu que l'intention de leur père n'avoit jamais été de faire de la peine à ses enfants, qu'il avoit eu le cœur gros les voyant venir fraper sur leurs frères, mais que puisqu'il reconnoissoit leur faute qu'ils n'avoient qu'à se retirer librement et qu'il oublieroit le passé, a quoy ils ont répondu que dès cette nuit ils abandonneroient l'Anglois, qu'ils prioient leur père que s'ils restoient quelques uns de leurs jeunes gens avec les Anglois et qu'ils tombassent à la domination françoise de les garder avec luy et d'en avoir soin se qu'il leur a été promis.

Ils ont donné un second collier pour ce qui suit, hier après



midy il y avoit 2 hommes de ces nations en parolle au fort pour le même sujet cy-dessus, on cessa le feu tant que ces hommes furent au fort, pendant ce temps les Anglois travaillèrent fortement à ouvrir une tranchée proche du fort de 200 toises; ce second collier est pour faire des excuses à Onontio de n'avoir point empêché les Anglois de travailler pendant ce temps et qu'ils ne pensoient pas qu'ils auroient saisis cette occasion pour le faire.

Ils en ont présentés un 3<sup>ème</sup> à des Mississagués et Outa8ois qui sont dans le fort, Ce collier est envoyé par les Loups de l'autre costé des Montagnes qui sont aussy au camp Anglois, Cette nation invite les Outa8ois à rester tranquille et ne point se mesler des disputes du françois et de l'Anglois de ce<sup>1</sup> trouver à un lieu dit à quelque distance du fort pour y tenir conseil, qu'ils avoient beaucoup de chose à leur dire. Les Outa8ois leur ont répondu par le même collier qu'ils n'ont point voulu accepter qu'ils ne les connoissoient point puisqu'ils prenoient le party de l'Anglois que pour eux ils étoient venus aider à leur père et qu'ils vouloient mourir avec luy. M<sup>r</sup> Pouchot a répondu aux 2 pr<sup>iers</sup> coliers par 2 autres, il leur en a donné un 3<sup>e</sup> pour les inviter à partir au plutôt et de prendre chacun le chemin de leur village, que moyennant cela tout ce qu'il avoit fait par le passé seroit enterré et qu'il n'y penseroit plus ce qu'ils ont promis.

M. Pouchot m'a écrit la lettre cy après, dont voicy la copie. Mon Cher Laforce nous tenons l'Ennemy assés bien, mais il avance son chemin il est à 200 toises du glacis voicy ou nous commencerons à le chauffer tout de bon, tenés vous à portée, si vous estes en estat de le faire, pour canonner sur la plaine vous l'inquiéterez sur les revers de ses tranchées si vous ne le pouvés pas allés voir du costé de frontenac ce qui se passe si le vent est bon, venés nous le dire au premier bon vent, c'est le seul service que vous nous puissiez rendre, autrement attendés autour d'icy les Evenements nous ferons connoître

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, "de ce" pour "de se."

nos nécessités aprochés vous si nous vous demandons à terre je mettray un pavillon blanc dans une fenestre du derrière de la maison, si s'est de nécessité nous isserons le Grand pavillon et le petit ensemble. Ce 11 Juillet 1759. Signé Pouchot.

M. Corbin vous donnera tout le détail du Reste que je ne puis vous dire je n'ay point encore de nouvelle de la presque Isle.

Les Iroquois me disent qu'il n'y a personne à la presentation Si Laforce le peu il fera passer ce collier. Signé Pouchot.

Ce M. Corbin me fait dire par le Sr Corbin mon second d'Envoyer led. Sr Corbin porter ce collier à M. Le Général et qu'il n'a pas le temps de luy écrire étant encore après tenir conseil avec les Iroquois qu'il me charge d'informer M. le Général de ce qui se passe icy ne pouvant le faire il m'a fait dire aussy de côtoyer la coste du sud voir si je ne rencontrerois pas un convoy de 500 hommes qui apportent des vivres à l'Ennemy et de Tacher de le Ruiner, ensuite me mettre en lieu de faire rendre ces nouvelles. Les Iroquois lui ont dit qu'il n'y avoit que 3700 Anglois à faire le siège et qu'il y en avoit 3000 à Chouaguin, Je fais route pour découvrir cela depuis 5 heures, ce soir, jusqu'a 7 j'ay approché le retranchement Anglois ou j'ay tiré 10 coups de canon qui n'ont pü leur faire grand mal, raport à la coste qui est très haute et la batterie de la Rivierre qui m'empeschoit d'aborder de plus près. J'ay ensuite été au petit marais ou j'ay tiré 12 coups de canon sur leur camp ils m'en ont rendu autant qui ne m'ont point touché ils ont 3 pièces de canon montés dans cet endroit.

Le fort a fait un feu continuel tout le jour et il a augmenté beaucoup depuis soleil coucher jusqu'à 11 heures on diroit d'un tonnerre qui n'areste point tant le canon et la mousqueterie roule, Comme je fais route pour Frontenac et Chouaguin j'ay cessé d'entendre le feu, a minuit les vents sont au sud bon frais.

Vendredy 13 Juillet, depuis hier au soir les vents ont soufflés au sud bon frais et ce matin ils ont sauté au S.O. aussy bon frais. Je me suis trouvé à 6 heures du matin à

Kaskouchagon<sup>1</sup> proche de terre a portée de fusil jusqu'à Chouaguin pour découvrir le convoi qui doit porter des vivres à Niagara, sans pouvoir le voir il faut qu'il ne soit point encore en route, à 2 heures, après midy, je suis arrivé devant Chouaguin où j'ay trouvé 3 mille hommes Anglois dont les 5 nations ont parlés à Niagara, leur camp est situé à l'Est de la Rivière où étoit autrefois le fort Ontario, il y a un grand retranchement qui prend sur le bord du Lac, et qui va tomber sur la Rivière dans lequel est renfermé environ 250 tentes bien arrangées ce qui forme un beau coup d'œil, il y a aussi a environ 400 toises de ce retranchement en montant dans la Rivière une garde avancée qui est aussi retranchée; J'ay vu une berge qui sortoit de la Rivière qui venoit à la découverte de notre costé il croyoit seurement que Niagara étoit pris et que leur gens envoyoit la bâtiment à Chouaguin, j'ay laissé aprocher cette berge qui a bien connue que nous n'étions point Anglois ce qu'il l'a empesché de venir sous notre volée j'ay issé flammes françoise et j'ay tiré en passant le camp 5 coups de canon à boulets auxquels ils n'ont point répondu. J'ay continué à observer l'endroit et j'ay fait ensuite route pour Frontenac où j'espère ne point trouver d'Ennemy.

Samedy 14. Je suis arrivé à Frontenac à 11 heures du matin après avoir envoyé au petit jour une chaloupe à Frontenac à la découverte estant resté à 3 lieues avec le bâtiment, elle m'a raporté que M. Corbière y estoit.

<sup>1</sup> Kuskouchagon.

## XII

### THE CAPITULATION OF NIAGARA.

[Enclosed in Amherst to Pitt, August 5, 1759 : *Canadian Archives*,  
M. 213-1, C.O. 5 : 56 ; formerly A. & W. I. 91-1.]

#### ARTICLES DE CAPITULATION POUR LE FORT ET LA GARNISON DE NIAGARA DE SA MAJESTÉ TRES CHRÉTIENNE LE ROY DE FRANCE.

- Art. 1<sup>o</sup>. La Garnison Sortira avec Armes et Bagages,  
Accordé. Tambour battante, Meche allumée par les deux  
bouts, une petite piece de Canon, pour L'Em-  
barque sur des Voitures qui seront fournier par  
Monsieur le Général de Sa Majesté Brittannique  
pour être conduite à la Nouvelle York par le  
Chemin le plus court et dans le plus court espace  
de tems.
- 2<sup>o</sup>. La Garnison remettra ses Armes en S'embar-  
Accordé. quant et conservera ses bagages.
- 3<sup>o</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> les Officiers conserveront leur Armes et  
Accordé. Equipage.
- 4<sup>o</sup>. Les Dames et Femmes Francoise et leur Enfants  
qui sont ici, ainsi que L'aumonier seront renvoyés  
■ Montreal et il leur sera fourni par Monsieur le  
Général de ■ Majesté Brittannique, le voitures  
et subsistance necessaire pour le voyage et ce dans  
le plus court espace de tems qu'il sera possible  
Jusqu'au premier poste francoise celles qui voudront  
suivre leur Marie Seront les Maitresse.
- 5<sup>o</sup>. Les Malade et Blessé obligé de rester dans  
Accordé. le Fort pourront en sortir avec tout ce qu'il leur  
appartient et seront conduite en Sureté, lorsqu'il

## THE CAPITULATION OF NIAGARA 243

Seront en état de supporter le Voyage á la destination du reste de la Garnison En Attendant il sera fournis une Garde pour veiller ■ leur seureté.

6°.

Accordé.

Le Commandant et tous les Officiers de Troupes elle même et tout ce qui est au service du Sa Majesté très Chrétienne sortiront de la place sans être Sujet ■ aucun acte de represaille de quelque nature que se puisse être et sous quelque pertexte que ce soit.

7°.

Tous les Battineau et Bateaux, sont compris sous cet Article. L'on peut entendre ceux qui sont actuellement sur le platon les autres n'étant point a Notre disposition.

Il sera fait un Inventaire de Munition de Guerre que se trouveront dans le Magasin, ensemble L'Artillerie qui seront remise, de bonne foi ainsi que les autres Effets de sa Majesté existant dans le Magazine Loive <sup>1</sup> de la Capitulation.

8°.

Accordé.

Les Soldats et Milicien ne seront ni depouïlles ni separer de leur Officiers.

9°.

Accordé.

La Garnison sera conduite avec une escorte Jusqu'a L'endroit destiné pour son séjour. Monsieur le Général recommandra expressement à L'Escorte d'empêcher que le Sauvage n'approchent et n'insultent tout ce qui compose le Garnison et ne la pillent lorsqu'elle quittera ses armée et S'embarquera elle aura le même Soin le long de la route par tout ou il pourra se rencontrer des Sauvages.

10°.

Il sera fait une Etat exacte de nom et Surnom de Soldats de differens troupes ainsi que des Miliens et des autres employé pour sa Majesté tres Chrétienne, les dits emploies de quel état qu'il soient conserveront leur équipage et auront le même Sort de la Garnison.

<sup>1</sup> ? lors.



II<sup>e</sup>.  
 Accordé mais  
 il est a propos  
 qu'il tachent  
 a le faire en  
 cachette.

Tous les Sauvage de quelque nation qu'il soient  
 qui se trouveront ici, ne seront point insulté, et  
 feront point Insulter et seront libre de sortir ou  
 bon leur s'embrera.

Ces Articles accepté il sera livrée une porte ■  
 Monsieur le Général de sa Majesté Brittannique ce  
 qui ne peut être que demain.

POUCHOT . . . Capitaine du Reg<sup>ts</sup> de Bearn  
 Command<sup>t</sup>.

VILAR <sup>1</sup> . . . Cap<sup>t</sup> au Reg<sup>t</sup> La Sarre.

SERVIER <sup>2</sup> . . . Cap<sup>t</sup> dans Roy<sup>l</sup> Roussillon.

SIEUR De la ROCHE Cap<sup>t</sup> de Troupe de la Marine.

VERNEY . . .

BOUNNAFFONS . . . Officier du Corps Roy<sup>l</sup> de  
 L'Artillerie.

COUSNOYER . . . L<sup>t</sup> des Troupes detaché de la  
 Marine.

SOLVIGNAC . . . Officier dans Bearne.

Le Ch<sup>le</sup> De LAR- L<sup>t</sup> de la Marine.

MINAC . . .

JONCAIRE . . . Cap<sup>t</sup> de la Marine.

MORAMBERT . . . L<sup>t</sup> Chabert joncaire dans  
 Guienne.

Le Chuirgien  
 qui rest avec  
 les Malades en  
 Recommende  
 ■ Mons<sup>r</sup> Le  
 Général.

Copy of the original Capitulation in Sir W<sup>m</sup> John-  
 son's hands.

INDORSED.

Copy of the Capitulation granted to the Garri-  
 son of Niagara enclosed in Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Letter  
 to Genl. Amherst of the 25th July 1759.

Original as sent to me from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson.

JEFF: AMHERST.

<sup>1</sup> The Chevalier de Villars was appointed Captain in the Regiment of La Sarre September 27, 1749. In 1760 he held the position of Captain of Grenadiers.

<sup>2</sup> Serviès was appointed Captain *en second* of the Royal Roussillon Regiment February 13, 1755. See p. 233.

### XIII

#### EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF M. VAU- QUELIN, COMMANDANT OF THE FRIGATE *ATALANTE* IN THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE IN 1760.<sup>1</sup>

[From the *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, edited by  
the Abbé Casgrain : vol. xi. pp. 263-271.]

Ayant été décidé que l'on feroit le siège de Québec au petit printemps, on en a de longue main fait les préparatifs, et on a, entre autres, chargé sur nos bâtiments canons, affûts, poudres et autres ustensiles préposés pour cela.

Le tout étant embarqué et les glaces du lac Saint-Pierre étant en allées, je partis le 20 avril de la rivière de Sorel, avec la frégate la *Pomone*, la flûte la *Pie* et deux bateaux chargés d'effets, pour descendre et suivre l'armée, qui partit le même jour des côtes, et nous rendre où elle pourroit aller.

Le 28 avril, j'arrivai à l'Anse-au-Foulon avec toute la petite flotte, qui étoit augmentée de la flûte la *Marie*, deux bâtiments et deux goélettes particulières chargés aussi d'effets qu'ils avoient pris à Montréal.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Vauquelin distinguished himself at Louisbourg. (See vol. i. pp. 247-248 and notes.) Having returned to America, he served during the siege of Quebec as commandant of the harbour. Later he had command of a frigate at Isle Bourbon and Isle France, where he displayed his usual ability. In 1773, disgusted, it is said, by the unjust treatment he received from the Minister of Marine, he shot himself in the head.

A journal closely resembling, and in many parts identical with, this, is to be found in *Archives de la Marine*, B<sup>4</sup> 98, from which it has been copied for the *Canadian Archives*. It is ascribed to Second Lieutenant Thomas, of the *Atalante*.

J'y arrivai peu de temps après la bataille que M. le chevalier de Lévis venoit de gagner sur les troupes ennemies, qui étoient toutes sorties de Québec pour lui en disputer l'approche. Nous eûmes la satisfaction de voir nos troupes tranquilles sur les hauteurs d'Abraham, l'ennemi étant rentré dans la place, et peu après celle d'apprendre que notre armée avoit remporté une victoire complète, l'ennemi ayant abandonné toute son artillerie.

Toute la flotte mouillée faisant la droite de l'armée partie à l'Anse-au-Foulon qui est à une lieue de la place et partie à l'Anse-Sillery qui est à une demi-lieue au-dessus de cette première, on ■ débarqué journellement et à fur et à mesure ce dont l'armée avoit besoin, tant en artillerie et munitions pour le siège qu'en vivres pour la subsistance des troupes.

Nos batteries avançoient, et l'on devoit battre sous peu de jours, lorsque le vent de nord-est nous amena, le 9 mai, une frégate angloise de trente canons qui ■ mouilla sous Québec. Cette arrivée nous surprit un peu, mais ne nous inquiéta point, bien persuadés qu'elle seule ne viendrait point nous combattre, ce qu'elle ne fit effectivement point. Je demandai cependant à M. le chevalier de Lévis soixante Canadiens pour augmenter mon équipage qui n'étoit que de cent dix hommes, pour pouvoir servir comme il faut onze canons de 8 que j'avois par bande et avoir un peu de mousqueterie.

Le 11 mai au matin, nos batteries étant perfectionnées, elles commencèrent à tirer.

Dans cette position, le vent de nord-est continuant, nous nous flattions de voir arriver de jour à autre quelques-uns de nos bâtimens, mais au contraire, le 15 au soir, on fit, de dessus la Pointe-de-Lévis, signal d'un vaisseau ennemi.

J'ai fait sur-le-champ partir un officier pour en informer M. le chevalier de Lévis et lui demander ses ordres. Le reste de la nuit s'est passé en gros vent de nord-est et est-nord-est ; mon officier n'étoit point encore de retour à minuit.

Le 16, le vent toujours au nord-est, gros frais, le temps

brun et couvert, assez clair cependant pour à quatre heures nous laisser apercevoir dans le bassin entre Québec et la pointe d'Orléans un vaisseau et une frégate arrivés pendant la nuit. J'ai aussitôt fait guinder le grand mât de hune que le gros vent de la veille nous avoit obligé d'amener et fait mettre le signal de désaffourcher.

Un instant après, l'officier que j'avois envoyé la veille à terre est arrivé et m'a dit avoir été retenu au quartier général jusqu'à minuit et que son canot s'étoit trouvé échoué. Il m'a dit aussi que M. le chevalier de Lévis avoit été informé dès cette nuit par Beauport de l'arrivée de ces bâtimens, et que son intention étoit que j'eusse à appareiller aussitôt que je verrois l'ennemi sous voile pour monter au-dessus de la place.

A quatre heures trois quarts, le vaisseau déferla son petit hunier. La frégate ■ mis sous voile et s'est acheminée vers Québec. En la voyant passer outre et la frégate première arrivée mettre aussi sous voile, j'ai fait le signal de couper les câbles pour appareiller, qui est un pavillon mi-partie rouge et mi-partie blanc et deux coups de canon coup sur coup.

La *Pomone* et les autres bâtimens ont aussitôt coupé (leurs câbles) et appareillé. La première des frégates ennemies étoit à l'Anse-des-Mères lorsque j'ai fait couper les miens, n'ayant pas eu le temps d'en faire rentrer aucun à bord, et ai fait route pour monter. Mais la *Pomone*, ayant par malheur abattu du mauvais côté, n'a pu doubler la pointe de l'Anse-au-Foulon et s'est trouvée échouée en dedans.

J'ai continué à faire route avec les autres bâtimens, mais en marchant mieux qu'eux, et, la première des frégates m'approchant, je jugeai ne pouvoir les conserver longtemps sans être atteint; ce qui me fit prendre le parti de les faire donner dans la rivière du Cap-Rouge, à deux lieues de l'endroit d'où nous partions. Je les ai couverts jusque-là et leur ai fait route pour cette susdite rivière, pour, par cette manœuvre, sauver le dépôt et le mettre à portée d'être enlevé par l'armée, bien persuadé que les frégates ennemies s'acharneroient à me chasser,

plutôt que de rester pour les petits bâtiments qui, étant entrés dans la rivière, seroient à l'abri de leurs coups.

J'ai aussitôt fait force de voiles et fait canonner de retraite la plus proche, mais assez inutilement, et je fis mettre toutes voiles dehors. Elle m'a toujours approché, et plus encore la dernière qui doubloit presque notre sillage. Un bateau du Roi et la chaloupe s'étant remplis d'eau, j'ai été obligé d'en faire couper l'amarre ; celle du canot ayant manqué auparavant, je me suis trouvé sans un bateau.

Nous avons continué de monter et de canonner de retraite les deux frégates de chasse ; mais enfin, voyant l'avantage qu'elles avoient sur nous et prévoyant qu'elles me suivroient et me joindroient sous peu, j'ai cru n'avoir rien de mieux à faire qu'à chercher un endroit commode pour échouer la frégate et pouvoir sauver les équipages du Roi, qui peuvent être très nécessaires à la colonie, où l'espèce manque.

Le pilote m'ayant assuré que nous n'avions d'autres endroits que la Pointe-aux-Trembles, qui étoit à deux lieues de nous, ou Portneuf, qui en étoit à cinq, et qu'avant d'être arrivés à ce dernier les frégates m'auroient certainement joint, je me déterminai à faire choix du premier endroit.

Nous y sommes arrivés à sept heures et demie, ayant les frégates à portée et demie du mousquet derrière nous, et avons échoué à près de vingt toises du moulin de cette pointe. Plusieurs raisons m'ont fait prendre ce dur parti.

La première, que ces frégates, marchant beaucoup mieux que la mienne, auroient pu couper ma retraite en me mettant entre elles, et, par cette manœuvre, m'auroient tiré les moyens de faire côte, après avoir consommé quatre cents coups de canon que j'avois à tirer sans plus.

La seconde, que, l'année dernière, les vaisseaux ennemis ne montèrent point au-dessus de la Pointe-aux-Écureuils faute de connoissance de cette partie, et cela auroit été leur servir de guide que d'aller au-dessus, puisqu'elles auroient été près et à poupe de la frégate.



La troisième, c'est qu'excepté à Portneuf, qui est à trois lieues d'ici, le rivage est bordé de rochers qui s'étendent fort au large, et où il n'eut point peut-être été possible de sauver les équipages qui infailliblement auroient été prisonniers ou péri sans ressources.

La frégate échouée, les deux ennemies se sont mouillées par son travers à demi-portée de canon et ont fait tout autant de feu qu'elles ont pu. La frégate s'est heureusement trouvée échouée droite, présentant le travers et soutenue par une heure de flot qu'il y avoit encore. Nous avons aussi fait feu, et pour qu'elle se tint plus longtemps droite, j'ai fait couper son grand mât.

A neuf heures et demie, nous nous sommes trouvés sans poudre, parce que l'eau ayant gagné la soute en a submergé quatre barils, obligés de voir constamment tirer l'ennemi et le désagrément de n'avoir plus de quoi lui riposter.

Nous nous sommes restreints à avoir le mousquet dans les bras et à nous munir de cartouches, au cas qu'il voulût envoyer ses canots à bord.

On cria à quelques habitants qui passaient de nous envoyer un bateau pour débarquer, mais assez inutilement, et le grand feu que faisoit l'ennemi mettoit une grande difficulté à notre requisition.

N'ayant plus rien à faire, je chargeai le sieur Sabourin du soin de faire préparer un artifice pour brûler la frégate en nous débarquant.

Nous avons longtemps attendu un bateau, qui est enfin venu et dans lequel il s'est embarqué autant de monde qu'il en a pu contenir, et on leur donna un bout de cordage pour faire un va-et-vient; mais, arrivés à terre, ils ont largué le cordage et laissé le bateau pour prendre la fuite, de sorte que, comme il y avoit descendant il s'est trouvé en peu de temps à sec, le restant de l'équipage et nous isolés sur la frégate, qui commençoit à donner un grand gîte [*sic*].

M'ayant été rapporté qu'il y avoit huit pieds d'eau dans

la frégate, j'ai réfléchi sur le projet que j'avois formé de la brûler, et ayant bien combiné comme elle étoit crevée et par conséquent hors d'état d'être renflouée, j'ai pensé qu'il seroit plus avantageux de ne pas le faire, parce qu'après le départ des frégates ennemies on pourroit sauver de bord quelques ingrédients utiles à la colonie, comme canons, le peu de vivres qui nous restoient, voiles et cordages, bien qu'ils fussent en pièces et lambeaux.

Il n'en ■ pas été de l'ennemi comme de nous ; il a toujours continué son feu, et ne l'a interrompu que le temps qu'il lui ■ fallu pour éviter de flot en jusan. Il continua de nous tuer et blesser toujours quelqu'un. La frégate a toujours tombé et étoit couchée au point de ne pouvoir presque plus se tenir sur le pont, lorsque, pour la soulager et l'empêcher de venir peut-être le platbord à l'eau, j'ai fait couper le mât de misaine.

La nécessité d'avoir quelque chose pour descendre nos équipages à terre et nos blessés, nous a fait travailler à faire un mauvais radeau, ce à quoi l'on est parvenu ; et, après avoir débarqué douze à quinze hommes, l'on ■ remis à l'eau le bateau qui étoit demeuré échoué par l'abandon qu'en avoient fait ceux qui étoient descendus les premiers, et l'on a, avec le dit bateau, continué le débarquement.

Le feu de l'ennemi avoit cessé, la frégate étant gîtée à terre et ne lui présentant que le flanc. Mais, lors du débarquement, il a recommencé. Cependant on l'a continué, et il restoit encore un voyage à faire, lorsqu'à une heure et demie, les frégates ont envoyé leurs canots à bord, ce que nous avons très bien observé ; mais la frégate étoit tellement couchée que nous tenir étoit tout ce que nous pouvions faire, par conséquent hors d'état de faire une assez inutile défense, et, joint à ce que nos blessés avoient besoin d'un prompt secours, nous les avons laissés monter et ai été fait prisonnier avec cinq de mes officiers. J'en avois envoyé un à terre de bonne heure pour rendre compte et prévenir M. le chevalier de Lévis de notre défaite.

Ceux prisonniers avec moi sont les sieurs Sabourin et Thomas, lieutenants, Deshaix, enseigne, Chaumillon, écrivain, et le sieur Bossens, aumônier. Il s'est aussi trouvé à bord six hommes de l'équipage, qui, comme nous, n'avoient pu aller à terre.

Nous avons été conduits, moi et le sieur Sabourin à bord du sieur Schomberg, capitaine de la frégate la *Diane*, armée de trente-deux canons, dont vingt-six de 12 sur son pont et six de 6 sur les gaillards. Les autres officiers ont été mis à bord de M. Deane, commandant la frégate *Lowestoff*, armée de vingt-quatre canons de 9 sur son pont et six de 6 sur ses gaillards. J'ai prié ce premier d'envoyer un parlementaire pour débarquer à terre les blessés qui étoient restés à bord faute de temps pour le faire; Monsieur le capitaine s'y est prêté de la meilleure grâce du monde, et j'ai pour cela envoyé un de mes meilleurs officiers dans son canot.

Nous ignorons au juste le nombre des tués et blessés que nous avons eus; mais cela va au moins à quarante-trois hommes. La plupart des blessés le sont dangereusement. Il y a dans le nombre des tués le sieur Dufour, enseigne; dans celui des blessés légèrement, les sieurs Sabourin, Thomas, Deshaix et moi. Ils ont renvoyé leurs canots à bord de l'*Atalante* pour en tirer ce qui pourroit leur être de quelque utilité; mais ils sont revenus tels qu'ils y étoient allés, ayant trouvé tous les cordages hachés et les voiles criblées et en pièces.

M. Schomberg m'a dit avoir tiré cinq cents coups de canon et M. Deane trois cent cinquante.

Le 17 mai, le vent continuant au nord-est, grand frais, et les frégates ne pouvant descendre comme elles l'auroient bien désiré, M. le capitaine Schomberg ■ envoyé son canot mettre le feu à bord de l'*Atalante*.

XIV

LETTER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES  
MURRAY TO COLONEL SIMON FRASER.

[From the *Canadian Archives*, M. 898-D. (Copied from the original draft among the Murray Papers at Bath.)]

Champlain road 25th July 1760.

Dr Sir

I was yesterday honor'd with your favor of the 27, I thank you heartily for the Bermudas Sloop, She will be of infinite Service, for as the Diana can go no farther than the Trois Rivieres, we shall want the Bermudian to proceed w<sup>th</sup> us to Montreal, let there therefore be no delay in dispatching her to us. Capt. Stobo tells me he came fm Louisbourg in a schooner called Amherst, an excellent Vessell for this river already armed & in the Government's Service, L<sup>d</sup> Colvill it seems has scrupules, in keeping her for this service as they cannot be material, I hope you will use your endeavours to remove them I have wrote to him on the subject—the Success of our Affairs in Canada depend entirely upon our being Masters of the river St Lawrence, & keeping up a Communication with the garison of Quebec, this can only be done by Vessells accomodated for the river & such vessells cannot be so essentially necessary any where in America at this time as they are here, I therefore flatter myself there will be no hesitation on my L<sup>ds</sup> side, as I am confident you will do all in your power to urge and persuade him to a Compliance. Upon examination I find the quantity of provisions I expected has not been embarked, I therefore need not enlarge upon the necessity of supplying us with more, by the most speedy



& certain methods you can. From the intelligence I have of the Enemy's powers, & views, & that of Mr. Amherst's motions above, I cannot doubt of being in the Field till the latter end of October, provision must be made accordingly. The Louisbourg fleet of consequence must be victualled for 3 months, & a further Supply for the detachment here of 2 months provisions for 2000 or 1500 men at least, must be forthwith sent to us.—I am glad you have a prospect of getting rid of the French prisoners, you cannot divest yourself of them too soon, let me entreat you to send off De Breaux, & Feguery [?] amongst the first of them, and it is much to be wished that every french Officer in our possession was sent away or kept close on board the Fleet, till an opportunity Offers<sup>1</sup>—I am Sorry to find the Garison does not recover, for you are weaker than when I left you I had Sanguine hopes that the warm weather & your Attention to the wants of the sick, would have soon enabled you to Satisfy your Ambition, I beg you will not be distressed about Jacques Quartier, I meant you friendship by the proposal, I was answerable for any bad Consequences, & you must have reap'd the honor of a happy Success; The enemy's Situation in your district cannot be formidable fifty men is all they have left at Jacques Quartier, & from the nature of things it is most evident to any man Acquainted with war, that they must abandon the lower Country in proportion as we mount, without a possibility of reinforcing it, till both Mr. Amherst's Army & mine are defeated which I think can hardly happen, but enough of this, You are to do as you please, in the mean time give it out that you are to Assault Jacque Quartier & let your Spies observe the Enemys motions there, remember I tell you, it will not, because it cannot make any Alteration there, the 50 men will continue where they are till we Appear before it, & then they will retire thro' the woods, after having set fire to the houses &c. In short My Dr. Fraser all I

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 474.



desire & Expect of you ■■ your General is to Execute your original instructions & to Establish a post at the point au tremble if that can be done with ease to your garison, if not to burn ye Country after the harvest is gather'd in, from the river Jacque Quartier to the very banks of the Cap rouge, that the Inhabitants of that Quarter may be drove back upon the Upper Canada for Sub<sup>ce</sup> I am positive that this Shou'd be executed before the first day of Octr. if the whole Country before that time has not submitted to His Maj<sup>ties</sup> Arms. Enclosed is ■ list of pilots for the Upper river, it will be very proper to lay hold of them if possible, that they may be employed for the King—I enclose you an order in form to prevent any Sutlers coming up to us, unless under Safe convoy, it is in form that you may show it to Lord Colvill—The reason I chose to agree with the Masters of the vessells by the Chord rather than to hire their Ships proceeded from ■ Notion I had that such an agreement wou'd Stimulate their industry, As you have bargained w<sup>th</sup> them it is Equal to them whether they work or not, besides you will be very liable to be imposed upon in the measurement of the vessells, in the other way you was Sure of having pennyworths for your money, no imposition and much industry on the .part of the owners of the Craft, but now you are almost certain of imposition, Yancky laziness & I fear of consequence a Scarcity of wood in ye Winter, I imagine you did not Consult ye Wise man about this he is ■■ Old *faunt Body* & certainly will agree to what I have observed on this head. I understand you live like what you are ■ Great prince, that you may ever be respected as Such, is the sincere Wish of D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your very faithfull hble servt.

J. M.

Gen. Murray to Col. Fraser.

1760.

XV

LETTER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES  
MURRAY TO THE HON. WILLIAM PITT.

[From the *Canadian Archives*, M. 221. (Transcript from Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 64; formerly A. & W. I. 99.)]

Quebec, October 7<sup>th</sup> 1760.

Sir,

I have been honored with your letter of the twenty third July by the way of New York, and communicated to the Troops the King's gracious acceptance of their Services.

The particular approbation, his Majesty has been pleased to express, of my poor endeavors to fulfill my Duty to him, and my country, is the highest honour I can aspire at.

I beg, Sir, you will be pleased to assure him, that of all his Subjects, there is not one who is more ambitious of proving himself a faithfull Servant than I am; did my Capacity bear the smallest proportion to my Zeal, the sincerity of this protestation must have been very conspicuous.

I have had no opportunity of corresponding with you since I had the honor to write from Contrecoeur, General Amherst having sent away the Express from Montreal before I was apprized, but I flatter myself he has informed you how fortunate the Garrison of Quebec were in reducing the French Army, by obliging the Canadians to abandon it to a man, and how effectually we clear'd the Route for the junction of the three Corps, by taking post at Longueüil and driving Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levis to the Island of Montreal, before the other two Corps were heard of. He will have acquainted you likewise, no doubt, that Mons<sup>r</sup> Vaudreüil insinuated terms of surrender to me, which I rejected, and sent information

thereof to the Commander in Chief, who was, at that time, three days march from Montreal; on the reduction of which place, & that of all Canada, I most sincerely congratulate you.

As the Troops under my command are greatly recover'd and will be very comfortably quarter'd this Winter, in comparison of the last, I can almost venture to assure you, that we shall entirely get the better of the Scurvy, the only distemper amongst us, and as Mr. Amherst has empower'd me to draw upon the Paymaster General for thirty thousand pounds, I hope I shall be able to satisfy the Soldiers, who have now twelve months pay due, untill more Cash arrives. The General thought this a better and more expeditious method than that I had the honor to propose to you in my letter from Contrecoeur.

I am much ashamed, Sir! that I am obliged to trouble you with my private concerns, but paper cannot blush, and as I am a Soldier of fortune without a friend, nay hardly an acquaintance at Court, I do not know to whom I can so properly apply for protection as yourself, and as I shall be prouder of the smallest countenance from you, than the highest advantages which the united Interests of England could procure to me without it, I take the liberty to enclose Copy of a letter I have wrote to the Secretary at War, in form, which probably will share the fate of many he receives, unless you will be pleased to interfere in my behalf.

With the highest Esteem and Veneration

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your much obliged & most faithfull humble Servant

JA: MURRAY.

Indorsed. Quebec Oct<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1760.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Murray.

R. Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> by Cap<sup>t</sup> Perry of the Kingston.

## XVI

### THE CAPITULATION OF FORT LÉVIS.

[Enclosed in Amherst to Pitt, August 26, 1760 (*Canadian Archives*,  
M. 216: C.O. 5: 59; formerly A. & W. I. 94).]

1° La Garnison du Fort Lévis restera Prisonniers de Guerre.

2° Il ne sera fait le moindre degat en ce que Ce Fort peut contenir, soit au dit Fort, aux Canons, aux Munitions de Guerre, ou de Bouche, aux Armements et Instrumens de Guerre, et generalement tout ce que ce trouve sous mon commandement.

3° Tous les Deserteurs des Troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique, et les Sauvages ne sont point compris dans la dite Capitulation; fait au Fort Lévis ce 25. Aoust 1760.

POUCHOT—Commandant du Fort Lévis.

Celeron.

La potrie.

L ch<sup>r</sup> De la Bon.

ch<sup>r</sup> De poilly.

Bleury.

Indorsed. Copy of the Capitulation Signed by the Officer of Fort Lévis—25th August 1760.

## XVII

### THE CARTEL REGARDING EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

[Copy in the *Canadian Archives*, from the document attached to a letter of the Duc de Choiseul to the Comte de Chastelet, November 28, 1768 (*Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance Politique : Angleterre*. Volume 442).]

#### TRAITÉ ET CONVENTIONS

*Pour les Malades, Blessés et Prisonniers de guerre des Troupes de Terre de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne et de Sa Majesté Britannique.*<sup>1</sup>

Nous,

Louis-Jacques Charles Marquis du Barail, Maréchal des camps & armées du Roi, Commandant dans la province de Flandre :

Au nom de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne notre Maître, en vertu du plein-pouvoir à Nous donne ;

Henry-Seymour Conway, Major général des troupes de Sa Majesté, Colonel d'un régiment de Cavalerie, & l'un des Gentilshommes de la Chambre de Sa Majesté :

Au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, en vertu du plein-pouvoir qui nous a été donné ;

**Savoir Faisons**, que nous Sommes convenus des Articles ci-après énoncés, pour avoir leur pleine valeur & entière exécution entre les Troupes de Leurs Majestés Très Chrétienne & Britannique, dans quelque partie du Monde que les armées belligérantes ou auxiliaires des deux nations se trouvent ; & en avons passé le Traité, en vertu des pleins-pouvoirs respectivement communiqués, comme il s'ensuit.

<sup>1</sup> For notes, see the English translation which follows.



## ARTICLE PREMIER

Tous les Prisonniers de guerre, de quelque qualité espèce & condition qu'ils puissent être, sans aucune reserve, qui ont été faits depuis la présente guerre entre les Troupes de terre des deux Puissances, & dans quelque pays que ce soit ; seront échangés ou rançonnée dans l'espace d'un mois, à commencer du jour de la signature du présent Cartel, ainsi qu'il sera plus amplement expliqué dans l'article XXIV ; & M<sup>rs</sup> les Généraux respectifs commandant les armées belligérantes & auxiliaires, dans quelque partie du Monde que ce soit, conviendront entre eux de l'endroit où se fera réciproquement le premier échange ou rançon des Prisonniers qu'on se rendra de part & d'autre.

## II

Tous les Prisonniers de guerre des dites Troupes, sans aucune réserve, qui seront faits de part & d'autre, après le premier échange ou rançon, seront rendus de bonne foi quinze jours après leur détention, ou aussitôt que faire se pourra, par échange de prisonnier de pareilles charges ou équivalences, ou autres, en faisant compensation du plus au moins, ou payeront leurs rançons sur le pied qu'elles seront ci-après marqués, savoir en florins d'Allemagne à compter à soixante creutzers de part & d'autre, faisant deux livres dix sols argent de France, ou deux schelings deux sols & un liard argent d'Angleterre.

## III

Il sera tenu un livre des Prisonniers faits dans les armées belligérantes & auxiliaires, dans lequel il sera marqué le nombre qui sera renvoyé de part & d'autre dans chaque mois, afin qu'au premier du suivant il soit envoyé de chaque côté un état de ce qui aura été reçu & rendu, pour que huit jours après il soit payé exactement & sans difficulté le nombre excédant qu'un parti devra à l'autre ; l'on comptera aussi des avances qui

auront été faites aux-dits Prisonniers, pour qu'elles soient remboursées en même temps, & que tous les comptes soient arrêtés, sans qu'ils puissent être portés au mois suivant; & au premier échange ou rançon des dits Prisonniers, de part & d'autre, on se liquidera de toutes les avances qui leur auront été faites, sur des états valables qui seront produits.

## IV

Toutes les fois qu'il sera renvoyé des Prisonniers d'une part ou d'autre, on y joindra un état qui sera remis au Commandant du lieu où ils auront été conduits, lequel donnera un reçu de la quantité & qualité qu'il recevra, pour être compté chaque mois, ainsi qu'il est ci-dessus.

## V

Et afin qu'il n'arrive aucune contestation ni difficulté, tant par rapport aux postes & qualités des Officiers de part & d'autre, que des rançons qui devront être payées pour chacun d'eux; il a été estimé à propos d'y spécifier ci-après les postes & charges qui sont dans les armées belligérantes & auxiliaires & marquer le prix d'icelles.

## VI

Charges & Officiers servant dans  
les Armées & garnisons de Sa  
Majesté Très-Chrétienne

Florins d'Alle-  
magne

Général d'Armées ou	
Maréchal de France	. 25000
Lieutenant général com-	
mandant l'armée en	
chef . . . . .	. 20000
Lieutenants généraux	. 5000
Grand Maître d'Artil-	
lerie . . . . .	. 6000

Charges & Officiers servant dans  
les Armées & garnisons de Sa  
Majesté Britannique.

Florins  
d'Allemagne

Capitaine général ou Feldt	
Maréchal . . . . .	. 25000
Commandant général en	
chef . . . . .	. 20000
Général de Cavalerie ou	
d'Infanterie . . . . .	. 10000

# THE CARTEL OF EXCHANGE

261

Maréchaux de camp . . . . .	1500	Lieutenant général . . . . .	5000
Colonel général de la Ca- valerie . . . . .	2000	Maître de l'Artillerie . . . . .	6000
Colonel général des Dragons . . . . .	1500	Général-major . . . . .	1500
Mestre-de-camp général de la Cavalerie . . . . .	1500	Commissaire général . . . . .	3000
Mestre-de-camp général des Dragons . . . . .	1000	Vice-commissaire général . . . . .	250
Commandant de la Cava- lerie . . . . .	1500	Adjudant général . . . . .	500
Commissaire général de la Cavalerie . . . . .	1000	Vice adjudant général . . . . .	100
Un Intendant d'armée ou de province . . . . .	3000	Quartier-maître général . . . . .	500
Leurs Subdélégués ou Or- donnateurs des guerres . . . . .	250	Vice quartier maître général . . . . .	100
Le général des vivres . . . . .	300	Major de brigade . . . . .	150
Major général d'Infanterie . . . . .	500		
Maréchal général des logis . . . . .	500		
Maréchal général des logis de la Cavalerie . . . . .	100		
Majors de brigade, tant de Cavalerie, Dragons, qu'Infanterie . . . . .	150		
Aides-de-camp . . . . .	150	Aides-de-camp . . . . .	150
Trésorier général de l'Ex- traordinaire des guerres . . . . .	250	Vice-maître général de la paye . . . . .	250
Le principal Commis de l'Extraordinaire des guerres dans chaque armée . . . . .	150	Son représentant ou Commis principal . . . . .	150
Les autres Commis de l'Ex- traordinaire des guerres . . . . .	50	Autres Commis Subal- ternes ou assistants . . . . .	50
Brigadiers de Cavalerie ou de Dragons . . . . .	900	Brigadier . . . . .	900
Brigadiers d'Infanterie . . . . .	700		
Commissaires des guerres . . . . .	150		
Inspecteurs d'Infanterie, Cavalerie ou Dragons . . . . .	150		
Principal Commis des vivres . . . . .	150	Maître général des chariots . . . . .	50
Les autres moindres Commis & Contrôleurs des vivres des armées & places . . . . .	50	Capitaines des Guides . . . . .	50

Le Capitaine Vaguemestre	50	
Le Capitaine des Guides .	50	Assistant du Quartier-
Les Guides à cheval de		maître général; du Com-
leurs compagnies, seront		missaire général, du
traités comme dans la		Maître général des
Cavalerie.		chariots, & du Capitaine
		des Guides . . . . . 25

## VII

<i>Gendarmerie</i>		<i>Gardes à cheval et Grenadiers</i>	
Le Brigadier de la Gendar-		Capitaine d'un compagnie	
merie . . . . .	550	de la Garde à cheval .	1000
Le Capitaine des Gardes du			
Corps de Sa Majesté .	1000	Capitaine & Colonel d'une	
Le Capitaine lieutenant		compagnie de Grenadiers	
des Gendarmes de la		de la Garde . . . . .	1000
Garde . . . . .	1000		
Le Capitaine lieutenant des		Premier Lieutenant de la	
Chevaux - légers de la		Garde à Cheval . . .	600
Garde . . . . .	1000		
Les Capitaines lieutenans		Lieutenant - colonel des	
des deux compagnies de		grenadiers de la garde .	600
Mousquetaires . . .	1000		
Le Lieutenant de la Garde-			
du-corps du Roi . . .	1000	Second lieutenant de la	
Le Sous - Lieutenant des		Garde à cheval . . .	500
Chevaux légers de la			
Garde . . . . .	1000	Major des Grenadiers de la	
Les Sous - lieutenans des		Garde . . . . .	500
deux compagnies de			
Mousquetaires . . .	1000	Cornette de la Garde à	
Les Enseignes des Gardes-		cheval . . . . .	500
du-corps du Roi . . .	500	Adjudant de la Garde à	
L'Enseigne & Guidon des		cheval . . . . .	150
Gendarmes de la Garde	500		
Les Enseignes & Cornettes			
des Mousquetaires .	500		
Les Cornettes des Chevaux-			
légers de la Garde .	500		
le Major des Gardes-du-			
corps du Roi . . . .	300		
Les deux Aides-Majors des			
Gardes-du-corps du Roi	150		

Le Capitaine des Gardes de Mgr le Duc d'Orléans .	1000		
Le Lieutenant des Gardes de Mgr le Duc d'Orléans	300		
Les Capitaines - lieutenans de la Gendarmerie .	750		
Les Sous-lieutenans des compagnies de Gen- darmes . . . . .	375	Guidon de la Garde à cheval	300
Les Enseignes & Guidons des Compagnies des Gen- darmes . . . . .	250		
Les Capitaines-lieutenans des Chevaux-légers de la Gendarmerie . . . .	500	Exempts de la Garde à cheval . . . . .	250
Les Sous-lieutenans des Chevaux-légers . . . .	250	Lieutenant & Capitaine, ou Guidon des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . .	250
Les Cornettes des Chevaux- légers . . . . .	150	Brigadiers de la Garde à cheval, ou Sous-lieute- nant des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	150
Le Major de la Gendar- merie . . . . .	250		
L'Aide-major de la Gen- darmerie . . . . .	125		
Les Sous-Aides Majors de la Gendarmerie . . . .	62½	Adjudant des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	125
Les Exempts des com- pagnies des Gardes-du- corps, & Maréchaux- des-logis de toutes les compagnies ci dessus, les Brigadiers, Sous-Briga- diers, Gardes-du-corps, Mousquetaires, Gen- darmes, & autre des dites compagnies ci-dessus payeront un mois de leurs appointemens.		Les Sous Brigadiers Quar- tier - Maître, Sergens, Caporaux, Trompettes, Timbaliers, Tambours, Hautbois & simple Soldat, tant de la Garde à cheval, que des Grena- diers de la Garde paye- ront un mois de leur paye	
Et à l'égard de la compagnie des Grenadiers à cheval de la Maison du Roi, les Officiers & Grena- diers de la dite compa- gnie, payeront un mois de leurs gages.			



## VIII

<i>Gardes Françaises et Suisses</i>		<i>Garde à pied</i>	
Le colonel des Gardes françaises . . . . .	1500	Colonel de la Garde à pied	1500
Le Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	750	Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	750
Le Major . . . . .	300	Major . . . . .	300
Les Capitaines . . . . .	150	Capitaine . . . . .	150
Les Lieutenans, Aides- Majors, Sous-lieutenans, Enseignes & autres jus- qu'aux Soldats compris, payeront un mois de leur solde.		Les Lieutenans, Quartier- Maître, Adjudant, En- seignes & autres jusqu'au simple Soldat inclusive- ment donneront un mois de leur paye.	
Les Prevôts & Lieutenans des Prevôts, Maréchaux- des logis & Archers de la Prevôté des Gardes, payeront un mois de leur solde.			
Le Colonel général des Suisses . . . . .	600		
Le Colonel des Gardes- Suisses . . . . .	300		
Les Capitaines-lieutenans, & autres officiers & Soldats des Gardes- Suisses, payeront de même que les Gardes- françaises.			

## IX

<i>Infanterie</i>	Florins d'Allemagne	<i>Infanterie</i>	Florins d'Allemagne
Colonel d'Infanterie . . . . .	600	Colonel . . . . .	600
Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	300	Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	300
Majors . . . . .	120	Major . . . . .	120
Capitaines . . . . .	70	Capitaine . . . . .	70
Aides-Majors ou Adjudans	30	Adjudant . . . . .	30
Lieutenans . . . . .	24	Quartier-maître . . . . .	30
Enseignes ou Sous-lieutenans	20	Lieutenans . . . . .	24

Sergens . . . . .	10	Second lieutenant ou Enseignes . . . . .	20
Caporaux Anspessades, Tambours, Fifres, Hautbois & Soldats . . . . .	4	Sergent . . . . .	10
Les Prevôts des Régimens & les Maréchaux-des-logis payeront chacun . . . . .	15	Caporal, Tambour Fifre & simple Soldat . . . . .	4
Les Lieutenans des Prevôts . . . . .	5		
Leurs Archers & Greffiers chacun . . . . .	2½		
L'Infanterie étrangère ou les régimens des provinces ou milices, seront traités comme l'Infanterie françoise, tant pour l'officier que pour le Soldat.			

## X

### *Cavalerie, Carabiniers & Hussards*

### *Cavalerie.*

	Florins d'Allemagne		Florins d'Allemagne
Mestre-de-camp ou Colonel de Cavalerie . . . . .	700	Colonel . . . . .	700
Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	300	Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	300
Major . . . . .	150	Major . . . . .	150
Capitaine . . . . .	100	Capitaine . . . . .	100
Lieutenant . . . . .	40	Lieutenant . . . . .	40
Cornettes ou Lieutenans réformés . . . . .	30	Adjudant . . . . .	40
Aides-Major . . . . .	40	Cornette . . . . .	30
Maréchal-des-logis d'une compagnie . . . . .	14	Quartier-maître . . . . .	14
Trompettes ou Timbaliers . . . . .	10	Timbaliers ou Trompettes . . . . .	10
Brigadiers, Cavaliers, Seli-ers & Maréchaux . . . . .	7	Caporal, Maréchal Cavaliers . . . . .	7
Toutes les troupes fran-çoises, tant Officiers que Soldats du ban & arrière ban, & de Milices, seront traités comme la Cava-lerie si elles sont à cheval, ou comme l'Infanterie, si elles sont à pied.			

## XI

*Dragons*

Le Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel Major & Capitaine payeront leur rançon sur le pied de la Cavalerie ; les Officiers au-dessous de Capitaine jusqu'aux simples Dragons, payeront comme l'Infanterie

*Dragons*

Le Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel Major & Capitaines payeront leur rançon comme Officier de Cavalerie ; tous ceux qui sont au dessous du rang de Capitaine jusqu'au simple Dragon inclusivement payeront comme l'Infanterie

## XII

*Artillerie*

Lieutenant-général d'Artillerie de France . . . 700  
 Les Capitaines & autres Officiers des compagnies d'ouvriers, ainsi que les Charrons, Boureliers, Artificiers, Maréchaux & autres Ouvriers des dites compagnies, de même que les conducteurs des charrois d'Artillerie, payeront un mois de leur solde.

*Artillerie*

Lieutenant-général de l'Artillerie . . . 700  
 Les Commissaires & autres Officiers comme aussi les Charpentiers, Charrons, Boureliers, Artificiers, Forgerons & Maréchaux payeront un mois de leur paye.

## XIII

*Régiment Royal Artillerie*

Le Colonel commandant un bataillon dudit régiment, le Lieutenant-colonel, le Major & les autres Officiers seront traités comme l'Infanterie française, ainsi que les Canonniers, Bombar-

*Regiment Royal Artillerie*

Les Feld-officiers & autres Officiers du régiment Royal-artillerie, seront traités & payeront, suivant leur rang, comme Officiers d'Infanterie & les Bombardiers, Canonniers, & simples Soldats

diers & Fusiliers desdits bataillons. Les Officiers détachés des bataillons dudit régiment sans troupe pour faire le service des places, ou qui y seront attachés par leur retraite, payeront un mois de leur solde.

d'Artillerie, comme les Soldats du régiment d'Infanterie.

## XIV

### *Compagnies de Mineurs*

Les Officiers & Soldats desdites compagnies payeront un mois de leur solde.

### *Mineurs.*

Tant les Officiers que les Soldats payeront un mois de leur paye.

## XV

### *Ingénieurs*

	Florins d'Allemagne
Ingénieur-général de France	150
Les Ingénieurs en chef des armées, villes & provinces . . . . .	75
Tous autres Ingénieurs servant dans les armées ou garnisons . . . . .	50
Les Entrepreneurs des fortifications . . . . .	25
Les Piqueurs, ou autres Employés dans les fortifications . . . . .	15

### *Ingénieurs.*

	Florins d'Allemagne
Ingénieur en chef . . . . .	150
Ingénieur principal dans les armées ou dans les places	75
Tous les autres Ingénieurs	50
Inspecteurs des fortifications . . . . .	25
Leurs Assistans . . . . .	15

## XVI

### *Compagnies franches de Dragons et d'Infanterie*

Les Officiers en pied & réformés desdites compagnies, les Dragons & Soldats qui les composent, seront échangés d'homme

### *Milices, Compagnies-franches, tant de Cavalerie que d'Infanterie.*

Tous les régimens de Milices, ou troupes des provinces, comme aussi toutes les compagnies-franches de Cavalerie,

et de cheval pour homme de son espèce ; il en sera usé de même pour l'Infanterie, & pour leur rançon au défaut d'échange, ils payeront, tant Officiers en pied que réformés, Dragons & Soldats, un mois de leurs appointemens ou solde.

Dragons Infanterie, seront traités & payeront leur rançon, aussi bien les Officiers que les simples Soldats, suivant leur rang, de la même manière que les troupes réglées, de même espèce & dénomination respectivement.

## XVII

**Les** Gouverneurs, Commandants, Lieutenans de Roi, Majors, Aides-Majors, Capitaines des postes de places, payeront de part & d'autre pour leur rançon un mois de leurs appointmens, & s'il arrive qu'ils aient d'autres charges dont ils tirent actuellement des appointemens plus hauts, payeront sur le pied de ladite charge ; & d'autant qu'aucuns Lieutenans de Roi, Commandans ou Majors de places ne tirent aucuns appointemens en cette qualité, leurs rançons seront réglées sur le pied de la plus haute charge qu'ils exercent.

## XVIII

**Tous** ceux qui exercent différentes charges, payeront leur rançon sur le pied de la plus haute charge qu'ils possèdent & à proportion d'icelle seront échangés, ou payeront leur rançon sur le pied qu'il est dit ; sans que de part ou d'autre on puisse répéter à un officier fait prisonnier, un échange ou une rançon plus forte que sur le pied du grade dans lequel il étoit employé à l'armée ou dans les places.

## XIX

**Tous** autres Officiers qui pourroient avoir été oubliés dans ce Cartel, seront relâchés dans quinze jours, en payent un mois de leurs appointemens, & s'il y avoit quelques contestations



touchant la qualité ou appointmens de quelques officiers prisonniers, on s'en rapportera de part & d'autre au certificat du Général de l'armée ou Commandant de la province, ou du Gouverneur de la place la plus voisine.

## XX

**Tous** les Officiers réformés ne payeront qu'un mois des appointemens dont ils jouissent.

## XXI

**Les** Volontaires servant dans les armées, qui n'auront aucun grade, seront renvoyés de part & d'autre sur le champ, & auront la liberté de continuer à servir dans les armées où ils sont attachés; mais ceux qui ont des grades, seront échangés comme les troupes desdites armées.

## XXII

**Le** Prévôt général, ses Lieutenans & autres Officiers & Gardes de la Connétablie; l'Auditeur général, son Lieutenant, le Stabs-auditeur & autres; les Directeurs, Secrétaires & Chancellistes des chancelleries de guerre, Secrétaires des Généreaux & Intendans, des Trésoriers, du Commissariat général, & autres Secrétaires; les Aumôniers, Ministres, Maîtres des postes, leurs Commis, Courriers & Postillons, Médecins, Chirurgiens, Apothicaires, Directeurs, & autres Officiers, servant dans les hôpitaux ou armées; les Ecuyers, Maîtres d'hôtel, Valets-de-chambre, & tous autres Domestiques, ne seront point sujets à être faits prisonniers de guerre, & seront renvoyés le plus tôt possible.

## XXIII

**Les** Valets faits prisonniers, seront renvoyés de part & d'autre, sans aucune difficulté; ceux qui désertent sans avoir

pris ni volé dans l'armée qu'ils quitteront, pourront jouir du passeport qu'on voudra bien leur accorder : par rapport aux voleurs, le vol doit toujours être restitué, sans les renvoyer ; mais les Généraux respectifs seront toujours les maîtres de le faire en cas de meurtre ou d'assassinat.

Quant aux vols faits par les Soldats déserteurs, ils seront restitués, sans qu'on puisse exiger le renvoi desdits déserteurs sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, s'en remettant de part & d'autre à la volonté respective des Généraux, pour les déserteurs qui auront commis des meurtres ou autres crimes.

Tous Déserteurs, Domestiques ou autres qui passeront d'un parti à l'autre, seront arrêtés aux premiers postes, où le Commandant aura grande attention de les faire fouiller & de faire mettre par écrit les effets dont ils seront munis, sans permettre qu'ils puissent rien vendre ni donner ; après quoi il les fera conduire à son Général, où lesdits Déserteurs, Domestiques ou autres seront détenus pendant trois jours, afin que s'ils se trouvent être voleurs, on puisse de part & d'autre avoir le temps de les réclamer.

#### XXIV

Les échanges & rançons des Prisonniers, tant dans le premier que dans les suivans, se feront homme pour homme & Officier pour Officier à charge égale, jusqu'à ce qu'il ne se trouve plus de Prisonniers dans les armées ou dans les prisons ; & après que tous les échanges auront été faits de tout ce qui se trouvera d'Officiers pour Officiers & de Cavaliers, Dragons & Soldats pour autant d'hommes de semblable espèce, s'il se trouve alors que l'un des deux partis ait de reste plus d'Officiers que de Soldats, ou plus de Soldats que d'Officiers, il lui sera permis de donner des Officiers pour des Cavaliers, Dragons ou Soldats suivant le tarif inséré dans le présent Cartel ; & après que tous les échanges auront été faits en la manière ci-dessus, si l'un des deux partis se trouve avoir des Prisonniers de reste, qui n'auront pû être échangés, l'autre parti pourra les retirer en

payent leur rançon, & pour cet effet il sera donné de part & d'autre état de la quantité & qualité des prisonniers qui auront été faits, tant dans les combats & rencontres, que dans les villes, châteaux & places qui auront été prises.

## XXV

Qu'il sera donné à chaque Prisonnier de guerre la ration de pain telle que lesdites troupes la reçoivent, & trois creutzers & trois cinquièmes faisant trois sols argent de France, ou un sol & vingt trois quarantièmes de sol argent d'Angleterre, par chaque jour : Il sera permis respectivement de leur envoyer des secours ; & dans les lieux de dépôt desdits prisonniers, il sera libre à chaque Général commandant les armées, d'y faire tenir un Officier ou Commissaire des guerres avec un passeport, pour pourvoir aux secours qui seront donnés aux Prisonniers.

Il sera fait un décompte chaque mois du pain qui aura été donné aux Prisonniers de part & d'autre, pour que celui qui sera redevable à l'autre ait à le rembourser sans difficulté ; & le pain qui sera excédant sera payé à raison de deux creutzers & un tiers de creutzer, ou de vingt-trois deniers & un tiers de denier argent de France, ou un sol & un cinquantième de sol argent d'Angleterre, ladite ration.

Il sera pareillement fait un décompte, à la fin de chaque mois, des sommes fournies de part & d'autre pour le prêt convenu à chaque Prisonnier, & la Somme redûe de part ou d'autre sera remboursée, comme il est dit ci-dessus ; promettant réciproquement de mettre les Prisonniers dans des lieux honnêtes, avec de la bonne paille qu'on aura soin de rafraîchir de huit en huit jours.

## XXVI

Qu'on prendra soin des blessés de part & d'autre ; qu'on payera les médicamens & leur nourriture ; que les frais seront

restitués de part & d'autre ; qu'il sera permis de leur envoyer des Chirurgiens, & leurs domestiques avec des passeports des Généraux ; qu'au surplus, ceux qui auront été faits Prisonniers, aussi bien que ceux qui ne le seroient pas, seront renvoyés sous la protection & sauvgarde des Généraux, avec liberté d'être transportés par eau ou par terre, suivant la plus grande commodité & convenance des lieux où l'on sera, & par le plus court chemin ; à condition toutefois, que ceux qui ont été faits Prisonniers ne serviront pas qu'il ne soient échangés ou rançonnés.

## XXVII

**Que** les Malades de part & d'autre ne seront point faits Prisonniers, qu'ils pourront rester en sûreté dans les hôpitaux, où il sera libre à chacune des Parties belligérantes & auxiliares de leur laisser une garde, laquelle, ainsi que les malades, seront renvoyés sous des passeports respectifs des Généraux, par le plus court chemin, & sans pouvoir être troublés ni arrêtés.

Il en sera de même des Commissaires des guerres, Aumôniers, Médecins, Chirurgiens, Apothicaires, Garçons infirmiers, Servans ou autres personnes propres au service des Malades, lesquels ne pourront être faits prisonniers, & seront pareillement renvoyés.

## XXVIII

**Les** Sauvegards jouiront de part & d'autre d'une entière surété, & dans le cas où elles se trouveroient trop près des Armées, elles seront renvoyées sans qu'il leur soit fait aucune violence ni mauvais traitement.

## XXIX

**On** ne forcera, en aucune manière, les Prisonniers à s'enrôler.

## XXX

Il sera permis aux Prisonniers de donner avis de leur détention, par une lettre ouverte.

## XXXI

Il sera accordé de part & d'autre des passeports aux Maîtres-d'hôtel des Généraux, pour aller chercher des provisions, à la condition qu'ils n'approcheront pas des Places fortes & des armées respectives, plus près de deux lieues.

## XXXII

S'il arrivoit qu'il y eut quelque Officier dont la rançon ne fut pas réglée par le présent Cartel, ou qu'il survint quelque difficulté, on en conviendra de part & d'autre; & ce qui sera résolu, sera observé & tenu pour être inséré dans le présent traité, suivant les certificats qui en seront donnés par les Généraux des armées ou les Gouverneurs & Commandans des places.

## XXXIII

Et pour pleine & entière exécution du présent Cartel, nous l'avons signé, & y avons mis le sceau de nos armes, lequel sera de pleine valeur, pour être inviolablement observé, tout ainsi que s'il étoit signé de Leurs Majestés nos Souverains; & pour plus grande assurance, après en avoir obtenu le pouvoir de Leurs Majestés, déclarons qu'il sera même par Elles ratifié, s'il est jugé nécessaire, à la première réquisition de l'une ou de l'autre de Leurs Majestés. *Fait* à l'Ecluse en Flandre, le sixième février mil sept cent cinquante-neuf.

*Signé*

LOUIS JACQUES-CHARLES *Et* HENRY-SEYMOUR CONWAY,  
Marquis Du Barail.



## TREATY AND AGREEMENT

CONCERNING THE SICK, WOUNDED, AND PRISONERS OF  
WAR, OF THE LAND FORCES OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN  
MAJESTY AND OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

We

Louis-Jacques Charles Marquis du Barail, Marshal of the King's forces, Commandant in the province of Flanders :<sup>1</sup>

In the name of His Most Christian Majesty, our Master, by virtue of the plenary power granted to us ;

Henry Seymour Conway, Major-General of His Majesty's troops, Colonel of a regiment of cavalry, and one of the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Household :<sup>2</sup>

In the name of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, by virtue of the plenary power which has been granted to us ;

**M**ake known, that we have agreed on the Articles hereinafter set forth, to have full authority and complete effect between the Troops of His Most Christian Majesty and of His Britannic Majesty, in whatever part of the World the belligerent armies and auxiliaries of the two nations may be ; and, by virtue of the plenary powers respectively communicated, have signed the Treaty thereon, as follows :

## ARTICLE I

**A**ll Prisoners of war, of whatever rank, character and condition they may be, without any exception, who have been taken during the present war between the Land Forces of the two Powers, and in whatsoever country they may be ; shall be

<sup>1</sup> Probably the son of Louis Prévost, Marquis du Barail, of the Regiment du Roy, who was appointed Lieutenant-General in 1720.

<sup>2</sup> Second son of Francis Seymour, first Lord Conway : born 1721 ; died July 9, 1795.

exchanged or ransomed in the space of one month, beginning on the date of signature of the present Cartel, in such manner as shall be more fully set forth in Article XXIV; and the respective Generals commanding the belligerent armies and auxiliaries, in whatever part of the World they may be, shall agree between them as to the place at which the first exchange or ransom of the Prisoners to be handed over on each side shall take place.

## II

All Prisoners of war of the said Troops, without any exception, who shall be taken on either side, after the first exchange or ransom, shall be surrendered faithfully fifteen days after their capture, or as soon as it can be done, by exchange of prisoners of like rating, or equivalence,—or others, compensation being made to strike the balance,—or by the payment of ransom on the basis to be hereinafter specified, *viz.* in German florins to rate at sixty kreutzers on each side, making two livre ten sols in French money, or two shillings two pence one farthing in English money.

## III

A register shall be kept of the Prisoners taken in the belligerent armies and auxiliaries, in which shall be entered the number liberated on either side every month, to the end that on the first of the following month a statement of those who shall have been received and surrendered shall be sent from each side, so that, eight days afterwards, exact payment may readily be made for the excess number for which one party may be in debt to the other; the advances made to the said Prisoners shall also be charged in order that they may be repaid at the same time, and all accounts be settled, without being carried over to the next month; and at the first exchange or ransom of the said Prisoners, all advances made to them shall be discharged, upon the production of valid accounts.

## IV

Each time that Prisoners shall be liberated on either side, an accompanying statement shall be delivered to the Commanding Officer of the place to which they shall have been conducted, who shall give a receipt stating the number and character of those received, to be accounted for each month, as above stated.

## V

And in order to avoid any disagreement or difficulty, either in regard to the rank and character of the Officers on each side, or the ransom which is to be paid for each of them, it has been thought proper to specify herewith the ranks and commands in the belligerent armies and auxiliaries, and to set down the sums to be paid for them.

## VI

Commands and Officers in the  
Armies and garrisons of His  
Most Christian Majesty.

	German Florins.
General of the Army or Marshal of France . . . . .	25000
Lieutenant-General Com- manding the army . . . . .	20000
Lieutenant-General . . . . .	5000
Grand Master of the Ord- nance . . . . .	6000
<i>Maréchal de camp</i> . . . . .	1500
Colonel in chief of Cavalry . . . . .	2000
Colonel in chief of Dra- goons . . . . .	1500
<i>Mestre-de-camp général</i> of Cavalry . . . . .	1500
<i>Mestre-de-camp général</i> of Dragoons . . . . .	1000
Commandant of Cavalry . . . . .	1500

Commands and Officers in the  
Armies and garrisons of His  
Britannic Majesty.

	German Florins.
Captain General or Field Marshal . . . . .	25000
General Commander in Chief . . . . .	20000
General of Cavalry or of Infantry . . . . .	10000
Lieutenant General . . . . .	5000
Master of the Ordnance . . . . .	6000
Major General . . . . .	1500
Commissary General . . . . .	3000
Deputy Commissary General . . . . .	250
Adjutant-General . . . . .	500

# THE CARTEL OF EXCHANGE 277

Commissary General of Cavalry . . . . .	1000	Deputy Adjutant-General . . . . .	100
Intendant of an army or a province . . . . .	3000	Quartermaster General . . . . .	500
Their Subdelegates or <i>Or-donnateurs des guerres</i> . . . . .	250	Deputy Quartermaster General . . . . .	100
Commissary of Stores . . . . .	300	Brigade-Major . . . . .	150
Major-General of Infantry . . . . .	500		
Quartermaster General . . . . .	500		
Quartermaster General of Cavalry . . . . .	100		
Brigade-Major of Cavalry, Dragoons, or Infantry . . . . .	150		
<i>Aide-de-camp</i> . . . . .	150	<i>Aide-de-camp</i> . . . . .	150
Paymaster General of War Extraordinaries . . . . .	250	Deputy Paymaster General . . . . .	250
Chief Clerk of War Extraordinaries in each army . . . . .	150	His representative or Chief Clerk . . . . .	150
Other Clerks of War Extraordinaries . . . . .	50	Other Clerks, Subalterns or assistants . . . . .	50
Brigadier of Cavalry or of Dragoons . . . . .	900	Brigadier . . . . .	900
Brigadier of Infantry . . . . .	700		
<i>Commissaire des guerres</i> . . . . .	150		
Inspector of Infantry, Cavalry, or Dragoons . . . . .	150		
Chief Clerk of Stores . . . . .	150	Baggagemaster General . . . . .	50
Other inferior Clerks and Superintendents of Stores in the armies and fortresses . . . . .	50	Captain of the Guides . . . . .	50
Baggage-master . . . . .	50	Assistant to the Quartermaster General, to the Commissary General, to the Baggage-master General, and to the Captain of the Guides . . . . .	25
Captain of the Guides . . . . .	50		
The mounted Guides to the companies shall be treated as in the Cavalry.			

## VII

### *Gendarmerie.*

Brigadier of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	550
Captain of the Body Guards of His Majesty . . . . .	1000

### *Horse Guards and Grenadiers.*

Captain of a company of the Horse Guards . . . . .	1000
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# 278 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Captain-lieutenant of the <i>Gendarmes</i> of the Guard	1000	Captain and Colonel of a company of Grenadiers of the Guard . . .	1000
Captain-lieutenant of the Light Horse of the Guard . . . . .	1000		
Captain-lieutenants of the two companies of Mus- keteers . . . . .	1000	First Lieutenant of the Horse Guards . . .	600
Lieutenant of the King's Body Guard . . . . .	1000	Lieutenant-Colonel of the Grenadiers of the Guard	600
Sub-lieutenant of the Light Horse of the Guard . .	1000		
Sub-lieutenant of the two companies of Musketeers	1000	Second Lieutenant of the Horse Guards . . .	500
Ensign of the King's Body Guards . . . . .	500	Major of the Grenadiers of the Guard . . . . .	500
Ensign and Guidon of the <i>Gendarmes</i> of the Guard.	500		
Ensigns and Cornets of the Musketeers . . . . .	500	Cornet of the Horse Guards . . . . .	500
Cornet of the Light Horse of the Guard . . . . .	500	Adjutant of the Horse Guards . . . . .	150
Major of the King's Body Guards . . . . .	300		
The two <i>Aides-Majors</i> of the King's Body Guards	150		
The Captain of the Guards of the Duke of Orleans .	1000		
The Lieutenant of the Guards of the Duke of Orleans . . . . .	300		
Captain-lieutenants of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	750		
Sub-lieutenants of the Companies of <i>Gen- darmes</i> . . . . .	375	Guidon of the Horse Guards . . . . .	300
Ensigns and Guidons of the Companies of <i>Gen- darmes</i> . . . . .	250		
Captain-lieutenants of the Light Horse of the <i>Gen- darmerie</i> . . . . .	500	Exempts of the Horse Guards . . . . .	250
Sub-lieutenants of the Light Horse . . . . .	250	Lieutenant and Captain, or Guidon of the Grena- diers of the Guard . .	250
Cornettes of the Light Horse . . . . .	150	Brigadiers of the Horse	



Major of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	250	Guards, or Sub-lieutenant of the Grenadiers of the Guard . . . . .	150
<i>Aide-major</i> of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	125	Adjutant of the Grenadiers of the Guard . . . . .	125
Deputy <i>Aides-majors</i> of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	62½	The Sub-Brigadiers, Quartermaster, Sergeants, Corporals, Buglers, Kettle-drummers, Drummers, Hautboys and private soldiers, both of the Horse Guards and of the Grenadiers of the Guard shall pay one month's salary.	
<p>The Exempts of the companies of Body Guards, and Quartermasters of all the above companies, the Brigadiers, Sub-Brigadiers, Body Guards, Musketeers, <i>Gendarmes</i> and others of the above mentioned companies shall pay one month's salary.</p> <p>And in regard to the company of Mounted Grenadiers of the King's Household, the Officers and Grenadiers of the said company shall pay one month's salary.</p>			

VIII

*French and Swiss Guards.*

*Foot Guards.*

The Colonel of the French Guards . . . . .	1500	Colonel of the Foot Guards . . . . .	1500
The Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	750	Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	750
The Major . . . . .	300	Major . . . . .	300
The Captains . . . . .	150	Captain . . . . .	150
The Lieutenants, <i>Aides- Majors</i> , Sub-lieutenants, Ensigns, and others, Soldiers included, shall pay one month's salary.		The Lieutenants, Quarter- master, Adjutant, En- signs, and others includ- ing the common soldiers shall give one month's pay.	
The Provost-Marshal and their Lieutenants, Quar- termasters and Archers of the Provost of the Guards, shall pay one month's salary.			

## IX

<i>Infantry.</i>	German Florins.	<i>Infantry.</i>	German Florins.
Colonel of Infantry . . .	600	Colonel . . . . .	600
Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	300	Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	300
Major . . . . .	120	Major . . . . .	120
Captain . . . . .	70	Captain . . . . .	70
Aide-Major or Adjutant . .	30	Adjutant . . . . .	30
Lieutenant . . . . .	24	Quartermaster . . . . .	30
Ensign or Sub-Lieutenant .	20	Lieutenant . . . . .	24
Sergeant . . . . .	10	Second Lieutenant or En- sign . . . . .	20
Corporals, <i>Anspessades</i> , Drummers, Fifers, Haut- boys and Soldiers . . .	4	Sergeant . . . . .	10
The Provost-M Marshals of the Regiments and the Quartermasters shall pay each . . . . .	15	Corporal, Drummer, Fifer and Common Soldier . .	4
The Lieutenants of the Provosts . . . . .	5		
Their Archers and Clerks each . . . . .	2½		
The foreign Infantry and the provincial regiments and militia shall be treated as the French Infantry, as regards both officers and soldiers.			

## X

<i>Cavalry, Carbineers and Hussars.</i>	German Florins.	<i>Cavalry.</i>	German Florins.
<i>Mestre-de-camp</i> or Colonel of Cavalry . . . . .	700	Colonel . . . . .	700
Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	300	Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	300
Major . . . . .	150	Major . . . . .	150
Captain . . . . .	100	Captain . . . . .	100
Lieutenant . . . . .	40	Lieutenant . . . . .	40
Cornets or Lieutenants on half-pay . . . . .	30	Adjutant . . . . .	40
Aide-Major . . . . .	40	Cornet . . . . .	30

Quartermaster of a company . . . . .

Buglers or Drummers . . . . .

Corporals, Troopers, Saddlers, and Smiths . . . . .

All the French troops, both Officers and Soldiers, of the levies of *ban* and *arrière ban*,<sup>1</sup> and of the Militia, shall be treated as the Cavalry if they are mounted, and as the Infantry, if they are on foot.

14	Quartermaster . . . . .	14
10	Drummers or Buglers . . . . .	10
7	Corporal, Smith, Troopers . . . . .	7

## XI

### *Dragoons.*

Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major and Captain shall pay their ransoms at the rating of the Cavalry; the Officers below the rank of Captain, and the ordinary Dragoons shall pay as the Infantry.

### *Dragoons.*

Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major and Captain shall pay their ransoms as Cavalry Officers; all those who are below the rank of Captain including the ordinary Dragoon shall pay as the Infantry.

## XII

### *Artillery.*

Lieutenant-General of the Artillery of France . . . . .

The Captains and other Officers of the companies of workmen, as well as the Wheelwrights, Harness-makers, Matrosses, Smiths and other Workmen of the said Companies, as also the drivers of the gun-carriages, shall pay one month's salary.

700

### *Artillery.*

Lieutenant-General of Artillery . . . . .

The Commissaries and other Officers, as also the Carpenters, Wheelwrights, Harness-makers, Matrosses and Smiths shall give one month's pay.

700

<sup>1</sup> The *ban* and *arrière-ban* were the feudal levies called out for national defence: the *ban* comprised those from fiefs held directly from the king, the *arrière-ban* those from fiefs held immediately from some other lord.

## XIII

*Royal Regiment of Artillery.*

The Colonel commanding a battalion of the said regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major and the other Officers shall be treated as the French Infantry, as also the Gunners, Bombardiers and Fusiliers of the said battalions. Officers detached, without soldiers, from the battalions of the said regiment, for the purpose of serving in fortresses, or who shall be attached there by their half-pay service, shall pay a month's salary.

*Royal Regiment of Artillery.*

The Field Officers and other Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, shall be treated and shall pay, according to their rank, as Officers of Infantry, and the Bombardiers, Gunners, and common soldiers of the Artillery as the soldiers of the infantry regiments.

## XIV

*Companies of Miners.*

The Officers and Soldiers of the said companies shall pay one month's salary.

*Miners.*

Both Officers and Soldiers shall give one month's pay.

## XV

*Engineers.*

	German Florins.
Chief Engineer of France .	150
Chief Engineers of armies, cities and provinces .	75
All other Engineers serving in the armies or garrisons .	50
The constructors of fortifications .	25
Overseers and other persons employed on the fortifications .	15

*Engineers.*

	German Florins.
Chief Engineer .	150
Chief Engineer in an army or fortress .	75
All other Engineers .	50
Inspectors of fortifications .	25
Their Assistants .	15

## XVI

*Independent companies of Dragoons  
and Infantry.*

The Officers on full and half pay of the said companies, the Dragoons and Soldiers composing them, shall be exchanged man for man of the same rank ; the Infantry shall be treated in the same way, and for ransom in default of exchange, they shall pay,—Officers on full or half pay, Dragoons and Soldiers alike,—their emoluments or salary for one month.

*Militia, Independent Companies,  
both Cavalry and Infantry.*

All regiments of Militia, or provincial troops, likewise all independent companies of Cavalry, Dragoons and Infantry, shall be treated and shall pay ransom, both Officers and common Soldiers, according to their rank, in the same manner as the regular troops, of like description respectively.

## XVII

The Governors, Commandants, King's Lieutenants, Majors, Aide-Majors, and Captains of military stations, shall pay as ransom, on either side, one month's salary, and if it happen that they have other appointments from which they receive higher incomes, they shall pay on the basis of the said appointment ; and if any of the King's Lieutenants, Commandants or Majors of posts draw no incomes in virtue of such commands, their ransoms shall be determined on the basis of the highest appointment which they hold.

## XVIII

All those holding several appointments shall pay their ransom on the basis of the highest appointment held by them, and on that rating shall be exchanged or pay their ransom ; provided always that on neither side shall there be demanded of an officer a ransom or exchange of higher rating than that of the rank in which he was employed in the army or fortress.



## XIX

Any other Officers who may have been omitted in this Cartel shall be liberated in fifteen days on paying a month's salary, and in case of dispute respecting the rank or salary of any officer made prisoner, recourse shall be had on each side to the certificate of the General of the army or the Commandant of the province or the Governor of the nearest fortress.

## XX

All Officers on half-pay shall pay only one month of the salary received by them.

## XXI

Volunteers serving without rank in the armies shall be liberated forthwith by both sides, and shall be at liberty to continue their service in the armies to which they are attached; but those holding rank shall be exchanged in the same way as the troops of the said armies.

## XXII

The Provost Marshal, his Lieutenants and other Officers and Guards of the *Connetable*, the Auditor General, his Lieutenant, the Deputy [?] Auditor and others; the Directors, Secretaries, and officials of the war chanceries, Secretaries to the Generals and Intendants, to the Treasurers, to the Commissary General, and other Secretaries; Chaplains, Ministers, Post-Masters, their Clerks, Couriers and Postillions, Doctors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Directors and other Officers on service in the hospitals or armies; the Squires, Stewards, Valets, and all other Servants, shall not be liable to being held as prisoners of war, and shall be liberated as soon as possible.

## XXIII

The Valets made prisoners shall be liberated on each side without any obstacle; those who shall desert without having taken or stolen anything in the army which they leave, shall be entitled to the benefit of the passport that may be granted to them. With regard to thieves, the thing stolen ought always to be restored, without sending back the men; but the respective Generals shall be at liberty to do so in case of murder or homicide.

As regards thefts by deserting Soldiers, restitution shall be made, but no demand whatsoever shall be made for the delivery of the said deserters, except that the decision in regard to deserters who have committed murder or other crimes shall be left to the respective Generals.

All Deserters, Servants or others who shall leave one side for the other, shall be apprehended at the outposts, where the Commanding Officer shall take especial care to have them searched and a list made of the articles in their possession, without allowing them to sell or give away anything. Afterwards he shall send them to his General, where the said Deserters, Servants or others shall be detained for three days, in order that, if they are found to be thieves, there may be time on either side to enter claims.

## XXIV

The exchange and ransoming of Prisoners, both on the first and on subsequent occasions, shall be made man for man and Officer for Officer of like position, until no more Prisoners remain in the armies or prisons; and after all possible exchanges have been made of Officers for Officers and of Troopers, Dragoons and Soldiers for as many men of like description, if there remain with either party more Officers than Soldiers, or

more Soldiers than Officers, it is permitted to give Officers for Troopers, Dragoons or Soldiers according to the tariff inserted in the present Cartel; and after all exchanges have been completed in the manner above described, if either side have Prisoners remaining unexchanged, the other side may recover them by paying their ransom, and with this object statements shall be given by each side of the number and character of the prisoners taken both in battles and encounters and in captured cities, castles and fortresses.

## XXV

There shall be given to each Prisoner of war every day the ration of bread received by the said troops, with three and three-fifths *kreutzers*, the equivalent of three *sols* in French money, or one and twenty-three fiftieths pence in English money. Permission shall be given on each side to send them assistance; and each General commanding an army shall have liberty to maintain at the place of detention of the said prisoners an Officer or *Commissaire des guerres* holding a passport, to watch over the relief granted to the Prisoners.

An account shall be kept each month of the bread given to the Prisoners, that all indebtedness may be acquitted without difficulty; and the balance of bread shall be paid for at the rate of two and one-third *kreutzers*, or twenty-three and one-third *deniers* in French money, or one and one-fiftieth pence English money, for the said ration.

An account shall likewise be rendered, at the end of each month, of the sums furnished on each side as the loan allowable to each Prisoner, and the Sum due on either side shall be repaid, as is directed above. Mutual guarantees are to be given of putting the Prisoners in decent quarters, with good straw which shall be changed every eight days.

## XXVI

Care shall be taken of the wounded on both sides; payment shall be made for their medicines and victuals; the expenses shall be reimbursed on both sides; Surgeons, and their servants, with passports from the Generals, may be sent them; moreover, both those made Prisoners and others shall be returned under the protection and safe-guard of the Generals, with liberty to be carried by water or by land, by the shortest way and with the most convenience possible in their case; provided nevertheless, that those who have been made Prisoners do not serve until they have been exchanged or ransomed.

## XXVII

The Sick on both sides shall not be made Prisoners, but may remain with safety in the hospitals, where each of the belligerent Parties and auxiliaries shall be at liberty to leave a guard, which, as well as the sick, shall be returned under the respective passports of the Generals, by the shortest route, and without being subject to annoyance or arrest.

The same rule shall apply to *Commissaires des guerres*, Chaplains, Doctors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Hospital Attendants, Servants and others in charge of the Sick, who must not be made prisoners, but shall be likewise returned.

## XXVIII

Persons under safe-guard shall enjoy entire safety on both sides, and in case they be found too near the Armies, they shall be sent back without suffering violence or ill treatment.

## XXIX

There shall be no compulsion whatsoever on Prisoners to enlist.

## XXX

Prisoners shall be permitted to give notice, by open letter, of their detention.

## XXXI

Passports shall be granted on both sides to the stewards of the Generals, to enable them to obtain provisions, on condition that they shall not approach nearer than two leagues to the respective Fortresses and armies.

## XXXII

If it should happen that the ransom of any Officer be not regulated by the present Cartel, or that any difficulty arise, the two sides shall come to an agreement thereon; and the decision reached shall be observed and held as being inserted in the present treaty, in accordance with the certificates to be given in regard to the matter by the Generals of the armies or the Governors and Commanding Officers of the fortresses.

## XXXIII

And to give full and entire effect to the present Cartel, we have signed and set our seals thereto. This Cartel shall be inviolably observed as of the same full authority as if signed by Their Majesties our Sovereigns; and for greater security we declare, in accordance with the powers received from Their Majesties, that it shall be likewise ratified by Them, if it be deemed necessary, at the first demand of either of Their Majesties. *Given* at Sluys in Flanders, the sixth of February one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

*Signed*

LOUIS JACQUES-CHARLES, *And* HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY.  
Marquis Du Barail.



## XVIII

### MEMOIRE DES DISPUTES SURVENUES SUR LE CARTEL ENTRE LES GENERAUX DE S.M.T.C. ET CEUX DE S.M.B. SERVANT EN AMERIQUE.<sup>1</sup>

[Phillipps' MS. 35864, now in the *Canadian Archives*.]

1° Après l'affaire du 13 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759 La plus Grande partie des officiers Et Soldats françois blessés a Cette affaire furent transportés a l'hopital General de Quebec et l'armée françoise en faisant sa retraite les y Laissa sur la bonne foy du Cartel.

Les anglois ne S'emparèrent de Cet hopital que la nuit Suivante, Le S<sup>r</sup> de Boiscler Commissaire des Guerres qui y etoit resté pour les françois demanda quelque tems après au Brigadier General Moncton Command<sup>t</sup> les troupes angloises, des passeports pour tous les officiers et Soldats qui etoient en etat de joindre l'armée, Mais Ce General n'en Voulant accorder que pour Ceux entrés dans Cet hopital avant le 13 7<sup>bre</sup>, Et de Ce jour retint Comme Prisonniers tous Ceux qui y etoient entrés le Jour du 13, disant qu'il les regardoit Comme pris Sur le Champ de bataille quoique Cet hopital en fut éloigné d'un quart de Lieuë.

Le Chevalier de Levis Commandant L'armée Françoise reclama En différentes reprises au General Anglois Ces officiers et Soldats, Et qu'ils fussent renvoyés ■ l'armée conformément au Cartel, Il envoya même a Quebec le S<sup>r</sup> de Bougainville Colonel pour discuter Cette Cause, Mais Cela fut en vain, le General Anglois Ne Voulant pas démordre de son silence, Et en Consequence Il fit embarque dans le Mois d'octobre pour etre envoyés en Angleterre plusieurs officiers dont quelques uns

<sup>1</sup> See notes on the English translation which follows.

N'étoient pas encore retablis de leurs blessures, Et Laissa les autres dans l'hôpital Sous la Garde d'un officier et 30 hommes.

2° Le M<sup>is</sup> de Vaudreuil Gouverneur General du Canada Voyant les difficultés qui venoient de lui Etre faites par le Général Moncton s'adressa au Major Général Amertz Gouverneur de la Nouvelle Angleterre et Commandant L'armée Angloise Sur les frontieres du Lac Champlain, Et lui proposa que Suivant le Cartel Il Se Fit un Echange des Prisonniers, Mais Ce General ne Voulant Le faire que d'homme pour homme, il refusa La rançon des Prisonniers qu'il eut de Surplus après l'Echange fait, lesquels Il retint par Consequent dans la Nouvelle Angleterre.

3° Dans le Cours de l'hiver un parti françois fit Prisonniers un Cadet des troupes Angloises et quelques Bouchers et Marchands qui furent Conduits et retenus a Montreal.

4° Le General Murray qui resta Gouverneur de Quebec et Commandant En Chef le Corps des troupes angloises restées dans Cette place, fut Longtems sollicité par le S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe Capitaine Aide Major au Regiment Royal Roussillon pour qu'il lui donnât Sa liberté, ainai qu'a tous les officiers qui estoient entrés Comme lui blessés a l'hôpital général le 13, Mais Ce Général ne voulant Jamais La lui accorder, il lui donna la permission d'aller a Montreal sur sa parole avec une Lettre par laquelle il proposoit au Chevalier de Levis que Conformement au Cartel, il se fit un echange tous les Mois des Prisonniers qu'on se feroit de part et d'autre et dit Verbalement a Cet officier que pour l'obliger Il recevrait une rançon Conditionnelle pour tous les officiers qui estoient entrés le 13 a l'hôpital, Laquelle Seroit mise en sequestre entre les Mains du Tresorier anglois Jusqu'a ce que les Puissances Belligerantes eussent décidé de Cette dispute, que quant a lui, Il ne pouvoit pas Changer leur sort.

Cet officier partit pour Montreal et fut renvoyé Sonica a Quebec pour traiter de Cet echange avec les Instructions de M. de Vaudreuil.

Lorsque le Gouverneur Anglois Eut Vu de la facon que le General Amertz en avoit agi dans l'Echange qu'il en avoit fait, Il ne Voulut plus recevoir de rancon Conditionnelle pour les officiers entrés le 13 a l'hopital et Cette Negociation fut rompuë, Il donna La permission ■ Cet officier de remonter a Montreal.

Après L'affaire du 28 avril, Et que le Chevalier de Levis Eut Bloqué Quebec, il détacha de son armée une Garde a l'hopital Général pour empecher le desordre et les Cruautés que les sauvages N'auroient pas Manqué d'Exercer sur deux Cens Malades anglois qui estoient dans Cet hopital et Sur une Garde qu'ils y avoient Laissée pour la police, la plus Grande partie des blessés tant françois qu'anglois furent transportés indistinctement dans Cet hopital et Traités de Meme, Le S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe qui avoit suivi le Chevalier de Levis dans l'intention de rentrer dans la place, resta dans Cet hopital avec la permission des deux Généraux pour y faire avoir soin des Malades.

Les Religieuses de Cet hopital avec la permission du Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis firent demander au Gouverneur Anglois la subsistance qu'il avoit Coutume d'Envoyer tous les quatre jours a leurs Malades et La Garde, ce qu'il fit pendant tout le tems que dura le Siege.

5° Dans L'Intervalle du Siege Le Gouverneur Anglois fit demander au Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis que Conformement au Cartel il lui renvoya tous les soldats Convalescents qui estoient a l'hopital, Ce Général lui fit reponse qu'il n'etoit pas possible que l'intention des officiers qui avoient fait le Cartel par ordre de leurs souverains Eut Jamais été de faire passer un renfort ■ une Ville assiegée qu'il ne pouvoit les lui renvoyer dans les Circonstances presentes.

Lorsque le Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis Leva le Siege de Quebec Il laissa a l'hopital la Garde qui y avoit resté pendant Le Siege, ainsy que Celle des Anglois, Et Tous Leurs Malades et Convalescents Sans avoir emmené un Seul homme.

6° Deux Jours après la levée du Siege le Gouverneur Anglois fit dire au Ch<sup>er</sup> de Levis d'Envoyer des Vivres pour faire Subsister les Malades qu'il avoit laissés a l'hopital General.

Que si dans quatre Jours il ne leur en faisoit passer, Et qu'il fut obligé de leur en fournir Il les retiendrait Comme Prisonniers, Le Chevalier de Levis ne s'étant pas trouvé a Meme de leur en faire parvenir, tous les officiers et Soldats blessés ou autres furent faits prisonniers ainsi que la Garde qui fut transferée dans des prisons de Quebec, quelques officiers qui firent faire des representations au Gouverneur du tort qu'il leur feroit en les retenant Prisonniers eurent des passepart pour Joindre leurs Corps et de Servir Le Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis reclama la Garde qu'il avoit Laissée Sur la bonne foy du Cartel, aini que tous Ceux qui estoient restés dans l'hopital que suivant le Cartel Ils estoient obligés de fournir des Vivres aux Malades dans les hopitaux, Le Gouverneur lui fit reponse que Vû les differentes disputes qui s'etoient passées au Sujet du Cartel que les françois Interpretoient toujours a leur avantage, Il n'en reconnoissoit plus de Ce Jour là et qu'il l'avoit ecrit au Roy Son Maitre.

Les Prisonniers françois qui estoient détenus a Quebec etant attaqués du Scorbut Mourant tous les Jours de Cette Maladie, Il fut demandé au Gouverneur par le S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe qui etoit rentré dans Quebec après la levée du Siege, de les Envoyer en France dans un Paquebot Ce qui lui fut accordé par Ce Gouverneur qui a eu toutes sortes d'attentions pour Cet officier Jusqu'au Moment de son départ de Quebec qui fut le 30 Juin.

MEMORANDUM ON THE DISPUTES OVER THE CARTEL  
THAT HAVE ARISEN BETWEEN THE GENERALS OF  
H.M.C.M. AND THOSE OF H.B.M. SERVING IN  
AMERICA.

1. After the affair of September 13, 1759, the greater part of the French officers and soldiers wounded in that action were taken to the General Hospital at Quebec, and the French army, when making its retreat, left them there, relying on the good faith of the Cartel.

The English took possession of this hospital only on the following night. The S<sup>r</sup> de Boiscler,<sup>1</sup> *Commissaire des guerres*, who had remained there in the interest of the French, some time afterwards requested of Brigadier General Moncton [*sic*], commanding the English troops, passports for all the officers and soldiers in condition to join the army, but that General was willing to grant them only to those who had entered this hospital before the 13th September, and thereafter retained as prisoners all those brought in on the 13th, saying that he regarded them as taken on the field of battle, although the hospital was a quarter of a league distant.

The Chevalier de Lévis, commander of the French army, repeatedly claimed these officers and soldiers from the English General, requesting that, pursuant to the Cartel, they be sent back to the army. He even sent Colonel the Sieur de Bougainville to Quebec to discuss the matter, but without result, the English General declining to speak of it.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, in the month of October, he had several officers, some

<sup>1</sup> From other documents the Sieur Bernier appears to have been the *Commissaire des guerres* at this time. After the battle he remained at the hospital to take care of the wounded. Cf. *Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 160, 229.



of whom had not yet recovered from their wounds, embark for England, and left the others in the hospital under the protection of an officer and 30 men.

2. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada, in view of the difficulties raised by General Moncton, applied to Major General Amertz [*sic*], Governor of New England and Commander of the English army on the Lake Champlain frontiers, proposing that an exchange of prisoners should be made in accordance with the Cartel, but this General was willing only to make an exchange of man for man, and refused ransom for the excess of prisoners which he had after the exchange was made. These were in consequence retained by him in New England.

3. In the course of the winter a French detachment captured a cadet of the English troops and several butchers and merchants, who were taken to Montreal and retained there.

4. General Murray, who had remained as Governor of Quebec and Commander in Chief of the division of English troops left in that fortress, was long solicited by the S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe, Captain *Aide Major* in the *Royal Roussillon* Regiment, for his liberty and that of all the officers who, like himself, had been taken wounded into the General Hospital on the 13th. The General, however, remained unwilling to grant him that, but gave him permission to go to Montreal under parole carrying a letter by which he proposed to the Chevalier de Lévis that, conformably to the Cartel, an exchange should be made every month of the prisoners taken on each side. He told this officer verbally that, to oblige him, he would accept a conditional ransom for all the officers placed in the hospital on the 13th, this ransom to be put on deposit in the hands of the English Treasurer until the Belligerent Powers should have settled the dispute; as for himself, he had not the power to alter their situation.

The officer left for Montreal and was sent back to Quebec

just in time to treat of the exchange, carrying with him the instructions of M. de Vaudreuil.

When the English Governor became aware of General Amertz's proceedings in the exchange made by that General, he refused to accept conditional ransom for the officers taken to the hospital on the 13th, and this negotiation was broken off. He gave permission to the officer [above mentioned] to return to Montreal.

After the affair of April 28, when the Chevalier de Lévis had blockaded Quebec, he detached from his army a guard for the General Hospital, to prevent disorder and the cruelties which the Indians would not have failed to inflict on two hundred of the English sick who were in the hospital and on a guard which they had left there to keep order. The greater part of the wounded, both French and English, were carried without distinction to this hospital and treated impartially. The S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe, who had followed the Chevalier de Lévis with the intention of re-entering the place, remained in the hospital, with the permission of the two Generals, to take care of the sick.

The Sisters of the hospital, with the permission of the Chev<sup>er</sup> de Lévis, asked the English Governor for the provisions that he had been in the custom of sending every four days for their sick and the guard. This he did during all the time the siege lasted.

5. During the course of the siege the English Governor asked the Chev<sup>er</sup> de Lévis to send him, agreeably to the Cartel, all the convalescent soldiers who were at the hospital. This General replied that it could never possibly have been the intention of the officers who, under orders from their sovereigns, drew up the Cartel, to have a reinforcement sent to a besieged city, and he could not send them back to him under the present circumstances.

When the Chev<sup>er</sup> de Lévis raised the siege of Quebec he left at the hospital the guard which had remained there during

the siege, as well as that of the English, and all their sick and convalescent, without taking away a single man.

6. Two days after the raising of the siege the English Governor requested the Ch<sup>er</sup> de Lévis to send provisions for the subsistence of the sick whom he had left at the General Hospital, [declaring] that if they did not arrive in four days, and he was compelled to provide them, he would retain the men as prisoners. As the Chevalier de Lévis did not find himself in a position to send the provisions, all the officers and soldiers, wounded or otherwise, were made prisoners, as well as the guard, which was removed into the prisons of Quebec. Some officers who had made representations to the Governor of the wrong which he would do to them by retaining them prisoners received passports to rejoin their corps and resume their duties. The Chevalier de Lévis demanded the return of the guard which he had left on the good faith of the Cartel, as well as of all those who had remained in the hospital, declaring that, according to the Cartel, they were bound to provide provisions for the sick in the hospitals. The Governor replied that, in view of the different disputes which had arisen in regard to the Cartel, which the French always interpreted in their own favour, he would from that day pay no more attention to it, and had written to that effect to the King His Master.

As the French prisoners who were detained at Quebec were attacked by scurvy and some were dying every day of that malady, the S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe, who had returned to Quebec after the siege was raised, requested the Governor to send them to France in a packet boat. The request was granted by the Governor, who was exceedingly courteous to this officer up to the moment of his departure from Quebec, which took place on June 30.

## XIX

### LETTER FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS TO AMHERST<sup>1</sup>

[From the *Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. pp. 344-348.]

*De Montréal, le 14 juin 1760.*

J'AI détaché le sieur Bonneau,<sup>2</sup> capitaine au régiment de Guyenne, pour mettre sous les yeux de Votre Excellence l'état des officiers et soldats anglois de la garnison de Québec qui ont été faits prisonniers par les troupes de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, au combat du 28 avril dernier.

Les bontés dont vous avez honoré cet officier pendant son séjour à New-Yorck me font espérer que le choix que j'ai fait de lui pour remplir cette commission vous sera agréable.

M. le marquis de Vaudreuil l'a autorisé pour traiter l'échange du sieur de Bonnefonds,<sup>3</sup> lieutenant du corps royal d'artillerie; sa détention retarde son avancement, et je suis dans la confiance que Votre Excellence seroit fâchée, ainsi que moi, de faire ce tort à la fortune d'un officier particulier. J'espère qu'Elle voudra bien en user de même à l'égard du sieur de la Miletière<sup>4</sup> lieutenant au régiment de Languedoc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. ii. p. 457 n.

<sup>2</sup> The Sieur Bonneau entered the army in 1744, and was wounded several times. He was captured on July 6, 1758, in the engagement in which Lord Howe was killed.

<sup>3</sup> The Sieur de Bonnefonds entered the French artillery in 1746, came to Canada in 1757, and was taken prisoner at Niagara, where he had been wounded several times. See p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> The Sieur de la Miletière had been sent to Niagara in the winter of 1759. He was taken prisoner by some of the Five Nation Indians shortly before the surrender of Niagara. He and Bonnefonds seem to have been liberated soon after the receipt of this letter by Amherst. See Amherst to Lévis, June 21, 1760: *Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. pp. 351-2.

Je supplie d'ailleurs Votre Excellence de s'en rapporter à tout ce que lui demandera le sieur Bonneau, que j'ai autorisé à traiter avec Elle ce qui concerne les officiers et soldats prisonniers des troupes que je commande.

Comme je ne doute pas que M. Murray, qui commande la garnison angloise de Québec, ne soit sous vos ordres, je crois devoir faire passer à Votre Excellence les justes sujets de plaintes que me donne, ainsi qu'à la nation, la conduite extraordinaire de ce brigadier général.

Lorsque j'arrivai devant Québec, le 28 avril dernier, mon premier soin fut d'envoyer à l'hôpital général, qui est près de cette ville, un sergent et vingt soldats, sous le titre de sauvegarde pour empêcher les sauvages qui m'accompagnoient d'insulter les malades anglois qui étoient dans cet hôpital. J'y joignis un officier pour faire les fonctions de commissaire. M. Murray y a tenu une pareille garde et j'ose m'assurer qu'aucun des malades anglois ne s'est aperçu que cet hôpital étoit en mon pouvoir.

En me retirant de devant Québec, le 16 mai, j'y ai laissé conformément aux termes du cartel la même garde avec plusieurs chirurgiens pour avoir soin des blessés françois que j'avois fait transporter audit hôpital, et pour lesquels j'ai réclamé auprès de M. Murray la convention du 6 février 1759. J'ai eu lieu de croire par les différentes lettres que j'ai reçues de lui à cette occasion qu'il étoit disposé à suivre cette convention.

J'apprends néanmoins, depuis quelques jours, par plusieurs voies sûres que, non seulement M. Murray a fait enlever de l'hôpital général les soldats françois dont la guérison paroissoit la plus prochaine pour les faire mettre en prison à Québec, mais aussi qu'il s'est porté à cette extrémité de faire arrêter le sergent et les vingt hommes qui étoient de sauvegarde, et de la constituer prisonnière de guerre.

Ce procédé, que, jusqu'à présent, aucun chef de guerre n'auroit osé avouer, n'a pas été motivé de la part de M. Murray



par aucun prétexte possible ; il s'est contenté de dire à l'officier commissaire qu'il n'y avoit plus de cartel, n'ayant pas réfléchi sans doute que la détention d'une sauvegarde est non seulement une rupture du cartel, mais une infraction solennel au droit des gens.

J'aurois pu faire ressentir aux officiers et soldats anglois que j'ai faits prisonniers le 28 avril les suites du peu d'égards que leur commandant a eu pour les usages les plus sacrés ; mais j'ai préféré de vous donner connoissance de cette affaire persuadé que vous êtes trop jaloux de la gloire de la nation britannique pour laisser subsister un grief de cette nature.

M. Monckton vous aura sans doute rendu compte de l'ordre qu'il avoit laissé, au mois d'octobre dernier, en quittant la ville de Québec, pour constituer prisonniers de guerre quelques officiers et soldats françois qui avoient été transportés à l'hôpital général après le combat du 13 septembre de l'année dernière, cet hôpital étant tombé quelques jours après au pouvoir des troupes angloises. Autre infraction qui n'est fondée sur aucun motif. Les articles 26 et 27 sont formellement opposés à la prétention de M. Monckton, et nul blessé ne peut être regardé comme prisonnier de guerre, s'il n'est pris sur le champ de bataille.

Cette affaire ■ resté indécise jusqu'à ce moment, et la connoissance que j'ai de vos lumières et de votre droiture me fait espérer que vous donnerez ordre que ces officiers et soldats soient renvoyés libres, et que pareille difficulté ne sera point faite à l'avenir, dans les parties qui sont sous votre commandement, comme, de mon côté, je tiendrai la main à l'observation la plus exacte du cartel.

Je prie donc Votre Excellence de m'adresser le plus tôt possible un ordre pour M. Murray, que j'aurai soin de lui faire passer, par lequel il soit obligé de relâcher la garde que j'avois laissée à l'hôpital général, ainsi que les blessés françois qu'il ■ fait arrêter, et de déclarer libres tous ceux qui restent audit hôpital, et à rendre la même liberté aux officiers et soldats qui

ont été trouvés dans ce même hôpital, lors de la retraite de l'armée françoise, qui ■ suivi le combat du 13 septembre 1759.

Je me félicite d'avoir à traiter avec Votre Excellence une affaire de cette nature, convaincu, par la réputation dont elle jouit dans ce continent, qu'Elle est très éloignée d'approuver de pareils procédés. Je ne me félicite pas moins d'avoir eu cette occasion de lui faire connoître la considération et la haute estime avec laquelle, etc.

## XX

### THE BATTLE OF STE. FOY

[From the *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis* : *Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. pp. 263-268.]

BATAILLE GAGNÉE PAR L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE COM-  
MANDÉE PAR M. DE LÉVIS SUR LES TROUPES AN-  
GLOISES, LE 28 AVRIL, PRÈS DE QUÉBEC.

Le détachement anglois abandonna pendant la nuit la maison, dont nous nous emparâmes au point du jour. Ils parurent n'occuper que la hauteur où étoit la redoute et où ils travailloient. M. le chevalier de Lévis, croyant les ennemis décidés à s'en tenir à la défense de la place, comptoit de faire avancer l'armée et de lui faire donner les vivres qui étoient dus ce jour-là. Il envoya pour cela ordre de les faire arriver à bonne heure à l'Anse-au-Foulon et monta à cheval le matin 28 pour reconnoître, avec son état major, les positions qu'il feroit occuper à son armée. Et, pour être maître de l'Anse-au-Foulon où il vouloit faire son dépôt; comme il vit que les troupes que les ennemis avoient dehors ne consistoient qu'à quelques détachements, il voulut les reconnoître de plus près et fit occuper une redoute que les ennemis venoient d'abandonner, par des cavaliers à pied. Mais, voyant que le feu des ennemis, qui se rassembloient pour le reprendre grossissoit continuellement, et n'ayant pas de troupes à portée pour les soutenir, il fit retirer les cavaliers. En parcourant les élévations des environs, il aperçut une colonne considérable des ennemis qui sortoient de la ville. Il avoit précédemment envoyé le major

général pour faire resserrer l'armée ; il donna ordre de lui faire continuer sa marche, dit à M. de Bourlamaque de laisser cinq compagnies de grenadiers dans la maison où il comptoit appuyer la gauche de l'armée, et de porter les autres cinq sur une petite hauteur où il comptoit d'appuyer la droite, et, à mesure que les brigades arriveroient à la droite de les placer au terrain qu'il lui indiqua. Il ordonna aussi au sieur de la Pause de se tenir au débouché de l'armée sur le terrain du champ de bataille pour envoyer les brigadiers aux endroits qu'il lui indiqua.

Les deux brigades de la droite étoient placées, et la troisième débouchoit, lorsque les ennemis, qui étoient formés, se mirent en mouvement pour les charger et firent usage de vingt-quatre bouches à feu qu'ils avoient et même de leur mousqueterie, lorsqu'ils furent plus près. M. le chevalier de Lévis s'étant porté à la droite, voyant les deux brigades plus avancées qu'il ne l'avoit ordonné et qu'elles alloient être chargées par toute l'armée ennemie et par conséquent culbutées, sans pouvoir les soutenir par les autres qui n'étoient point arrivées et qui n'auraient pu même les former, attendu que les ennemis les auroient chargées en détail, prit sur le champ la résolution de les faire retirer à l'entrée du bois qui étoit derrière pour attendre que les autres fussent formées et puissent les protéger, ce qui s'exécuta avec la plus grande valeur et activité, sous le feu du canon et de la mousqueterie.

Pendant que la dernière brigade, qui étoit celle de la Sarre, se formoit, les ennemis marchèrent vers notre gauche et forcèrent les grenadiers de quitter la maison. Cette brigade se retira un peu pour pouvoir achever de se former et remarcha tout de suite en avant pour soutenir les grenadiers qui se remparèrent de la maison. M. le chevalier de Lévis envoya dans ce temps M. de Bourlamaque à la gauche où devoit être son poste, qui y fut blessé en arrivant d'un coup de canon et eut son cheval tué sous lui ; et, voyant que le feu continuoit dans cette partie il s'y porta pour soutenir la maison qu'il vouloit que l'on con-

tinua de défendre. Il passa ensuite de la gauche à la droite entre les deux armées, ordonnant en passant à nos brigades de charger, et fit marcher les cinq compagnies de grenadiers de la droite aux redoutes qui étoient sur les buttes dont les ennemis s'étoient emparés.

M. le chevalier de Lévis comptoit charger les ennemis en flanc avec la brigade de la Reine et celle de Royal-Roussillon, qui débordoit lesdites hauteurs ; mais, par un ordre mal rendu par un officier, la brigade de la Reine, au lieu de se retirer à l'entrée du bois se porta derrière la gauche. Il prit sur le champ le parti d'exécuter son mouvement avec la brigade de Royal-Roussillon, qui, après qu'elle eût dépassé le flanc gauche des ennemis, les attaqua si vigoureusement qu'ils furent mis en désordre et suivis de toute la ligne. Si la brigade de la Reine eût été à son poste, on auroit enveloppé les ennemis par leur gauche ; et vraisemblablement on leur auroit coupé la retraite sur la place, ce qui auroit été décisif. Mais ils se retirèrent avec tant de précipitation et ils étoient si près de la place qu'on ne put les joindre, nos troupes étant excédées de fatigues ; mais ils abandonnèrent toute leur artillerie, munitions, outils, morts et blessés.

La brigade de la Sarre étoit aux ordres de M. Dalquier,<sup>1</sup> lieutenant-colonel commandant le bataillon de Béarn. Cette brigade étant jointe avec les grenadiers soutint tous les efforts des ennemis qui avoient porté leurs plus grandes forces à droite pour s'emparer du chemin où étoit notre gauche, qui s'appuyoit à une maison et à un moulin.

Ce fut cette brigade qui souffrit le plus ; elle donna de grandes marques de courage et de valeur. M. Dalquier fut blessé, et montra dans cette affaire beaucoup d'intelligence.

La brigade de Royal-Roussillon étoit aux ordres de M. de

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Dalquier (d'Alquier) is described by Lévis as one of the oldest soldiers in Canada, and an officer who had always served with zeal and application. As Captain of Grenadiers he commanded his regiment at Carillon in 1758, and as Lieutenant-Colonel at the battle of the Plains, where he was wounded.



Pouraillier,<sup>1</sup> lieutenant-colonel, qui fit exécuter le mouvement avec beaucoup de valeur et qui s'est fort distingué dans cette action. Le sieur Delaas,<sup>2</sup> capitaine au régiment de la Reine, qui commandoit les Canadiens attachés à ce régiment, qui se trouvoit tout-à-fait à la droite de l'armée, n'ayant pas eu le même ordre qu'avoit eu la brigade pour se porter à la gauche, et voyant la brigade de Royal-Roussillon qui marchoit se joignit à elle, et se comporta dans cette occasion avec beaucoup d'intelligence et de valeur.

L'armée des ennemis étoit d'environ quatre mille hommes et la nôtre d'environ cinq mille hommes dont deux mille quatre cents miliciens ; mais il y a eu plus de quatorze cents hommes dudit nombre, comme la brigade de la Reine et la cavalerie qui n'ont jamais eu part à l'action. Nous avons été obligés de laisser des détachements derrière et nos sauvages s'étant retirés ne combattirent point.

Nous n'avions dans cette action que trois petites pièces de campagne qui, à la vérité, servirent utilement sous les ordres des sieurs Louvricourt<sup>3</sup> et Duvernay,<sup>4</sup> officiers d'artillerie.

Les troupes donnèrent des preuves, dans cette action, de la plus grande valeur, s'étant formées sous le feu des ennemis et étant restées longtemps dans l'inaction, ayant ensuite marché aux ennemis avec toute l'intrépidité possible.

<sup>1</sup> M. de Poulariés was appointed Captain of Grenadiers in the Royal Roussillon Regiment December 18, 1755, and Lieutenant-Colonel 1759. He served at Carillon and at the Plains of Abraham, and in many minor engagements.

<sup>2</sup> The Sieur Delaas (de Laas) became Lieutenant in the Militia of Béarn in August, 1744 ; Lieutenant *en second* in the Regiment de la Reine in 1745, and Captain in 1746. For his services in the campaign of 1759 he received the Cross of St. Louis. He had charge of the entrenchments at the second siege of Quebec.

<sup>3</sup> The Sieur de Louvricourt entered the French service in 1744. He came to Canada in 1757, and became Captain of artillery in 1759. He was in command of the artillery at Ste. Foy.

<sup>4</sup> The Sieur Duvernay entered the French artillery as a volunteer in 1744. He became a cadet in 1746, and received a commission as an officer in 1747. He came to Canada in 1759, was wounded in the second siege of Quebec, and received the rank of captain shortly afterwards.

La perte des ennemis, malgré l'avantage de leur situation, du terrain et de leur grand feu que nous essuyâmes sans répondre, ■ été plus considérable que la nôtre.

Ils ont perdu environ mille à douze cents hommes tués ou morts de leurs blessures, estropiés ou dangereusement blessés, vingt pièces de canon, deux obusiers, les outils et les munitions. Parmi le nombre des prisonniers, il y avoit vingt officiers.

De notre part notre perte a été de six à huit cents hommes.

## XXI

### MURRAY'S JOURNAL

[From ■ manuscript in the possession of the Editor.]

JOURNAL Resumed from the 18th day of May.

1760.

THIS and the following days, the Troops employ'd in bringing to Town the Artillery and Stores which the Enemy had left behind found our Cannon had done great Execution, and that the Enemy's Batteries were mostly destroy'd, this same day Lord Colville with his Squadron Anchor'd in the Bason of Quebec. The Carpenters of the Fleet came on shore, to repair the flatt Bottom'd Boats, floating Batteries and Battaues, ■ Brig came in this day from Philadelphia, Loaded with Provisions w<sup>ch</sup> the General Purchas'd, having no intelligence of any Victuals design'd for this Garrison, £20,000, Land'd out of the Hunter, Orderr'd the sum borrowed last November for the Government, to be repaid the several Creditors with the promis'd Interest, Orderr'd the Regiments to prepare to take the Field.

May 23<sup>d</sup>. The Inhabitants of Beauport were Orderr'd to Level the Lines, being the first Commanded to this work, as a Punishment for their distinguish'd forwardness in assisting the French Army during the Siege.

May 26<sup>th</sup>. The General Publish'd a Manifesto Promising forgiveness to the Inhabitants for having taken up Arms, providing they attone for their past behaviour.

27<sup>th</sup>. We had account of three Vessels taken by a Schooner Privateer, in consequence of w<sup>ch</sup> arm'd Vessels were taken up to Cruize in the River & Protect the Trade.

28<sup>th</sup>. Establish'd a Market at S<sup>t</sup> Rock, which supplied the Soldiery w<sup>th</sup> milk & vegetables.

31<sup>st</sup>. Had intelligence the Enemy was now Cantoned, in the country from Jacques Cartiere upwards, with ■ party of Horse advanced to Point au Tremble in front of their Cantonnement, and were Establishing ■ Strong Post at de Champbeau, our small force consisting at most of 2700, or 2800 Men and cou'd do little in a Strong Country, clear'd but a very little way from the *river*, skirted by woods in the Clearest part, and Intersected by many Rivers, without Pontons or a Proper provision for such a March, I therefore resolved to hire ■ Number of the small Craft w<sup>ch</sup> came from the Continent, in order to Embark the Troops, with these we could move up and down the River as occasion wou'd require.

June 7<sup>th</sup>. Orderr'd Lime to be Bought at Beauport to repair the walls.

12<sup>th</sup>. Orderr'd the Convalescents to the Island of Orleans for the benifit of the air.

13<sup>th</sup>. Fenced some ground within the walls, for Regimental Gardens.

17<sup>th</sup>. Resolved to establish some Redoubts to secure the avenues to the Town, during the absence of so large ■ Party of the Garrison, for which reason having reconnitred the Ground the day before myself Orderr'd Maj<sup>r</sup>. Morris to take Post at S<sup>t</sup> Foix, and Erect a Redoubt to contain One hundred Men, in Front of the first cross road, lead from that Village to Lorrette w<sup>th</sup> a fleche<sup>1</sup> in front capable of containing three Pieces of Cannon, the whole Frais'd.<sup>2</sup>

21<sup>st</sup>. For fear of finding the same inconveniences as we had suffer'd this last winter in the Providing Fuel, I was now looking out for proper places to procure it from, for this Purpose, Orderr'd Major Irving to S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas on the south shore

<sup>1</sup> An advanced entrenchment somewhat resembling in shape a broad arrow-head.

■ Strengthened with palisades.

with Two Companies of Grenadiers and at the same time to Swear the Inhabitants of that part while the Party was Pitching their Tents, a Serjeant and three men came into them, from Crown Point, who had march'd ■ cross the country, & were bringing dispatches from General Amherst, w<sup>ch</sup> they lost in Passing a River upon a Raft. Orderr'd a number of the Canadians from the South shore to the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Laurent to Cut wood under the direction of Lieutenant Fortye.

June 23<sup>rd</sup>. Major Agnew march'd with six comp<sup>ys</sup> of Grenadiers to Lorrette to establish ■ Post there.

July 1<sup>st</sup>. A number of Vessels were taken to bring wood from the Island of Orleans.

2<sup>d</sup>. This day was given to the Inhabitants, who were turn'd out of the Town, upon the approach of the French *army*, to come in and take out the Effects, they had deposited in the Recollets.

5<sup>th</sup>. The Grenadiers & detachments order'd up the River, encamp'd this day without y<sup>e</sup> Town.

7<sup>th</sup>. The Transports from New York arrived this day, with the recover'd Men of the garrison.

9<sup>th</sup>. The Troops to remain in Garrison, Encamp'd on their alarm Posts, Except the 15th & 58th.

13<sup>th</sup>. The right Brigades embark'd this morning at the Foulon Cove & the Left this Even<sup>g</sup> at five.

14<sup>th</sup>. The wind westerly, Orderr'd all the Officers on board by two, embark'd myself at Three. Resolv'd to take the advantage of the Tide, & get up as fast as possible, by the time I got on board the Dianna the wind came about to the Eastward, I immediately made the Signal weigh'd *anchor*, and all the Fleet got under Sail, at Eight at night came to an Anchor with the whole Fleet, about a League from Point au Tremble.

July 15<sup>th</sup>. At four in the morning the whole fleet weigh'd, at six pass'd Point au Tremble, where we saw about 150 of the Enemy round the Church, and further up some Cavalry. At eight Pass'd Jacques Cartiere, with ■ fair wind, the Fort



fired a few Shott at our Boats, but at great distance, a mile above Jacques Cartiere, about 100 of the enemy appeared upon the Bank, The fleet anchor'd a little above the Platon, & there we first Preceiv'd one of the Enemy's Row Galley's w<sup>ch</sup> made off upon our appearance, about an hour after the Cavalry came up oppesite to us, followed by 60 or 70 Canadians, who march'd backwards & forwards most part of the day, Orderr'd Captain Watterstrom to Visit the floating Batteries, as I had given him the command of them; who reported the last w<sup>ch</sup> were sent on board the Fleet to be rigg'd, were mostly unfinished, the wind fair this Evening, but the Tide fell out to late. The Piolets wou'd not take the Fleet over the Rapids, before morning, went with the Commodore to Visit the Channel, w<sup>ch</sup> was very difficult & appears almost impracticable for shipping, as the Rocks run out from either shore, and Contract the River into a very narrow Channel, they fired a Cannon Shot at us from Point de Champbeau, and a Guard came down to the Beach from the south shore, we observ'd their Galleys at an Anchor about Two Leagues above us, as the Porcupine drew the least water of all the Frigates, she was Orderr'd to Proceed up the River with the mornings Tide and I directed the floating Batteries to Accompany her.

July 16<sup>th</sup>. This morning the Porcupine, Floating Batteries & most of the flatt Botom'd Boats moved up, these last came to a Graplin of the Rocks for a direction for the Transports, a little after above one half of the Transports got under Sail, and follow'd the Porcupine in Passing the Point of De Champbeau, the enemy fired from a Battery of Three Guns, and the wind Calmning at times, expos'd some of the ships to the fire of the Cannon, a Lieutenant of the Highlanders were Kill'd, two of the Transports went a shore but were got off without damage, on our passing the Rapids several smoak's were made above us, w<sup>ch</sup> were answer'd by others from Jacques Cartiere, Reconnitred the Fort, found no alteration, this evening the wind came about to the westward, observing the

Enemy had several small Guards, sent a Party to cut of that at the Platon, but the Officer having attempt'd a part of the bank, w<sup>ch</sup> proved impracticable was obliged to Return without effecting it.

July 17<sup>th</sup>. Wind still westerly, the current ran so strong, that it oblig'd the Boats of floating Batteries, w<sup>ch</sup> attempted to Join the Division above the Rapids, to return this night. I determined to Surprize one of their Guards, Orderr'd the first Field Officer for duty. Orderr'd him to take 300 men of the Ranging Company, shew'd him the place he was to Land at, & the road he was to take, after he had landed, Orderr'd him to detach, the Rangers & as many of the Troops as compleated the number of one hundred, with directions to take the roads through the woods, and come in behind them, he was to remain on the Spot where he landed, with his Two hundred men, & secure the retreat of the whole. Great number of Fires lighted along both Shores.

July 18<sup>th</sup>. W. Westerly, the detachment w<sup>ch</sup> had Landed, last night made the concerted Signal, at three in the morning the 100 Men w<sup>ch</sup> March'd thro' the woods, came in upon a Guard of an Officer & 40 men, these after firing a few shott, took to the woods, the officer was mortally wounded, & taken Prisoner with Three of his Men, w<sup>ch</sup> Probably wou'd have been the fate of the whole, if the woods had not favour'd their Retreat. To refresh the men & get them Greens, I Orderr'd Major Agnew to land with four Companies of Grenadiers at the Platon, and the other Party to come off, went at eight in the morning to Visit that part of the Fleet above the Rapids, & found them at an anchor in a fine open Bay, opposite the Church Grondines, they fired upon our Boat from De Champ-beau, and the shott came pretty near, the channell being narrow. The Two Rivers Duchesne were opposite to us on the South shore, where they had a Guard. The cavalry Patroled on the north shore, and they had small Guards mostly of the Colony Troops, along the Coast in the Houses.

The Enemy tried to send down a Batteau with Flour, but Observing the coast favourable for that Purpose, I orderr'd in a Floating Battery & Two Boats after her, on the floating batteries firing, the Canadians run after her on Shore & Quitted her, our Boats Towed her off, but being rather dilatory, the Cavalry rid up, fired some shott & Kill'd one of the Sailors. This Batteau had one Hundred bushels of Flour on board, and was intended for their Post below, Returned to the Other Part of the Fleet this evening; observed 500 of the Enemy march up the north shore, having a pair of Colours, was informed by Prisoners, their orders were to follow y<sup>e</sup> fleet; Brought off the Grenadiers & left the ranging Company on shore this night, had some of my Manifesto's Posted up on the Church of Laubiniere, and other Places of the Parish, most of the inhabitants had left their Houses; & fled into the woods.

July 19<sup>th</sup>. W: at W: Orderr'd all the troops a shore that had not been yet, in order to refresh *em*. The inhabitants began to return to their habitations, and to deliver their Arms, Mons<sup>r</sup> Hertels Corps was sent ashore to the Fort of Jacques Cartiere w<sup>th</sup> a flag of Truce. The Captain of Militia of St Croix, came on board gave him ■ Manifesto, orderr'd him to bring in ■ Roll of his company, accounting for all his People, and to summons all his People to be at the Platon, at four next afternoon, in order to take the Oaths & deliver their arms. Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas commanding at De Champbeau, begged leave by letter to send four wound'd soldiers up in ■ Batteau, w<sup>ch</sup> I granted him, was informed by Colo: Howe the Enemy had abandoned the south shore, the Canadians very fond of Trucking their fresh Provisions for salted & salt, for fear this shou'd turn to an abuse, orderr'd the boats to be examin'd & put a stop to this Trade till the country cou'd be entirely conquered.

July 20<sup>th</sup>. The Wind came to the Eastward & we Prepared to sail, left M<sup>r</sup> Montresor with ■ company of Rangers, to swear the inhabitants, we were scarce under sail when the wind

came about, and forced to cast anchor again, orderr'd the Grenadiers to land, & Colonel Howe to do the same w<sup>th</sup> a detachment above, in order to swear the People, and take in their Arms, orderr'd a small Schooner to be fitted up with Swivels to send to Quebec, saw the Inhabitants of S<sup>t</sup> Croix and Laubiniere take the Oaths this Even<sup>g</sup> to the amount of 140 fine Stout fellows, keep one half of the men always on shore.

July 21<sup>st</sup>. W: W: Colo: Howe landed part of his detachment above.

22<sup>nd</sup>. W: W: I wrote to the Captains of Militia of S<sup>t</sup> Croix & Laubiniere ordering them to bring the boards from the saw mills, and lay them at the Platon to be sent to Quebec, likewise orderr'd them to Cut Cord wood and send it to the same place, the Captain of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine, was ordered to summons in his Inhabitants to take the Oaths, had intelligence Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas had sent Indians over to the south shore.

23<sup>d</sup>. W: W: Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine. Assembled at the Platon, & took the oaths, was inform'd by Colonel Howe, that the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> John's Duchesne, had desired to come in & lay down their Arms, he sent an officer ashore to receive them & swear them, Wrote to Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas, about the Intelligence I had received of his Sending over Indians to the south shore to carry off and scalp our Men, and warned him that if he design'd to carry on the War in that barboures manner, I shou'd Return it five fold, on every Canadian & Frenchman in my Army, advised him I had a Regiment in my army that was with M<sup>r</sup> Braddock, and had not forgot that affair and were restrain'd only by discipline, from making Reprisals, he return'd a very Civil answer, assuring if any Indians were sent to the south shore, it was intirely without his knowledge.

24<sup>th</sup>. The wind in the morning at East, but before the Tide could serve it chang'd to the West again, some German Deserters from the French Army, serving in our Light Infantry, apprehended a man on shore, and brought him on board the Dianna, alledging he was a spy, and that they knew



he had been employ'd in that Capacity all winter I examined him myself and was convinced of the truth of this, he gave me ■ very exact account of their Posts at de'Champbeau, Jacques Cartiere and the Guards they had along the north shore; that the Picquets of all the Regiments, a company of Grenad<sup>rs</sup> and of the Marine, and about 100 of the Troops de' Colonies, amounting in all to about 1000 Men, some of the Montreal Militia included, were at De Champbeau, where they had one Field Piece Brass, two Iron Cannon and two Redoubts, As an Example I intended to hang him, and sent him on shore for that Purpose, directing the officer who was to have the care of his execution, to Respite him if he wou'd engage to give any material information. The officer having reported to me, that he assur'd him he was well acquainted with the Country, knew several Landing places on the north shore and wou'd undertake to guide us, I orderr'd him on board again acquainting him his life depended on his services, and that shou'd we suffer through his ignorance he could certainly Forfeit it. Two Deserters inform'd us, The French Army was Canton'd on the South shore, between Trois Rivires and Montreal. That the Regiment of Berry was at the Isle of aux Noix, where Mons<sup>r</sup> De Bouganville commanded, That Mons<sup>r</sup> De Vaudereüil, Levi and Bourlamarque, were at Montreal. that the Canadians had orders to Join the Army at ■ Moments warning; and to take eight days Provisions w<sup>th</sup> them, that they were carrying on a work at Trois Rivires, where they had six Pieces of Cannon and a Mortar, that this was chiefly carried on by the Canadians, there being but very small Regular Force there.

July 25<sup>th</sup>: W: Easterly in the morning, but the Tide would not serve till three in the afternoon, Orderr'd the detachment w<sup>ch</sup> was on shore, to embark in order not to Loose ■ moments time, but at Two the wind chang'd to y<sup>e</sup> West.

July 26<sup>th</sup> The wind came to the Eastward in the night; at three in the morning the Signal was made, and half an hour



after the fleet got under sail Pass'd the Rapids and came to an Anchor off the Grondines half an hour after six with the remainder of the Fleet. no accident happen'd and they did not fire a single shot from De Champbeau. Orderr'd the Transports of the Second Brigade to get under sail when the Porcupine made the signal, the first to follow with the Dianna that they might not be crowded in the narrow channell they had to pass. At Two O'Clock the Porcupine got under sail with her Division, but the wind dying away, she was soon obliged to come to an anchor.

27<sup>th</sup>. W: E: at 5 the Porcupine got under sail with her Division, the enemys Cavalry mounted immediately & follow'd, some time after their Picquets marched, the last was a guard to Two Field Pieces, some cover'd waggons and Thirteen Carts Loaded with Baggage, about 12 we Observed a very great smoak at Jacques Cartiere, w<sup>ch</sup> lasted several hours and was answer'd by others above. At 3 O'Clock the Dianna got under Sail w<sup>th</sup> her Division, the Two best Piolets had gone up with the first, and were not yet returned, and there was only one Piolet who would undertake, to carry up the Fleet, about half an hour after they had got under Sail the Dianna by keeping too near the North shore struck on a Rock, 3 times but got off again. She came to an anchor in three fathom water, but was oblig'd to cut her Cable & leave her anchor, and anchor nearer the South shore. The two Piolets Return'd, The Dianna weigh'd again, and with her Division came to an Anchor of Cape Arbor, we pass'd here thro' a very narrow channell without the least hurt, nor did the Dianna, tho' she struck receive any damage.

July 28<sup>th</sup>. W: E: The Dianna got under sail with her Division about six in the morning, at 10 Joined the other, at an anchor of Batiscan Signal was made for them to weigh, & Join us, at a 11 the wind changed, and the whole came to an anchor, of the Champlain, as we sail'd up the Troops pass'd us at the Grondines, and the Cavalry kept Pace w<sup>th</sup>

us. The schooner I had Dispatch'd to Quebec Return'd, having been chased by some Boats, out of the Grondines. In her arriv'd Captain Stobo, with dispatches from General Amherst, and got an account that part of the Louisburg Fleet was arrived at Quebec, upon which after consulting w<sup>th</sup> the Commander, was determin'd to send down, two of the best Piolets, to bring them up.

July 29<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Detachments of the Enemys Foot and Cavalry, canton'd opposite to us, in the afternoon sent several of the Flat Bottom'd Boats with Two Piolets to Quebec, to bring up the Louisburg Fleet.

July 30<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Orderr'd the company of Rangers to Land on the south shore, they returned in the Evening, with the Captain of Militia, Two other Canadians informed me, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi and Bourlamarque were come to Trois Rivieres, and were collecting all their force there, that they had a Battery on the Bank of the River, to annoy us in Passing.

July 31<sup>st</sup>. W: E: at six in the morning got under sail with the whole Fleet, about an hour after the wind fell, and we were oblig'd to come to an anchor, at 9 the wind sprung up again, made the signal for the whole Fleet to weigh, and came to an anchor off Point a Prue. The Channell here was very narrow and in some places not a Foot more water than the Dianna drew, Orderr'd the Transports of the 2<sup>d</sup> Brigade, to be ready to sail a head when the Porcupine made the Signal, they were to come to an Anchor, as near the Trois Rivieres as Possible, out of Cannon Shot; after the Commodore had sounded the Channell & placed the Boats on the shoals; The Porcupine got under sail with the first Division, they had not sail'd above two Leagues, when the Porcupine run aground on a sand Bank, in the very middle of the Channell, that Division came to an anchor a little below the Church of S<sup>t</sup> Magdaline, and about a League from Trois Rivieres; The Cavalry and Picquets March'd up a long shore as we sail'd, we like-

wise observ'd they had on the south shore, which did the same. The arm'd sloop, Floating Batteries & flatt Bottom'd Boats, went in chase of some Battaues of the Enemys on the south shore, but they run up the River Pouchien, The two Divisions of the Fleet anchor'd, one League and a half from one another.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. The last night it blew and rain'd very hard from the Eastward and South East; The Porcupine still continued a ground notwithstanding they had taken out all her water and Ballast, they begun to take out her Guns, this forenoon it was so thick and the wind so high, that had the Porcupine been able to sail the Fleet cou'd not venture to take up their anchors, nor had the Piolet as yet sounded the Channell, at 12 the Tide made & the wind falling the Porcupine got off again, we observ'd from the Porcupine ■ Battery of Three Guns at Trois Rivieres, three of the Embrazures pointing down the River in order to take the ships going up, this made the Piolet very shy of carrying the Fleet past Trois Rivieres as the Channell lay within half Musquet shot of the Batteries, however I determin'd before I wou'd venture this, to sound the South shore for another Channell, Reconnitre all the Ground about the Batteries, and Landed a Party of Rangers in the night, to take Prisoner and gain Intelligence.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. The Rangers brought me an old Canadian on Board, who wou'd give but little information of affairs; he only knew there was some Batteries at Trois Rivieres, that the Troops had moved up there from below, and that the Regiment of Guienne was there, it blew very hard this day from the West and S: W: which obliged the ships to Lower their yards and Top Masts, & no Boats could stir from the Fleet.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. A calm morning I went up with the Commodore & Colonel Burton to Reconnitre Trois Rivieres, & sound the Channell, an Easterly wind springing up at 11, The Porcupine & first Division got under sail, about an hour after, the wind fell, and they came to an anchor of the Church of St Magdaline, from the Porcupine I set out with the above,

to Reconnitre the Enemy's works at Trois Rivieres, and observ'd they had got a Redoubt on the beach, in the Front of the Lower Town, with ■ Battery of 2 Guns Pointing down the River; on the riseing ground above they had ■ Battery of 2 Guns, that Pointed a cross the River. The Commodore found ■ very good Channell in the middle of the River. The Captain of the Militia of Chantilly, came of to me and I orderr'd him to summons in all the Parish, to give up their arms and take the Oaths.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>: W: E: The first division got under sail by day light, and about two hours after the 2<sup>d</sup>, but the wind dying away, they were soon oblig'd to anchor again, sent Captain Lesslie down in ■ schooner, with orders to Lord Rollo, in case (and in that case only) the wind shou'd not be fair, to Land ■ Party at Bartiscan, and burn the houses of the Inhabitants who had Join'd the French Army, but not to touch the Church, upon the door of which he was to affix a Placare, I sent him for that Purpose, setting forth the reasons w<sup>ch</sup> urged me to this. The wind springing up, The 2<sup>d</sup> Division got under sail, and at dark, anchor'd of the church of St Magdaline.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>: A small Breeze of wind at East, one of the Transports got a ground in the middle of the Channell, on one of the sand Banks, Orderr'd Colonel Howe with the 1<sup>st</sup> Division to Pass Trois Rivieres with the first Spirt, and the rest shou'd follow, about half an hour after the 2<sup>d</sup> Division got under sail, it grew Calmn, and they were obliged to anchor again in the same place; Calmn all this day. at night a Master of a Transport with Two Soldiers, went a shore at the mouth of the River Maurice, where the Enemy had haul'd up a small Sloop, they got the anchor, but not contented w<sup>th</sup> that began to haul the Cable w<sup>ch</sup> alarmed their small Guards, who came up and fired upon them, they shot the Captain through the body, and wounded the Two Soldiers, these got on board of their Transports.



Aug<sup>st</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>.: W: W: Landed a small detachment on the North shore, in the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Magdaline, found only a few women in the Houses, ■ few of the Inhabitants appear'd on the skirts in the Wood, arm'd but did not fire, the Party return'd after a short stay without doing any damage. W: W: all this day.

7<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Sent a small detachment to row in shore, with a flatt Bottom'd Boat, w<sup>th</sup> orders not to Land, to try whether the Canadians would oppose them, as I observ'd them that morning gathering in small bodies about their houses, as soon as the boats got near the shore they run from their houses and lined the Bank, at six in the Evening the wind proved Easterly, the Sternmost Ship weigh'd and got up with the Van—all anchor'd at Trois Rivires, except the Dianna that was obliged to lie of Point Prue, upon account of a Rock that lay between that & Trois Rivieres, w<sup>ch</sup> has no where more than 12 Feet water, and which place the Porcupine run ashore upon.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.: It rained and Blow'd very hard all night, in the morning wind at N: East, all the Fleet weigh'd except the Dianna, Pass'd the Trois Rivires and anchor'd Two Leagues above it, not ■ shot fired from the Enemys Batteries, was oblig'd to anchor here, because the Piolets, was not very certain of the Channell, and it was necessary to send the Boats ahead, to Sound, as soon as they return'd, weigh'd and anchor'd at the mouth of Lake S<sup>t</sup> Peter's, the Boats went to sound again, Return'd and we weigh'd the water very shallow here, the Porcupine in which I was; touch'd all the way as she went, in the Evening she struck, but got of again, we anchor'd about the middle of the Lake, in very shallow water, none of the Transports having above a foot to spare, and the Porcupine touch'd most part of the night, so that if it had blow'd hard, the Fleet must have Suffer'd considerably, one of the Transports had run a ground at the mouth of the Lake where we were obliged to leave her, not to leave the opportunity of a fair wind to get Through.



Aug<sup>st</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. At day break the wind continuing fair, send to sound for a deeper Channell, but cou'd find none deeper than 12 Feet, & many of the ships drew as much, made sail, the Man of War and largest Transports touching all the way for 7 Leagues, but as it was a soft clay, if the ship struck on a Piece of Ground, that was a Little more rais'd than the rest, she was Easily got of, the Porcupine struck seven times this day, but got off w<sup>th</sup> ease, except the last, when she was oblig'd to take out her guns, went ■ head with the Commodore to try for ■ better Channell, and found one between three & Four fathom a little to the Northward, The Porcupine after getting out her Guns Putted herself of, and came to an anchor in Three fathom water, where she lay very safe, desired the Commodore to order all the Transports to anchor in the same place, and before night they accordingly did, in a fine Channell, opposite the River St Francis on the south shore, du Loup on the North & about 2 leagues from the End of y<sup>e</sup> Lake. The Transports that had been left a shore at the mouth of it, got off and Join'd the Fleet, The Piolets informed me there was a bank of sand at the end of the Lake w<sup>ch</sup> they were afraid wou'd not have water sufficient to carry over our largest ships, as there was only nine or ten feet water on it.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Orderred ■ detachment of Five companys of Grenadiers, Light Infantry of the whole, and the Company of Rangers to be ready to Land next morning when I made the Signal, sent ■ small Party of Rangers a shore w<sup>th</sup> two Canadians Guides, to bring off a Prisoner in Order to get Information of the Enemys Situation. Wind being contrary, some of the ships that could do it, warp'd up to the Bank.

11<sup>th</sup>.: The small Party of Rangers I had sent return'd without Landing, hav<sup>e</sup> Observ'd some small Guards which had discover'd them, at Eight O'Clock made a Signal for the detachment to get into the Boats, having given orders to Maj<sup>r</sup> Agnew, not to land on any account, If he thought there was the least

Risque, as my only intention were to clean the Ships, when they got in shore, they observ'd several Partys of Regulars mostly; He had orders to send a Flag of Truce to summon the Parish of St Francis to surrender themselves, but observing they were mostly Regulars, and the Coast too difficult to Land at, it being wood down to the water, they came off again, as the wind came to the East, the Commodore Order'd the Boats to be laid on the Channell, and at six the Fleet got under sail, Pass'd over the Bank and came to an anchor at the mouth of the River, some of the Transports in Passing run a shore, but got off again, at eleven seven flatt Bottom'd Boats arrived from Lord Rollo's Fleet, in them came Captain Debbige, with dispatches from General Amherst of an old date. Receiv'd Letters from Lord Colvill, Informing me of Captain Biron's, having destroy'd, two Kings Frigates and 18 Store Ships, of great value, in the Bay of Chalure,<sup>1</sup> He sent up Likewise two additional sailors for each of my flatt Boats, & order'd the southerland newly arrived to come up to the Platon. The flatt Boats had left Lord Rollo of the Parish of St Magdaline, according to the orders I had sent his Lordship, he Landed a Detachment at Champlain, the Inhabitants had retir'd to the woods, but on threatning to burn the Houses they came in a small guard of Regulars retired, and the Parish of Batiscan, Champlain, & Magdaline, took the Oaths and laid down their arms.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>.: W: E: at day break weigh'd, some of the Transports run a shore but soon got off again, The fleet Entered the mouth of the River between the Islands of Lá Pierre & Aganula, on the north shore at the end of the Isle La Pierre they had a Boom laid across the Channell, it was made fast by a Cable at the end of Isle Lá Pierre, and ran over to the Isle aganula & was not finish'd, they had began a breast work & a Battery at the end of Isle Lá Pierre to Protect it. The fleet was obliged to come to an anchor to cut the Boom,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 491-492, vol. iii. pp. 353-421.

here the Porcupine took her Guns on board again, at Eleven got under sail, at 12 pass'd the Sorrell, where the Enemy had taken Post & thrown up an Intrenchment round the Church & wind Mill, they manned all the works as we pass'd they had 7 or 8 Boats, laying up the River ready Manned, our Floating Batteries fired a few shot at them; a mile further up we came within sight of their Two Galleys; a Little above them the Mary an Arm'd vessel, lay at an anchor. The Galleys being but two Miles ahead of us, and a fine breeze, we made sail and chased them; a little after the wind fell, which obliged us to come to an Anchor off the Parish of La Naudraye on the North shore, and St Ours on the south, at 5 O'Clock the Marie got under sail, and went up the River.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>: A Calm morning, observ'd small partys of the Enemys Regulars on the north Shore taking the Canadians from their Houses, & carrying them up the country, and Englishman call'd to one of our Boats rowing along the shore of St Ignace, he was brought on board, and said there were accounts among the french, That Isle aux Noix was taken, & that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque with a large detachment of their army, was at sorrell, to prevent my Junction w<sup>th</sup> the army at the Isle aux Noix, that the Inhabitants at the Isle St Ignace had all left their houses and Join'd the Army at the Isle aux Noix. This same man, had been taken in the winter at Point Levi. I determin'd to wait here till Lord Rollo shou'd Join me, and as many of the Transports wanted wood, I desir'd the Commodore wou'd move down with the fleet, and come to an anchor of St Ignace, where they might all wood in safety; sent four flatt Bottom'd Boats down to hasten up Lord Rollo's fleet, I landed the Rangers at night, and orderr'd the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Grenad<sup>rs</sup> to land early in the morning, with 500 men to Cut facines I resolved to make an Example of the inhabitants of this Island who had all left their houses & orderr'd Major Agnew to collect all the cattle, sheep and Greens, to be distributed to the whole army; This night I sent the Serjeant of

Rangers (who came to me before from General Amherst) with three men thro' the woods, to carry a letter to the officer Commanding the English army on Lake Champlain.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>. W: E: Blew hard, the Grenadiers landed at seven, the 500 Men to cut fascines an hour after, drain'd hard all day, the Cattle &<sup>a</sup> were taken of the Island & distributed to y<sup>e</sup> Men. This was a very fruitfull and well settled Island, the facine party could do little; the weather being so bad. As the Porcupine lay within 500 yards of the Enemys Post at sorrell, and they always kept their entrenchment mann'd, expecting every moment to be attack'd, I orderr'd 9 Cohorns, w<sup>th</sup> an officer of Artillery and some Gunners to try what effect a few shells would have on them, & likewise to see how the Cohorns wou'd work in the ships, I fired about 12, it answer'd very well & put the enemy into a good deal of confusion. They lin'd the woods behind their Intrenchments with Canadians & mann'd the Entrenchments itself expecting to be attack'd.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>. W: E: very thick & rainy weather, so much the fascine party cou'd not be sent on shore this day.

16<sup>th</sup>. With the appearance of fine weather, orderr'd the whole army to Land, on the Isle S<sup>t</sup> Ignace leaving a few on board each ship to clean & sweeten them. The army landed at 8, when I went ashore found y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants waiting for me, with their Arms. I orderr'd them to be sworn & their arms to be sent on board the fleet, several left the enemys Post at Sorrell that morning, others came from the army on the North shore, by em I was inform'd Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, commanded at Sorrell with 3, or 4000 Men who were encamp'd in the woods behind the church, that he was then Return'd from S<sup>t</sup> Francis where he went with 300 men, to prevent our landing That Mons<sup>r</sup> De Levi was at Bertier w<sup>th</sup> 3000 men, most agreed that Cannon had been heard for several days at the Isle aux Noix, and that news had come down it was taken, a flatt Boat rowing between the Islands was fired upon an Indian and one of



the Seamen wounded, Received an account from Lord Rollo, that his Ships had been fired upon from the Trois Rivières, that the ships rigging had suffer'd much; Ens<sup>n</sup> Malcolm of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Regiment had his Legg shot off and three of the seamen wounded, owing to the obstinacy of a sea officer on board, who would go thorough the North channell, while all the rest got safe & out of Gun shot, through the Southern Channell. The Army was all on board at Seven at night, wind at East in the Evening, and three of Lord Rollo's fleet appear'd in sight sent a Canadian who had been w<sup>th</sup> me some time, and knew the country well, w<sup>th</sup> a second Letter to the officer commanding the British Troops on Lake Champlain, Capt. Porter reported, that two Grenadiers of his company in the 3<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> R.A. had deserted when on shore on the Island two Germans inlisted out of the Volontieres Etrangers at Louisbourg.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. W: E: at six o'Clock all Lord Rollo's fleet came in sight, weigh'd, Just as we were under sail, all Lord Rollo's fleet Join'd us the wind coming to the west, we were oblig'd to anchor off La Naudraye, on the north shore & S<sup>t</sup> Ours on the South, their detachme<sup>t</sup> on the north shore, kept Pace with us, halting when we anchor'd, we observ'd them to have two field Pieces with them we saw the Marie & their two Gallies, about 3 Leagues a head of us, some of our boats which row'd too near the shore, were fired upon, by some of their Partys.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. Some of the fleet that was a long way a Stern, got under sail to Join us, about an hour after the wind came to West, a deserter from the Regiment of Guienne reported, he left Bertiere the night before and that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi was there, w<sup>th</sup> only the Picquets of the *army*, and about 100 Canadians, the same detachm<sup>t</sup> that had follow'd us all the way, from Jacques Cartiere & de Champbeau, he said Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi was going about every where, that the night the fleet dropp'd down, and came to an anchor off Sorrell, he cross'd over, he likewise confirms, Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque commanding at this last place,



he said it was once reported Isle aux Noix was taken, but this was since contradicted, he said they heard nothing of any English Army coming by Montreal all they heard, was that *General Amherst*, was coming with an army by Isle aux Noix, new Brigaded the Army, The two Louisburg Batt<sup>ns</sup> to compose a second Line or reserve under the direction of Lord Rollo.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Having been oblig'd to leave the *Dianna* at Trois Rivières I desir'd the Commodore to fit up a Transport for myself. Putting some Guns on board her, which he accordingly did, and Put 8 or 9 Pounders on board the *true Britton*, which I went on board of this day; she lay opposite y<sup>e</sup> *sorrell*.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>. W: W: observ'd the Enemy, had abandon'd their Post at *sorrell*, leaving a few Regulars and 3 or 400 Canadians, The Louisbourg Division wanting wood, I orderr'd em to fall down to Isle S<sup>t</sup> Ignace, Landed one of the Battalions and directed the Mas<sup>rs</sup> of Transports to send their Boats a shore for wood, sent a small Party below *sorrell*, to take a Prisoner, who reported the houses were all abandoned.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>. W: W: *Orderr'd* the two Battalions from Louisbourg to Land, and every Soldier to make 3 fascines, sent y<sup>e</sup> arm'd schooner to Quebec to order up more Provisions, in the evening the Two Battalions Return'd on board, I orderr'd them to Row in with their Boats to the *Sorrell* as if they were going to attack it to draw out the Enemy, and see where their strength might be. There appear'd about 50 Regulars, all the rest Canadians. I resolv'd to convince them, The french Army could not Protect their houses, or hinder them from being burnt, I therefore orderr'd a Battalion of the Louisbourg division to Land, half a mile below the Enemys post at *sorrell* with 100 Light Infantry a League below that again, to burn all before them, till they met in the Centre, and then to reimbarc and bring off some Priso<sup>rs</sup> if Possible, sent a Manifesto, inform<sup>s</sup> them they was thus Punished, for carrying Arms before my face, That I intended to attack the *Sorrell*, and if

one of them was found in Arms, I shou'd put them to the sword.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 22<sup>d</sup>. W: W: Major Scott who Commanded the Detachment return'd & Reported he had executed my orders, that he had about ■ Dozen shot fired at him when he Landed, which was all the opposition he met, and brought off two sick Canadians w<sup>ch</sup> were the only two cou'd be found, these agree with the rest, that Bourlamarque was gone to the Isle aux Noix, that our army there had been once repuls'd, and had began to cut a road through the woods, That Mons<sup>r</sup> Bellost commanded at Sorrell, with 50 Regulars & 300 Canadians, that Dumass was on the North side, with Picquets, Cavalry and two Brass Field Pieces; That Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi was gone up to Montreal and that Bourlamarque had 4 brass Pieces with him. Landed the men on the Isle S<sup>t</sup> Ignace to make fascines, went a shore myself, the Priest and several of the Inhabitants came in and laid down their arms some had deserted from Sorrell. Effects of the burning, some of these said Bourlamarque was not gone of, but was Encamp'd behind the woods.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>. W: W: at Eight it came to the north, all the fleet got under sail, and came to an anchor of the Church of La Naudraye at the Bottom of the Isle au Plate, there being ■ Pass by that island, the Piolets wanted to sound and lay boats on the Channell, before the fleet could go up, by that time, the wind dyed away, some of the Transports having reported a want of Provisions, & upon ■ Scrutiny there was found six weeks on board, but as the Passage up is often tedious, I dispatch'd another Schooner to Quebec to Press Colo: Fraser, to hasten up the Provisions as much as Possible.

24<sup>th</sup>. At Two this morning a Lieutenant arriv'd from Lord Colvill w<sup>th</sup> letters for me, by him was inform'd the Vengeance Frigate was arrived at Quebec, with dispatches for General Amherst and Lord Colvill. In consequence of the Richmonds arrival in England, dispatched by Governor Lawrence from Halifax, w<sup>ch</sup> had caus'd great consternation at home, Colonel

Fraser acquainted me he had got 2000 Cords of wood into the Garrison, that the Provision Vessels were ready, but wou'd not venture to send them without Convoy, this officer brought up a deserter from the Dianna, who inform'd me, the Enemy had abandon'd the Posts of Jacques Cartiere, and Dechampbeau and that there were not above 200 Men at Trois Rivières. the Lieutn<sup>t</sup> said that as he pass'd Jacques Cartiere, in a flatt Boat he had perceiv'd only 12 Men there, Cap<sup>n</sup> Boyd at the same time inform'd us, he had seen 150 regulars march up in great haste, a few days before, supposed to be the Garrison of those two places, Orderr'd Colo: Fraser at all hazards to send up the Provisions Vessels without waiting a Convey as there was nothing in the River cou'd hurt a boat, sent dispatches home to acquaint the Ministry of Our operations. This day the weather bad and no wind, some of the Troops landed on the Isle au Plate, perceiv'd large bodys of the Enemy on the south shore, even fired some *Musquets* on ours on the Island without reaching them, this confirm'd to me that Bourlamarque was still on that shore, and not gone to Isle aux Noix as given out.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 25<sup>th</sup>. Small Breezes of wind to the northward. The fleet attempt'd to sail several times but was oblig'd to anchor again, Bodys of the Enemy still observ'd on the South shore.

26<sup>th</sup>. W: W: The sea officers reported they had been sounding the Channell, and could not find above ten feet water in some places so that the Porcupine & all the large Transports must have been all left behind, I examined the Piolets who seem'd very certain they cou'd find more water, on this I went with the Commodore to see it sounded, there were a great many places where the Roads lay w<sup>ch</sup> had but little water, but we found of 18 feet water, and placed Boats on the Rocks & Sho'ls, to serve for a direction to the fleet, a fine Easterly wind sprung up in the Evening, which gave an opportunity to the ships a stern, to get up close to the difficult Passage, in order to be ready of Pass in the morning Early.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 27<sup>th</sup> A fine wind at East, at day break the fleet got under sail, and Pass'd without any accident, The Porcupine touch'd once or twice, but receiv'd no damage; at 12 the Fleet anchor'd of the Church of repentigny, on account of a Shoal and a difficult Turning in the Channell, The Piolets carried on the ship I was in, and having dropp'd Boats to Point out the Channell, the other ships follow'd, three of the Transports went a shore, by their crouding to much in the narrow Passage, but got off again without being hurt. The wind falling at 4 in the afternoon, we anchor'd opposite the Isle Therese, on the north shore; and the Church of Varrennes on the south; Four Prisoners were taken belonging to Dumas Picquets in Passing from the main to the Island of Montreal; as I could Proceed no further this night, I landed with the Light Infantry and Rangers to view the Island, intending to take Post there, till I cou'd procure some good intelligence from General Amhersts army. orderr'd them to remain on Shore this night, and make the houses defencible; I likewise detach'd a few Rangers to Land below the Church of Varennes to make Prisoners.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup> The Party of Rangers detach'd last night Return'd with two Prisoners, an English soldier, who had been taken Prisoner at Lake Champlain six weeks ago, had made his escape from Montreal, and came on board the Fleet, he inform'd me, it was believed at Montreal the Isle aux Noix was taken, the fireing w<sup>ch</sup> they heard for some time, having ceased of a sudden. he had likewise heard there was an English Army at the Isle au Galeau, they were fortifying Montreal, and had taken Post on Isle S<sup>t</sup> Helene opposite to the Town, that the greatest Part of their Cannon was there, The Marie Frigate was laying w<sup>th</sup> her Broadside to the Town, and they had put some small Pieces of Cannon in Batteaus, the Prisoners confirm'd this intelligence, and added that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, had received two express's the day before, and that his Corps had begun to March



towards Montreal, w<sup>th</sup> design it was said to Post himself at Longueil, to Prevent our Junction w<sup>th</sup> the army at the Isle aux Noix.—W: E at day break the fleet got under sail, I orderr'd the Light Infantry & Rangers on board, at Ten the wind falling, the Van of the fleet anchor'd of Point au Tremble, orderr'd the Light Infantry and Rangers to Land again on the Isle of Therese and each Transport to send there a boat for wood as they were in great want. at Two in the afternoon, observed the Picquets of the French army, Half on the Island of Montreal opposite to us; this was the Corps under Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas, w<sup>ch</sup> had follow'd us all along; they made several Marches and Counter Marches before they took Post, a body w<sup>th</sup> two stand of Colours, came down on the Montreal road, and took Possession of the village of Point au Tremble; This night they had fires light on both shores.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 29<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Landed one half of the Army on Isle Therese to make Fascines. observ'd the Enemy had lined the Coast on both sides, from Point au Tremble w<sup>th</sup> detachm<sup>ts</sup>; in the afternoon the detachments on the south shore began to move upwards; in the Evening the men embark'd, sent a small Party of Rangers at night above the Church of Varrennes, to Pick up some deserters.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>. The other half of the army landed, to continue making Fascines, the Party return'd without taking any Prisoners, having been fired upon wherever they attempted to Land, the wind being north, I desired the Commodore to order up the sloop and schooner, with two floating Batteries, and sent Colonel Howe, to view the Enemys motions, and observe where it might be proper to take Post, the wind was so much down the River they were oblig'd to return, without doing any thing, having observed about 200 Canadians with a few regulars shewing themselves about the Church of Varrennes, and keeping the Country in Subjection. I orderr'd 4 Companies of Grenadiers 4 of Light Infantry & the Rangers to hold themselves ready to Land & take Possession of it. I



orderr'd Colo Morris with Two Companies of Grenadiers and two of Light Infantry, to land about half a mile above the Church, & directed them to take Possession of some houses I shew'd them, as soon as landed he was to fire three Rocketts as a signal to Major Wrey who commanded the other body, to Land a Little below the church, where he was with the two Companies of Grenadiers to take Possession of some houses, while Captain Mackey march'd with the Light Infantry and Rangers, directly to the Church.

Aug<sup>st</sup>. 31<sup>st</sup>. I Landed with this last, & Possesed ourselves of the Church, at day break without the loss of a man, the sentries fired a few Shot, at the detachment w<sup>ch</sup> landed above, and then run, we kill'd and wounded Eight, took Twenty Prisoners, three of w<sup>ch</sup> Regulars, ye rest Canadians, these inform'd me a Cap<sup>n</sup> of Languedoc, w<sup>th</sup> 50 Regulars & 200 Canadians were left to guard this Post, That Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bouganville was at Longueill with Two Regiments & some Picquets, that they had abandoned the Isle aux Noix, leaving a Captain & 50 Men to Captulate for that place, w<sup>ch</sup> the English army had taken Possession of some days ago. I reconnitred the country, w<sup>ch</sup> I found to be very open & proper to take Post with my Army, till I could procure intelligence of General Amhersts Motions, the Engineers having examin'd it, was of the same oppinion, but the necessary number of Fascines not being ready & determin'd not to land my army till I cou'd take Post with the whole and cover them, I reimbark'd the Party leav<sup>e</sup> two companies of Light Infantry and the Rangers with an Engineer to fortifye the Church, for small arms, in the best manner they cou'd, and to keep post there till I was ready to Land with the Army. This day the weather was so bad I could not send the Men on shore to make fascines till the afternoon; a Detachment of the Enemy from Boucherville attacked our Post, they advanced within 100 Yards of the Rangers, who after half an hours firing drove them off, kill'd & wounded several of them.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. W: W: Half the army on shore to make fascines, desir'd the Commodore to Push up with all the arm'd Vessels, as far as he cou'd Prudently, to observe y<sup>e</sup> Enemy, and give me information of their opperations, sent back the Canadians taken yesterday to their Parishes, and gave them Manifesto's to Publish, in which I granted those in arms to come in, was inform'd by some Canadians at the Church of Varrennes, that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, who was still at Longueill, Intended to attack the Post. I orderr'd the Party in that case to retreat, and left them Boats for that Purpose.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. W: W: Orderr'd the Engineers to mark out some Redoubts, I intended to make before I encamp'd my army at Varrennes, all the Inhabitants of the Parish of Boucherville, came in took the Oaths, and laid down their arms; some of them inform'd me, some of the French soldiers had land in the Country, and wou'd desert, if they were assured of being received. I immediately sent an order, specifying, I would receive them all, and they shou'd have liberty to continue in the country, orderr'd all the army to land and Encamp on the Isle Therese, where it was ready to act as occasion would require, in the afternoon Lieu<sup>t</sup> Bentzell arrived at Varrennes from Colo: Haviland, with a Messuage that he had taken Isle aux Noix and St Johns; a great many soldiers deserted from the French army to us, upon my Messuage.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. Number of Canadians came in & several Regulars, who inform'd me the armys of Bourlamarque & Bouganville had Quitted the south shore and were gone over to Montreal & that General Amhersts army had taken Isle au Galau, the Picquets of their army are still Canton'd, about Point au Tremble & Isle Therese.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>.: Orderr'd a Party for work of 800 men over to Varrennes, went with the Light Infantry to Boucherville, and sent from thence to Longueill, ordering that Parish to submit. I sent from Boucherville Lieut Bentzell, w<sup>th</sup> orders to Colonel

Haviland & Lieu<sup>t</sup> Montresor to General Amherst, acquainting him where I was, and that I was ready to act in whatever manner he was pleased to order. I divided the company of Rangers, and detach'd one half of these, with each of these two Gentlemen, return'd in the Evening to Varrennes with the Light Infantry where I left them, and cross'd over to Isle Therese. Orderr'd the Grenadiers of the *army* to cross the water by day break, desired Colonel Burton to take the Command, and March with them and the Light Infantry to Longueill.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>. March'd with them myself and on the road, met the Inhabitants who were coming to deliver their arms, and take the oaths, there two nations of Indians, of Hurons and Iroquois, came in & made their Pace, at the same time Three of Sir William Johnstons Indians came in w<sup>th</sup> a letter from General Amherst, w<sup>ch</sup> I immediately answer'd, sent an order to the Parish of La Prairie to submit, observed from Longueill, the Enemy had taken Post on the Isle Therese, were throwing up Intrenchments round it, & raising Batteries, chiefly towards the Montreal side to prevent ships or Boats from Pass<sup>g</sup> the Commodore inform'd me the shipping had been fired upon from the Battery at the Point of the Island, before he came to an anchor. Orderr'd Colo: Burton to take Post at Longueill, with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, directing to open any letters from General Amherst directed to me, that he might Judge, how he shou'd act, came in the Evening to Varrennes.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>.: One of Major Rogers's Ranging Officers came to me this morning w<sup>th</sup> a Letter from Colonel Haviland, sent him back instantly with another, desireing the Colonel to send me his Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Rangers, and to follow with the rest of his army, as fast as he could, the Captain of Militia of Jamaica came in took the oaths and orderr'd the arms of the Parish to be brought to his house, to be delivered whenever they shou'd be call'd for. sent orders and Letters to

all the Parishes on the North shore, ordering them to Submit bring in their arms & take the oaths. Lieutenant Montresor return'd from General Amherst, with an answer to my letter. immediately orderr'd the Grenadiers & Light Infantry to march back from Longueill & cross over to Isle Therese. sent all the flatt Boats round to the back of this Island opposite to Montreal. Orderr'd the Brigades to be ready to move in the morning, and desired the commanding officer of Artillery to go up the River with his Vessels as far as he could.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>. Got over to the Isle Therese at day break with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry and orderr'd the army to be ready to Land on the Island of Montreal, as soon as Possible, having observed the Enemy had Quitted that shore, and the Captain of Militia of Point au Tremble having come over and informed me, his People had all deserted the French army, and wanted to lay down their arms. I orderr'd over 30 Rangers to take Post. Orderr'd the whole when landed on the other side to March in two Columns, The 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade on the right with a Regiment of the 2<sup>d</sup> The left Brigade on the left with another Reg<sup>t</sup> of the second by way of Reserve; The Light Infantry to form the advanced Guard in three divisions Supported by three companys of Grenadiers, the Light Infantry of the 40<sup>th</sup> covered the flank of the Right Column, between it & the wood, at One the first embarkation was over, at Two the whole army was Landed w<sup>th</sup> four 24 Pounders & two small Field Pieces, these last was orderr'd to march at the head of the left Column. One of the Louisbourg Battalions form'd the rear Guard, w<sup>th</sup> 30 Rangers extended along the Country. at 5 we reach'd the village of Longue Point where I formed the army into one Column that it might Canton in the Houses along the River side. The van halted about a mile & a half from Montreal. Reconnitred the ground, and Posted two Battalions between Two Ravines as an advance Guard to the whole, while this was doing a Flag of Truce came from the Town, desiring our army would halt there, as



there was ■ cessation of arms concluded between General Amhersts Army and them; w<sup>ch</sup> would very soon end in ■ Capitulation. I told him I was a little surprized not to have heard this from General Amherst, but to be certain desired they would conduct an officer I sent in to the General to bring me account from himself and in the main time Canton'd the army in the houses a long the River, several deserters came in as we march'd. In the night I rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, acquainting me he cou'd not Possibly send the officer to General Amherst, as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi would not let him go thorough the Town, and he could not venture to send him round by the country for fear of our Savages, but sent an officer to serve as Hostage. Orderr'd the army to be ready to march at 5 in the morning.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>. The army ready to march at 5, but as I heard nothing from the officer I sent to General Amherst. Orderr'd them to lay on their arms, at six another flag of Truce came out with a Captain, making an apology for sending a Lieut<sup>n</sup> in Place of a Captain, w<sup>ch</sup> they had of mine. this surprized me a little, I immediately demanded my own officer back, and orderr'd the Troops to march, as we enter'd the Suburbs, word was sent me, Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque waited with the advance Guard of the army to speak with me. I went up and he desired me to give him half an hour to draw his Posts into Town, and he would leave the Suburbs clear for my army, this was granted, & I march'd with the army up by the back of the Town, and Pitch'd upon a rising ground within *Musquet* shot of the Town, where I orderr'd the army to Encamp. Gen<sup>r</sup> Amherst sent me word the Marquiss of Vaudrueil had Capitulated w<sup>th</sup> him, as soon as the Troops had got to their ground, I waited upon General Amherst who was Encamp'd with his Army, a League to the Westward of the Town. this morning Colo. Haviland arrived with his Army at Longueill. The Grenadiers & Light Infantry of General Amhersts army took Possession of the Gates of the Town.



Sep<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>: General Amherst acquainted me he intended to Visit my Camp, orderr'd the Army to be ready to receive him, sent a detachment to Point au Tremble, & another to Longue Point, to prevent the sailors from Landing and Plundering the inhabitants.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>: Gave the General a Return of the vacancys in my Army.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. detach'd a Captain & 50 men to Trois Rivieres to take their orders from Colonel Murray sent there by General Amherst, to take Possession of that Place. General Amherst desired I would give Orders to clear all the large Transports, in order to be ready to receive the French Troops.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>. General Amherst changed his Camp.

14<sup>th</sup>. Sent a Party on board every ship to search for Plunder & arms, several of w<sup>ch</sup> being Missing; The French Troops began to Embark on board the Transports, destin'd to carry to Europe. Orderr'd Amhersts Regiment down to Quebec to Escort the Regiment of Bearn, and two Battalions of Marines sent down in Batteaus; Sent orders to Colo: Fraser to Encamp them on the Heights of Abraham, till Lord Colvill could Provide Transports for them.

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>: In consequence of my orders, Colonel Fraser this night, Embark'd between 900 and 1000 men, on board several sloops & Schooner's, in order to attack Jacques Cartiere, where he Landed about three days after without opposition, & the Garrison of the Fort, after firing a few shot surrender'd, there being only Two or three officer's with about 30 Invalids.

## XXII

### GENERAL WOLFE TO HIS ARMY

[This Address is found in the manuscript containing the continuation of Murray's Journal printed above.]

I CONGRATULATE you, my brave countrymen, & fellow Soldiers! on the spirit and Success with which you have executed this important part of our enterprise. The formidable Heights of Abraham are now surmounted; and the City of Quebec, the object of all our toils, now stands in full view before us. A perfidious enemy, who have dared to exasperate you by their cruelties, but not to oppose you on equal ground, are now constrained to face you on the open plain, without ramparts or entrenchments to shelter them.

You know too well the forces which compose their army to dread their superior numbers. A few regular troops from Old France, weakened by hunger & sickness, who when fresh were unable to withstand British Soldiers, are their General's chief dependence. Those numerous companies of Canadians, insolent, mutinous, unsteady and ill disciplined, have exercised his utmost skill to keep them together to this time; and as soon as their irregular ardour is damped by one firm fire, they will instantly turn their backs, and give you no further trouble but in the pursuit. As for those Savage tribes of Indians, whose horrid Yells in the forests have struck many a bold heart with affright, terrible as they are with the tomahawk and Scalping-knife to a flying and prostrate foe, You have experienced how little their ferocity is to be dreaded by resolute men upon fair ground: you can now only consider them as the Just objects of a severe revenge for the unhappy fate of many slaughtered countrymen.



TABLE OF ISSUES OR SUPPOSED ISSUES OF CARD MONEY FROM ITS INTRODUCTION IN 1685  
UNTIL ITS SUPPRESSION IN 1718.

[This Table is taken from an article on Canadian Money by R. W. McLachlan in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, October 1910. See vol. ii. p. 331.]

DATE OF ISSUE.	INTENDANT.	GOVERNOR.	CLERK OF THE TREASURY.	IN EXISTENCE.	DENOMINATIONS.	REMARKS.
1685	De Meulles	De la Barre	.....	None	4 and 2 livres and 15 sols	Mentioned in de Meulles' letter to the Minister.
1687-1689	De Champigny	Denonville	.....	None	.....	There was possibly an issue during this period.
1690	do.	De Frontenac	.....	None	Not given	Minister advised of this issue by letter November 1690.
1692-1698	do.	do.	.....	None	Not given	De Champigny writes that card money was made between 1692 and 1699.
1702	do.	De Callières	Duplessis	None	32, 16, 4, 2 and 1 livres	New issue by ordonnance, dated 24th April 1702, to renew the old issues.
1703-1705	Charles de Beauharnois	Vaudreuil	do.	None	Not given	An issue by Beauharnois is mentioned in Randot's despatch of 1708.
1706-1708	The Raudots Father and Son	do.	do.	None	Not given Most likely only small denominations.	Their despatch of 1708 advises the Minister that they had to renew from time to time the worn-out small cards.
1711	do.	do.	do.	None	100 and 50 livres	The Governor and Intendant advised the Minister that they had issued 3000 cards each of 100 and of 50 livres. These were probably the first cards signed by the Governor.
1714	Bégon	do.	do.	Yes	100, 50, 40, 20, 12, 6, 4 and 2 livres and 20, 15 and 10 sols	A complete set of this issue has been preserved in the archives of the Department of Marine in Paris.
1717	do.	do.	.....	None	Not given	An issue of new cards was authorized by Royal ordonnance ordering the total withdrawal of the old card money.
1718-1728	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	No cards issued during this period.





26<sup>te</sup> COLONIES 1759

Dépenses générales.

N.º 116816

*IL* sera tenu compte par le Roi,  
au mois d'octobre prochain, de la  
somme de *Quatre vingt seize*  
*Livres*

valeur en la soumission du Trésorier,  
restée au bureau du contrôle.

*montreal*  
A Québec, le 7. 2. 1759  
*[Signature]*



## XXIV

### EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF COLONEL WILLIAMSON ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HONB<sup>LE</sup> AND HONB<sup>LE</sup> THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND REST OF THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S ORDNANCE, Sept. 20, 1759.<sup>1</sup>

[This letter was in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillips. It was sold at public auction with others of his manuscripts in 1913.]

I sincerely congratulate you on our success in taking Quebec at last through our perseverance and a lucky dernier effort of our very good GENERAL WOLFE, poor man being kill'd in the Field of Battle did not enjoy the fruits of his scheme well laid, which with all our hearts we prosecuted speedily which was the means of our coming so soon to a period of what a week before we did not expect . . . We attacked with a few of our field pieces (I should have said we prepared expecting they would attack us) the enemy in an open spott of ground called Plains of Abraham and a fair battle follow'd with such vigour on our side that in an hour they fell back and in an hour more they ran for it. We follow'd them close so that it concluded in a runaway retreat, some of the enemy into the town, the rest over St Charles River. GENERAL MONTCALM WAS KILL'D BY MY GRAPE SHOTT FROM A LIGHT SIXPOUNDER, his second whose name I know not now, a Brigadier and several officers kill'd, the whole of their kill'd and wounded I verily believe exceeds 2000 though that number is a French report. This happened the 13<sup>th</sup> instant since which I was very busy with my friend Mac-

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written one week after the taking of Quebec, and two days after the hoisting of the British flag on the walls of the town.

kellar in preparing to batter the town in breach, when the enemy surrender'd the 18<sup>th</sup> and I hoisted our Union flag on the walls of Quebec that same day. The town is much more batter'd than I imagined; 535 houses are burn'd down besides that, of the ricochet we have greatly shattered most of the rest. We are now about putting the Garison in a state to defend itself this winter.

## XXV

### THE ABBÉ DESENCLAVES.<sup>1</sup>

THE Abbé Jean Baptiste Gay Desenclaves was born, January 29, 1702, in the parish of Saint Leonard-de-Limoges, France. He was ordained priest June 15, 1726, was admitted to the order of Saint Sulpice a few months after his ordination, and, two years later, was sent to Canada. On September 1, 1728, he arrived at Montreal, and spent the next nine years in missionary work in the parishes of Notre Dame de Montréal, Sainte Anne du Bout-de-l'île, Repentigny, Longue Pointe, and Sault au Récollet. After a visit to France he came to Louisbourg with the Abbé Nicolas Vauquelin in September, 1739. The Abbé Vauquelin was appointed parish priest of Annapolis Royal by Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong, and Desenclaves was sent successively to Cobequit (now Truro), Grand Pré, and Rivière aux Canards (now Canning). In June, 1742, Desenclaves became parish priest of Annapolis Royal, and for twelve years lived on good terms with the Governor and the principal officers of that place. When Du Vivier failed to capture Annapolis in 1744, he attributed his want of success to the missionary priests in Acadia, and reported to the Comte de Maurepas that the priests had not encouraged the Acadians to support him. That minister, writing to the Bishop of Quebec on May 12, 1745, said :

“ [His Majesty] is far from being satisfied with the conduct

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 275. The editor is indebted to Mr. Placide Gaudet, Genealogist of the Canadian Archives, for the interesting information contained in this note. If the Acadians had had more advisers of the type of the Abbé Desenclaves, they might have been spared much of the suffering which fell to their lot. It seems incredible that the English should have neglected a man who rendered them such signal service.



displayed during the past year by some of the missionaries in Acadia, on the occasion of the expedition undertaken in that country. He has, indeed, been informed that the Sieurs Maillart, La Goudalie, Laboret and Le Loutre alone endeavoured to obtain assistance for the French who had been sent there, and that the Sieur Desenclave, *curé* at Port Royal, carefully reported to the English Governor all he could learn as to the movements of the French, and exhorted his parishioners to be faithful to the King of England, the Sieur Chevreux, another *curé*, threatened to excommunicate those of his parishioners who took up arms in favour of the French, and the Sieur Miniac, Vicar-General, though acting with greater secrecy, did even more to frustrate the enterprise. His Majesty would have taken care to have these last three missionaries return to France, if circumstances had permitted his doing so; but he shall give orders that they are no longer to participate in the grant he makes towards the support of the priests in Acadia.”<sup>1</sup>

Desenclaves took the same stand in 1745 and in 1747, at the time of the expeditions of Marin and of de Ramezay against Annapolis Royal.

During the visit of the Abbé Le Loutre to France in 1753 he persuaded his friend, the Abbé Daudin, to give up a parish in the Diocese of Sens and come to Nova Scotia as a missionary priest to the Acadians. On his arrival Daudin took up his residence at Pisiquid [Windsor]. Some extracts are here given from letters written by him to the Abbé Le Loutre, then at Au Lac, near Fort Beauséjour. The first letter is dated at Port Royal, August 10, 1754—four months after Desenclaves had left that parish:

“As regards Mr. Desenclaves I have no news to send you, except that he is very much regretted by our Gentlemen [the English], and with good reason: no other priest ever did them such good service. They were better acquainted with

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Colonies*, B. 81: copy in the *Canadian Archives*.

him than M. l'abbé de l'Isle Dieu. I have no doubt you will see to his withdrawal. I am sending you a reply from the commandant of the fort which will give you information. I have returned to M. Chauvreux the Bishop's letters which I found complete, lying in some houses at the Cape where the English are continually. We have written to him in very severe terms. For my part I close my letter—after having reproached him with his trickeries, which he cannot deny—by saying that if I were his superior I would interdict him. It was high time for my mission in this country on behalf of faith and morals. I had never seen anything worse, and I do not wonder that the English are asking to have him back again. . . . I fear that M. Desenclaves may have written against me. It is a matter you should see to. He is a dangerous man, and might be able to tie my hands: you understand what I mean."

The other letter is dated September 26, 1754, and reads thus:

" . . . M. Desenclaves is having himself sought after by the English. He thinks it may be a means of getting back again, but the people [the French] are far from asking for him. He was strongly against the King of France in the dispute. He did not conceal that it would be better to deal with the English than with the French. You can judge of the rest! I have written him a letter in which I do not spare him. He tells me he has sent it to His Lordship. That is his business. The people take my side."<sup>1</sup>

The Abbé Daudin continued to upbraid Desenclaves for refusing to exhort his parishioners to abandon their farms and emigrate to the Isthmus of Chignecto. Desenclaves had left Annapolis in the spring of 1754: the last entry in the Register in his hand is dated April 8, 1754. He went to the d'Entremonts and Amiraults at Cape Sable, which included the two settlements now known as Barrington and

<sup>1</sup> *The Pichon Papers: Canadian Archives*, M. 653.

Pubnico, and remained two years. When Prebble landed there on his way from Halifax to Boston in April, 1756, he took prisoners and carried off many of the Acadian inhabitants. Desenclaves escaped with a few Acadians and found refuge at Baccaro Point, four miles beyond Port La Tour. After staying there for two years and a half he was captured by Goreham's Rangers, who had been sent by Monckton in September, 1758, to search for Acadian refugees in the vicinity of Cape Sable. Monckton has the following entry in his Journal, October 15, 1758:

"The Pilot Schooner arrives [in the River St. John, N.B.] with a Letter from Maj'r Morris—Acquainting me—that, after, having despaired of meeting with any of the Inhabitants—for want of proper Guides—Cap<sup>t</sup> Goreham with a small party had surpris'd a small village, in which he had taken one Mr. Disenclave the priest & between 60 & 70 Men, Women & Children."<sup>1</sup>

Morris embarked the prisoners and sent them to Halifax. These prisoners with others taken during the fall of 1758 were sent on board two Cartel-ships to France, and landed at Havre in February, 1759. Desenclaves had been nine years a missionary in Canada and twenty years in Acadia. When taken at Baccaro he was poor, old and feeble. Through the good offices of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, the minister, M. Berryer, obtained a gratuity of four hundred livres for the poor Abbé, who went to Limoges, where he ended his days. The date of his death is not known. We have from his pen a curious letter addressed to M. Berryer at Versailles, of which a translation is here given.

"MY LORD,—The rumours of peace that are current here lead me to entreat your lordship to allow me to importune you a little. You can read this at odd hours. In any case I have the honour to assure your Lordship that my zeal both for the interests of religion and for those of my country, together

<sup>1</sup> *Canadian Archives*, M. 211-1 : C.O. 5 : 54 ; formerly A. & W. I. 89-1.

with the long and frequent interviews I was compelled to have with the English governors and officers, who spoke to me with the utmost frankness, have combined to procure me a vast amount of information, which may, perhaps, be useful.

“It is true, My Lord, that England might listen to, and even submit peace proposals, but, to judge by what was said she would come to no decision until she should have seen the success of her attack on Canada. She has the conquest of that country particularly at heart, because she regards it as an assurance of perpetual tranquillity for New England, [since it would involve] the reduction or winning over of the Indians—the end she has chiefly in view. If Canada be taken, whereof there is great danger, she will be more exacting; if not, she would be more readily disposed to peace. But in any case she will demand portmaon [Port Mahon]; and might in that case make up her mind to cede Acadia and Louisbourg, places henceforth of little value to France, for Acadia is wholly ruined and at least three-fourths of the inhabitants dead.

“It will be said, My Lord, that Louisbourg is completely fortified: but what benefit has ever been derived from the fortifications costing immense sums which, during these last two wars, have served only to cause the loss to France of a great number of men and ships? It would be a good thing, provided that France were as strong on sea as England, and if her officers, both of the Colonies and of the Marine, were as faithful to their prince and to the state as the English officers are,—the thing is loudly bruited in all the seaport towns of France.

“It is a beautiful sight, My Lord, to see English noblemen in North America going to face all the terrors, hardships and even dangers of roads and weather, sacrificing their pleasure and their interests for the service of their prince and their country;—whilst little gentlemen who owe their very means of existence to the goodness of His Most Christian Majesty think of nothing save enriching themselves at the cost of the public and of the individual. They were unwilling to go one



step to defend ■ fortress,<sup>1</sup> the loss of which brought in its wake the ruin of the fairest hopes of France, the loss of almost all she possessed in the lands of North America, and the affliction of some fourteen hundred families by the loss of goods, of liberty, and even of life for the greatest number.

“I have known, My Lord, and even intimately, an officer<sup>2</sup> who boasted loudly of his warlike exploits, which consisted in the capture of a small, unfortified village,<sup>3</sup> where the only artillery was a few small guns with a single gun-carriage of half-decayed wood. It is true he marched against a more important post,<sup>4</sup> of which he might have made himself master with some honour, had he gone thither with the little force of ships he had and a medium mortar. But was it not rashness to appear before a fortress, well defended with moats and bastions, mounting large guns and two great mortars; and, moreover, though having only a company of infantry and a hundred ill-disposed Indians, to summon the Commandant and his officers? The glory that he brought thence was that of being more skilful in trade than in the art of war, and of being utterly silly in his manner of writing. In his camp he spoke only of hogsheads of molasses and of brandy. He had made, in a very short space of time, more than two hundred thousand livres in this business or in that of flour, God knows how. Yet this was the officer who alone got himself spoken of in the last war on the coasts adjacent to the Isles Royales [*sic*], and who alone performed those fine exploits, which, I believe, without exaggeration, cost France Louisbourg and those fatal consequences of its capture from which, it may be, we shall never recover.

“Something further might be said, My Lord, concerning the character of the fortifications erected in our North American fortresses. It is true that, even had they been of bronze, they would not have prevented the last reduction of Louis-

<sup>1</sup> Fort Beauséjour.

■ Canso.

<sup>2</sup> Du Vivier.

<sup>3</sup> Annapolis Royal.



burg. But we would [?not] have had to fear the assault afterwards if the stones had been sufficiently well cemented not to fall into the ditches when the cannons were being pushed on the walls, as I am told they did. Nearly thirty years ago, when walking on the ramparts of the city of Montreal, I detached the stones without difficulty by laying my hand on the walls, the mortar crumbling away like sand. It is reported that the walls of Louisburg as well as of the other fortified places were of similar character.

“I beg Your Lordship will allow me to add here that in the last war it was said that the Court had been on the point of doing away with the Navy because of the poor services which it rendered France. Yet the outcry against it is much louder in the present war. And if formerly we had thought of abandoning Canada because it cost more than it was worth—and the only motive for preserving it was the salvation of the Indians who were being won to God—now, should Canada once be taken, this motive ceasing, we might well withdraw from there entirely and turn our attention to the Mississippi, settling it with people removed from all these localities, and even—so runs the proposal—transporting thither the foundlings of Paris. Thus we could avoid the surrender of port maon, which is worth more to France than all North America.

“We could, however, in order to mislead the English, make pretence of a great attachment to those places so as to give them greater value and obtain more compensation for abandoning our assumed demands.

“It is true that we need a station for the cod-fishery; but such could be found easily, and we would secure a most favourable one, where pasturage and tillage could be had and where it would suffice to place a few guns and keep ships as is done by the English.

“I have the honour to entreat Your Lordship to pardon the liberty I am taking, since I have no other favours to ask of you after the assurances given me that provision would be

made for my salary and that I would be reimbursed for my losses and outlays caused by the disasters of the Acadians. I shall have no further reason for importuning Your Lordship. The grief alone that the misfortunes of this war have brought on me, and my great desire to see it brought to an end by a peace honourable and advantageous to France have as it were compelled me to write this. Henceforth, however, I shall think of it as little as possible and speak of it still less to the very end of my days. I must henceforth think only of the Lord, [praying] that He may preserve all states and bring them happy fortunes, and especially their rulers, governors and administrators.

"I have the honour to be with the most profound respect,  
My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient  
servant

DESENCLAVE—*priest.*

"HONFLEUR, *March 8, 1759.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Canadian Archives*, F. 95 : C<sup>11</sup>. I. 95.

## XXVI

### COPY OF A LETTER FOUND ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM AFTER THE BATTLE OF SEPTEMBER 13, 1759.

[See vol. ii. p. 108. The original is among the Townshend Papers  
at Raynham.]

*Extract from a copy of a letter signed Beauclaire "à l'isle Pique,  
ce 30e Aoust 1759" and endorsed "This Letter was brought  
to B: General Townshend on ye field of Battle—& was taken  
amongst Monsr. de Senezergues Papers who was Second in  
Command."*

UN prisonnier que les Sauvages de la Presentation amene-  
rent avant hier de Chouaguien dit que les ennemis travaillent a  
force, à retablir ce fort, qu'ils ne songent point a descendre les  
rapides, qu'ils n'ont qu'une quarantaine de Barges. S'il faut  
s'en rapporter aux dernieres nouvelles que nous avons eu de  
chés vous l'ennemi pense à faire sa retraite et ne comptent plus  
sur la jonction de ses deux armées, au moien de cela on peut  
regarder cette campagne comme finie et être assuré de passer  
son hivert en Canada—Est-ce un bien, Est-ce un mal pour  
nous ?

## XXVII

### THE CHIEN D'OR<sup>1</sup>

THERE is an image and inscription of ■ “chien qui ronge l'os” to be seen at the city of Pézenas, near Montpellier, in southern France, which would seem to be the prototype of the stone at Quebec. An account of its origin is contained in a manuscript history of Pézenas, written in 1733 by a certain Pierre Paul Poncet of that city, of which the original is in the possession of the Mazel family of Pézenas and ■ copy in the library of Montpellier. The passage regarding the Dog runs thus :

“En venant des Observants, à la descente qui va à la ville, on trouve une porte bâtie depuis la construction de ce Pont (le Pont de l'Observance), sur laquelle est un Chien en relief sur la pierre couché sur ses pattes qui tiennent un os qu'il ronge. On lit au bas 1581 et quatre lettres capitales A.L.R. . . . Le mur du jardin sur lequel est ce chien est fort ancien. Il existait en 1340. Par succession des temps, ce jardin appartint à M. Delbousquet. Après sa mort, il fut vendu à Antoine Boyer, jardinier; puis il passa à son fils Pierre qui m'a expliqué cette inscription.

“M. Delbousquet avait une Métairie près de Saint Siméon le vieux. Il y avait là une superbe orangerie que M. le Con-nétable (de Montmorency) découvrit du Château de Pézenas. La trouvant de son goût, il la demanda M. Delbousquet qui, par son silence, fit comprendre au Duc qu'il ne voulait pas

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 207. The additional information here given was obtained by the editor, through the kindness of M. Allies and of M. Benjamin Sulte, while the present work was in the press.

s'en défaire. Fâché d'un tel refus, le Duc la fit enlever pendant la nuit. Le lendemain matin, le gentilhomme voyant les vestiges de ce désordre, comprit que c'était l'effet d'un ordre du Connétable. Ne pouvant se venger de ce sanglant affront, il fit sculpter le Chien avec l'inscription dont il donna l'explication par les vers suivants :

' Je suis le Chien qui ronge l'os.  
En le rongeant, je prends repos.  
Un temps viendra qui n'est venu  
Que je mordrai qui m'a mordu.' "

A. P. Allies, in his work on the history of Pézenas entitled *Une Ville d'États : Pézenas aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles : Molière à Pézenas* (1908), adds the following details :

" . . . On ajouta que M. Delbousquet réussit à se venger. Un jour le Connétable rentrait en ville dans son carrosse par un chemin encaissé, fangeux et peu praticable. Un orage épouvantable le surprit à la tombée de la nuit. Le cocher était impuissant avec ses seuls chevaux à sortir la voiture calée dans les fondrières. La pluie torrentielle, le vent, le tonnerre et les éclairs ajoutaient au péril du moment.

" Vient à passer M. Delbousquet. Montmorency l'arrête et le supplie de le sortir de ce mauvais pas. Alors le gentilhomme campagnard lui répéta les vers gravés au dessous du Chien de pierre et se retira en ricanant. Le Connétable comprit. Il ne répondit rien et fut contraint de passer dans sa voiture, le chemin étant envahi par les eaux de l'Herault débordé, toute une longue nuit, attendant qu'avec le jour on vint le tirer de cette affreuse situation.

" Le chien qui ronge l'os est demeuré jusqu'à ces dernières années sur le mur de la maison des jardins près le pont de l'observance aujourd'hui démol.

" En 1894, M. Charles Ponsonailhe (un Piscénois, homme de lettres à Paris) le fit transporter à sa campagne de Saint



Julien, dans le lieu même qui fut la cause de son édification. Il se dresse là-bas, près des ruines de l'Orangerie pillée par Montmorency sur un socle de granit orné de verdure et de fleurs. Les ans autant que le jet des pierres des gamins, lorsqu'il était publiquement exposé, ont outrageusement mutilé son museau."

The House of the Golden Dog in Quebec stood on ground purchased in 1734 by the merchant Philibert from the heirs of Timothée Roussel, a surgeon who had come to Quebec before 1667. Roussel had built a stone house on this lot in 1693, and there is good reason to believe that this earlier building, already containing the image of the dog, was merely enlarged by Philibert in 1736. Timothée Roussel was born about 1636 at Mayot, in the diocese of Montpellier, not far from Pézenas. The probability thus becomes obvious of a direct relationship between the Dog of Quebec and that of the city in Southern France.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Doughty and Dionne, *Quebec under Two Flags*, Appendix 14; and P. B. Casgrain, *The House of the Golden Dog*.

## XXVIII

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO AN ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH SHIPS IN BAIE DES CHALEURS IN 1760.

[See vol. ii. p. 490. Copies of these documents are to be found in the *Canadian Archives*; the exact reference is added in each case. The original orthography, which in some cases is very peculiar, has been preserved.]

MONTREAL le 9 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759

MONSEIGNEUR,

L'état de la Colonie m'a déterminé à donner ordre à M. le Ch<sup>er</sup> Le Mercier<sup>1</sup> Commandant de l'artillerie de passer en France afin de vous remettre mes depeches. Cet officier possède le detail concernant le Canada. Il a été dans toutes les parties de ce Gouvernement. J'ai crû ne pouvoir faire meilleur choix. Je lui ai fait part de mes projets et s'il peut se rendre en France, Monseigneur, il sera à même de vous parler pertinement de ce Continent, c'est d'ailleurs un officier de réputation zélé et plein de probité.

Comme il se pourroit qu'il fut pris je lui ai donné une permission pour raison de santé afin qu'il puisse metre tout en usâge pour obtenir de passer en France et ce rendre près de vous.

Je suis avec un très profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

VAUDREUIL.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance, vol. 104, p. 126.

<sup>1</sup> François Lemer cier was born at Caudebec, near Rouen, December 29, 1722, and married, at Ste. Foy, P.Q., November 15, 1757, Françoise Boucher—La Bruyère. (Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. vi. p. 325.) He was appointed lieutenant of the company of gunners and bombardiers in 1750; captain of the same company in 1753, and commandant of the artillery in Canada, March 17, 1757. He was made Chevalier de St. Louis also in 1757. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 42.) [The notes on these documents were prepared by Placide Gaudet, M.A.]

A JAKES CARTIER, le 11 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759

MONSIEUR,

M<sup>r</sup> le marquis de Vaudreuil vous dépeche m<sup>r</sup> le mercier pour vous rendre compte particulièrement de la situation de la Colonie, il ne pouvoit faire un meilleur choix, je l'ay instruit de ma façon de penser, et vous pouvois vous en rapporter a tout ce qu'il vous dira c'est un officier tres instruit, je l'ay mené avec moy dans tous les endroits ou jay été employe, et personne ne peut vous en rendre de meilleurs temoïniages que moy, en mon particulier monsieur je seray très reconnoissant de tout ce que vous voudrois bien faire pour luy, je puis vous assurer que les graces que vous luy accorderois seront bien placees.

Je suis avec respect

Monsieur

Votre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LE CH<sup>ER</sup> DE LEVIS.*Ibid.*, p. 123.CANADA 10 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS.

MONSEIGNEUR

. . . . . La perte de Québec nous ayant mis dans la nécessité de prendre une position en arrière, et d'établir un poste pour assurer la tête de nos quartiers d'hiver, je déterminay Monsieur de Vaudreuil à faire construire un fort à Jacques Cartier; l'armée se replia pour y travailler, Monsieur de Bougainville resta à la pointe aux Trembles, et les gardes avancées sur la rivière du Cap Rouge, dont nos partis vont journellement à la portée du canon de Québec pour harceler les ennemis; leur armée est entièrement rentrée dans cette place où elle travaille à rétablir les maisons pour y loger.

Monsieur de Vaudreuil a été à Montréal pour être à portée de faire passer des secours à l'Isle aux noix et aux Rapides.

Car si l'une de ces deux parties étoit forcé, la Colonie seroit perdue sans ressources.

Il faut convenir que nous avons été bien malheureux au moment où nous devons espérer voir finir la campagne avec gloire, tout ■ tourné contre nous, une bataille perdue, une retraite aussi précipitée que honteuse, nous ■ réduits où nous en sommes pour avoir attaqué trop tôt les ennemis, sans avoir rassemblé toutes les forces qu'il auroit pû avoir. Je dois à sa mémoire pour assurer la droiture de ses intentions, qu'il a cru ne pouvoir faire mieux, mais malheureusement, le général a toujours tort quand il a été battu. Je ferai certainement tous mes efforts, conjointement avec M. de Vaudreuil, pour soutenir cet hyver, le reste de cette malheureuse colonne, en attendant le secours qu'il plaira à Sa Majesté de nous envoyer dans les premiers jours de May. Je compte être bien secondé par M. de Bourlamaque, par les officiers supérieurs et particuliers des troupes, de même que par le courage des soldats, faute de munitions de guerre et de bouche, il nous sera impossible de faire aucune expédition, ni entreprise cet hyver, bienheureux si nous pouvons nous soutenir, nous finirons de manger la plus grande partie ou reste des bœufs et des chevaux. Nous avons à nourrir dans les guerrets 3 à 4 mille personnes, y compris les Sauvages, ce qui achèvera de consommer le peu de vivres qui pourroit rester dans la Colonie.

Je ne doute pas que M. l'Intendant, n'employe son zèle et ses talents pour ménager des subsistances et autres secours pour pouvoir nous soutenir le plus long temps qu'il sera possible. Nous n'avons d'autre ressource pour faire subsister les troupes, que de les faire nourrir par les troupes des Gouvernements de Montréal et des Trois Rivières, celui de Québec ayant été dévasté par les armes, à peine pourra-t-il suffire pour ses troupes et habitants. A l'égard de nos frontières, elles marcheront cet hyver au poste de Jacques Cartier, où il y aura

environ 8 à 900 hommes pour observer la garnison de Québec, à l'isle aux Noix, St Jean ou Chambly, le même nombre au fort qui est à la tête des Rapides 500 hommes nous couteroient trois frégates pour qu'au printemps, nous puissions garder le courant du Richelieu, pour empêcher que les ennemis ne remontent le fleuve, avec leurs berges ou d'autres bâtimens jusqu'aux Trois Rivières et à Montréal. Si le Roi veut soutenir cette glaire [? guerre], elle n'est pas encore sans ressource, et s'il luy plaît d'envoyer au mois de May, un escadre qui devance celle d'Angleterre et qui nous rende maîtres du fleuve, avec 6 à 7 mille hommes de troupes de débarquement, et 4 mille hommes de recrue, pour les bataillons et les troupes de la Colonie, qui sont ici, quoique les ennemis aient laissé toutes leurs troupes qui consistent en 10 bataillons qui peuvent faire environ 6 mille hommes, ayant renvoyé seulement les malades et les blessés, et 3 Compagnies de grenadiers qu'il avoient tiré de Louisbourg, cette place ne tiendra pas 10 jours de siège. Il faudroit aussi un train d'artillerie avec des munitions de toute espèce, du fer, de l'acier, des outils de toute sorte, et 10 mille fusils, la prise du Québec nous ayant dépourvu de toutes choses.

Les troupes que le Roi enverroit de débarquement pour prendre Québec pourroient s'en retourner en France avec l'escadre nos forces seront peu considérables au printemps, les 8 Bataillons ne feront pas plus de 2400 hommes, et les troupes de la Colonie 11 ou 12 cent au plus, S'il ne nous arrive pas de secours, nous ne pourrons compter sur les habitants des Gouvernements de Montréal et des 3 Rivières et encore aurons-nous de la peine à les rassembler.

A l'égard des sauvages nous en aurons 800 au 1000 supposé qu'il nous arrive une escadre, car sans cela nous serons fort heureux s'ils ne sont pas contre nous. Si le Roi ne juge pas devoir de secours, je dois, Monsieur, vous prévenir qu'il ne faut pas compter sur nous à la fin du mois de May, nous serons obligez de nous rendre par disette manquant de tout.



## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 357

Il nous restera du courage, sans aucune ressource pour le mettre en usage. Permettez moi aussy de vous représenter que si Sa Majesté ne secoure cette Colonie, il sera bien difficile de la pouvoir soutenir dans les autres guerres. Les sauvages n'auront plus sy confiance aux françois comme les habitants, parce que nous voyons que ceux de Québec ne le sont pas longtemps à l'accoutume au Gouvernement Anglois, à cause de la facilité qu'ils trouveront dans le commerce, Si le Roi n'a pitié de la situation de cette Colonie, il n'y a que la paix qui puisse la rétablir. . . . .

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur,  
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

LE CH<sup>ER</sup> DE LÉVIS.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Moreau Saint-Méry Collection, vol. III, p. 300.

1759.

### CAMPAGNE D'AMÉRIQUE.

KANON (JACQUES)

Lieu<sup>t</sup> de frégate

Commande la frégate le Machault.

(CANADA.)

x<sup>bre</sup> 1759 CANON

MERCIER

COLONIES

M. BIGOT.

Le S. Kanon Lieutenant de fregate Commandant la fregate le Machault qui avoit Conduit à québec, au Commencement de Cette année, les Vivres destinés pour Cette Colonie, est arrivé le 23. de Ce mois à Brest d'ou il S'est rendû ici avec le S. Le Mercier Commandant L'Artillerie en Canada.

Le S. Kanon est parti de la rade de Sillery demie lieüe audessus de Québec le 25. 9<sup>bre</sup> dans la Nuit, il S'est d'abord

Emparé d'une Goelette de 4. Canons que les Anglois avoient envoyé a Sa decouverte, et il a fait passer devant lui 4. autres bâtimens françois qui estoient Sous Son Escorte, à 3. heures du matin il estoit Sous Québec d'ou on lui a tiré environ 300. Coups de Canons, il a Continué Sa route Sans rencontrer Aucun batiment Anglois, il en a rançonné un a 150. Lieües du grand banc. On ne peut rien ajouter à la bravoure et à l'Intelligence de Cet officier dont les Chefs de la Colonie font les plus grands Elôges, il offre de Conduire les nouveaux Secours au Canada, quoique Québec Soit au pouvoir des Anglois, pourveu qu'il arrive le premier.

M. De Vaudreüil et M. Delevis qui Commande les troupes en Chef depuis la mort de M. De Montcalm ont Envoïé le S. Lemercier pour faire un rapport Exact de l'Etat de la Colonie. Il resulte du Contenu de leurs lettres et du rapport du S. Lemercier.

1<sup>o</sup> Qu'a la fin de la Campagne les françois occupoient toute la partie du Canada du Côté des Lacs Ontario et Erié, à L'Exception de Niagara dont les Anglois Se Sont emparés en retablissant le fort de Chouaguen; Que du Côté du Lac Champlain les Anglois Occupent les postes de St frederic et de Carillon dont ils ont fortifié le premier, les françois ont etabli leur frontiere à l'jsle aux noix où ils ont fait de tres bons retranchements; et Que du Côté du Fleuve les Anglois ne possèdent que la Ville de Quebec ou ils Seroient bloqués Sans le défaut de Subsistance dans la Colonie.

2<sup>o</sup> Qu'Il pouvoit rester Environ 4500. hommes de troupes réglées tant de Celles de terre que de la Colonie et environ Douze mille habitans et Savages pour un Coup de main; mais on assure que les habitans du Gouvernement de Quebec Seront désarmés par les Anglois autant qu'ils le pourront.

3<sup>o</sup> Qu'a la fin de la Campagne les Milices Etoient presque toutes licentiées à l'Exception des travailleurs, et que les troupes réglées rentroient en Quartier chez châque habitant pour pouvoir y être nouris, ■ la reserve de la garnison de

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 359

Jacques Cartier, poste a 9. lieües de Quebec qui fournit une Avant garde a la pointe aux trembles, de Celles de l'isle aux noix, du fort S<sup>t</sup> Jean, Chambli, du fort Levi et du Detroit, lesquelles peuvent former un Corps d'environ deux mille quatre Cent hommes les Sauvages des lieux Compris.

4<sup>o</sup> Les Secours que l'on demande pour 1760. Consistent en Vivres, Munitions, habillements, Armes, Artillerie et effets de toute Espece pour les Magasins et les Sauvages dont les Etats Sont Cy Joint, Excepté Ceux de l'artillerie qui ne Sont pas encore dechiffrés, et qu'on peut Evaluer a huit Millions, et Au moins Quatre Mille hommes de troupes : Avec Ces Secours le S. Le Mercier repond de la reprise de Quebec et de la Sureté de la Colonie ; Les Vivres qui restent Suffiront a peine Jusqu'au mois de May ; les Chefs Se plaignent du peu de Secours qu'ils ont reçu Cette année.

5<sup>o</sup> Les depenses faites en Canada pour le Service de 1758. ont monté a Vingt huit millions, M<sup>r</sup> De Vaudreüil Et Bigot assurent qu'elles Seront moindres de beaucoup les Années Suivantes, il a été tiré des lettres de Change a la fin de Celle cy pour environ trente deux millions tant pour Solder les depenses de 1757. Qu'En payement et a Compte de Celles de 1758. et 1759.

M. De Vaudreüil A retenü les quatre fregates du Roy qu'on avoit Expedié de Brest et de Rochefort pour porter les munitions et les Effets pour les Sauvages, et a renvoié les bâtimens marchands, Ceux qui Sont partis avec le S. Kanon ne Sont pas encore arrivés.

1759 Campagnes D'Amérique.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>4</sup>, vol. 91.—Campagnes 1759—Canada.

l'atallante la  
pie. et lamelie  
commandees  
par vauquelin  
dont lamelie a  
ete prise a brest  
la pomone la  
biche et la  
marie com-  
mandee par  
Sauvage la  
biche a  
relachee a la  
Corogne et a  
ete envoyee a la  
louisiane.

Le 25 September 1760.

La Nouvelle des 22. Batiments pris dans le fleuve S<sup>t</sup> Laurent est fausse. il n'y a Eut d'expédié d'autre Convoy pour le Canada qui cinq Navires Partis le 10. avril dernier de la Riviere de Bordeaux.

Par la voie D'Espagne, on apprend que deux de ces Batiments escortés par le Corsaire *Machault* ont donné dans la *Baye des chaleurs* ou ils Se Sont Refugiés pour éviter les Ennemis. cette Baye est à plus de deux cent lieües de *Mont Réal* deux autres ont été interceptés avant d'entrer dans le fleuve et le Cinquième a Peri corps et biens, il ne S'en est Sauvé que Seize personne.

Les Anglois ayant tenté d'enlever ces Batiments Relachés, les Commandants en ont débarqué toutes les Munitions de Guerre et de Bouche et ont Brulé eux mêmes leurs vaisseaux, ont formé un Corps de 900. hommes et Reunissant aux troupes de débarquement tous les equipages et les gens de Mer auxquels Se Sont joints 1500 familles Acadiens. ils ont Etablit un petit Camp en etat de tenir Contre les Ennemis qui ont vainement tenté de les y forcer, ils Se flattent pouvoir Se rendre à *Mont Real* aux approches de l'hiver, et profiter de la Rigueur de cette Saison qui ne permettra pas aux anglois de tenir la Campagne d'après ces Nouvelles, il paroist qu'on est assuré de Se Maintenir encore cette année en Canada, et que Si par des Mesures plus Efficaces et mieux prises, on fut parvenu, comme il etoit très possible, à faire passer le Convoy directement à *Mont Real* on eut facilement repris quebec, chassé les ennemis des Postes dont ils Se Sont rendus Maitre dans cette partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>4</sup>, vol. 98.—1760.—Campagne d'Amérique.

JOURNAL DE LA CAMPAGNE DU S. GIRAUDAIS SUR LE  
N<sup>RE</sup> LE MACHAULT

Presy de ce qui cest Passé de Puis mon depart de Bordeaux  
J'usqua mon arrivée à St<sup>r</sup>ander En Espagne dans la Campagne  
de 1760. dans la fregatte du Roy le machaux Commandé par  
moy francois Chenard Giraudais.

parler a M  
Accaron  
oct. 1760  
N<sup>o</sup> 67.  
Giraudais  
(Fois Chenard.)

Le Roy mayant confié le commandement de la ditte fregatte  
armée à Bordeaux de 20. canons de 12<sup>ll</sup> de Balle, Et de 8. de  
6<sup>ll</sup> Jd. Et 150 : hommes d'Equipage menüe armes à propor-  
tion Pour convoijé 5. Batiment marchand En canada, Scavoir,  
Le Bienfesant Cap<sup>ne</sup> grandmon, le marquis de maloze Cap<sup>ne</sup>  
larticle, la fidelité Cap<sup>ne</sup> Kanon le Jeune, le Soleil Cap<sup>ne</sup>  
Clemensaux, Et lorore Cap<sup>ne</sup> desmortié, tous 5 Jnsin<sup>1</sup> que moy  
chargé de munition de Guerre Et Bouche pour La ditte  
Colonie avec 400 hommes de troupe dispersé Sur les 5. navire  
Et ma freg. nous Sommes Parties de la rivierre de Bordeaux  
le 10. avril 1760. les vants au N. E. Petit frais à 10. h<sup>res</sup> du  
matin nous Estion dehors de tous les danger de la ditte  
rivierre Tous les 6. Et Plusieurs autres qui Setoient mist Sous  
mon Escortte pour vidé les Cap. J'ay gouverné Jusqu'a la nuit  
le long de la costte darcason Et par Sa Latt. J'ay mist le cap à  
ouest Jnsis que tous les autres Batiment, Et le 11<sup>e</sup> courant  
J'ay Eu connoissance de plusieurs navire Sous le vent Et au  
vent ; les vant au nord gouvernant Pour lors à ouest les Bati-  
ments du vant fesant la manœuvre de 2. navires Ennemis, Et  
les ayant reconnus pour tel dont un de 56. canons Et Lautre  
de 26. Jd. J'ay fait Signal á ma petite flotte de Sauve qui  
peut ce quils ont fait fesant routte depuis le S. o. J'usque SE.  
Et moy le cap à O N O. Les vant comme J'ay lay dit au  
nord Et les Enemis dans le nord faisant routte Sur nous, mais  
quand Jls mont vüe mestre au plus prest du vant Et carqué

<sup>1</sup> For "ainsi," as elsewhere in the following pages.



mais 2. Basses voiles. Jls mont donné tous deux le Bout Et comme le plus petit Estoit le plus prest de moy J'ay l'ay attendüe Jusqu'a porté de canon Et reiglé ma voilure Sur la Sienne ce qui ne metoit Pas difficile ayant la marche Sur Eux deux, J'ay Eu lagrement de les faire me chassé Et me tiré Jusqu'a la nuit Et Sauvé toute La flotte de 2 Batiment dont le plus Petit Estoit aussy fort que moy; le 12. le marquis de Malauze, Se rallia á moy. Et le 17. le Bienfezant, Je n'ay Eu aucune Connoissance des autres, J'ay fait routte avec les 2. premiers Sans rencontrér rien, que Le 15<sup>e</sup> de may Estant nord Et Sud des Jles au oÿzeaux <sup>1</sup> á l'entré du fleuve Je m'emparé d'un navire anglois qui aloit á quebec Et qui ma print Par des lettres que J'ay trouvé de dans que 5. ou 6. vaisseaux de guerre, Et autant de fregattes angloise mavoit Prevenüe devant la ditte ville, Jasemblé Sur le champ un conseil ou il fut decidé de faire routte Pour la Baÿe des chaleurs, ce que Je fist, le 16. courant á la vüe de Bonnavanture Je fist 4. Prises desquelles Je m'emparé, Et le 17<sup>e</sup> Etant un peu En dedans des pointes de l'entre de la Baÿe des chaleurs Je m'emparé d'un autre prise angloise Et Je conduist le tout au Petit Bonnavanture ou J'ay mouillé á la nuit du même Jour, le lendemain Je fist Signal dapareillé Et Je fut ce jour La avec toute ma Petite flotte 25. a 30. Lieux dans la Baÿe Et le 19. dud. Jetois Monté á 6 lieux du rapide de Ristigouche, <sup>2</sup> ou Je mouillé Et fist mouiller tous mais navires dans un Endroit fort commode ou Jespedié le S<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Simon <sup>3</sup> officier de la Colonie qui avoit Passé avec moy á monsieur vaudreille avec les Paquets dont Jetois Chargé, Et comme Javois ordre datandre celle de M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreil, Je fist mettre á terre Les troupes Embarquée Sur ma fregatte Et Sur les deux autres navires Composant En Total 200 hommes Jocupay une partie de mon Equipage á construire une Batterie Sur une

<sup>1</sup> See p. 367, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The estuary of the Ristigouche is 2 to 4 miles wide, and extends from Dalhousie to Campbellton, about 16 miles. The Ristigouche River is a stately stream, which is navigable for 135 miles above Campbellton.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 367, n. 3.

Pointe qui defandoit le passage Et les autres à de charger une gouellete de nos prises Pour la faire Servir de decouverte, Pendant ce tems Je faisois Eaux, Et Biscuits pour Estre En Etat de sortir au premier ordre de monsieur Vaudreil qui ont extrêmement retardé, la decouverte fut dehors le 12<sup>e</sup> Juin Sous le Commandement du Sieur lavary le Roy un de mes Premier lieut. ou Elle resta J'usquau 22<sup>e</sup> du dit Sans avoir Eu aucunes Connoissance de rien que de quelques gouelette Batteaux Et Esquif cadien qui venoient Journallement ce Joindre à nous avec Beaucoup de famille Cadienne pour avoir du Secour En vivre Estant dans la derniere miserre, le 23 du dit l'Equipage de la decouverte ce Joignit à moy après avoir Esté contrain de Jetté En coste par laproche d'un v<sup>x</sup> de guerre anglois de 74. Canons Et 4 Berges Je fist aussitot mestre 4. de mes canon de 12<sup>ll</sup> Et un de 6 Sur la Bateria, Et coulé des Batiments dans le chenal à  $\frac{1}{2}$  Porté de Canon de la ditte Bateria le tout Estoit prest la nuit du 26<sup>e</sup> au 27<sup>e</sup> Juin que Japrint l'arrivé de 2. autres vaiss<sup>x</sup> de guerre Et 2. fregattes. le 27<sup>e</sup> Les 2. fregattes Et le vais<sup>x</sup> de 74 Canons ont montés la rivierre Et moüillé En dehors de cette chesne, la Battery de terre dont J'ay Parlé commandé Par Le Sieur Donat de la Garde.<sup>1</sup> mon cap<sup>ne</sup> En Second à fait feu de Sus Et na discontinué de part Et dautres qu'a l'entré de la nuit que les 2. fregattes ce sont retirées dans le faux chenal du Sud. Javais meditté de restér avec ma fregatte Pour Soutenir la Batterie mais la force de l'Ennemis Estant trop Superieure maurais Empeché de rejoindre tous les Batimants que Javais fait monter du momant des nouvelle du premier vais<sup>x</sup> de guerre pour Salegir Jnsin que moy qui le faisoit dans lintervalle En mettant à terre le plus quil nous Estoit Possible des Effest du Roy, Je les Joigné le 28<sup>e</sup>;

La Batterie à Soutenüe Jusquau 3. Juillet avec toute la Bravoure possible Et à Esté contrain à la fin de crever cest

<sup>1</sup> Pointe à la Garde, 9 miles above Dalhousie, on the north shore, was named after him. It is a bold perpendicular promontory overlooking the harbour.

canon, le vais<sup>x</sup> de 74. canons ayant passé Sa direction par le feaux chenal du Sud la dominant En outre par La Superiorité de Son artillerie ;

Le 4<sup>e</sup> Jd. les 2. fregattes ont travaillés à ce faire un Passage En Soulagent quelquns des Batimant Coullé Et il En Sont venus à Bout le 6. courant Le 7. Jls ont montées à la porté d'une Baterie de 3. canons de 4<sup>n</sup> commandé par le Sieur Gilbert un de mes lieut. que Javais fait Etablir à la coste du Sud Pour Empecher une gouellette de venir sondé le chenel, Elle la Effectivement Empeché Jusqua que les 2. f<sup>te</sup> les ont contrain de labandonner apres avoir fait tout ce qu'on Peut atandre de Brave gens ;

Le 8<sup>e</sup> à 5 h<sup>res</sup> 1/2 du matin Elle mont aproché à la demy Portté de canon Elle mauroient aprochés plus prest Sans une Seconde chesne de navire que Javais fait couller En dehors de moy Et d'une Batterie que J'avois fait Etablir à La coste du nord de 3. de mes canon de 12<sup>n</sup> et de 2. de 6<sup>n</sup> du marquis de malauze, cette Batterie Estoit commandé par le Sieur Reboul mon p<sup>r</sup>. Lieut. tout cela retardoit la Proche de lennemy Et me donnoit du tems pour mettre des Effets du Roy à terre ;

Les deux fregattes Estoit une de 36. canon, 26. de 12<sup>n</sup> Et 10. de 6<sup>n</sup> Son Equipage Et du ranfor des 3 v<sup>x</sup> de guerre, l'autre de 26 .Canon de 9<sup>n</sup> En Batterie Son Equipage complete, une Gouellette de 4. Canon de 6<sup>n</sup> Et 17. Berges de 25. à 30. hommes d'Equipage Chasques ; Et moy Javais à oposer à des forces aussy Superieures 13. Canon de 12<sup>n</sup> Et un de 6<sup>n</sup> dont 10. du costé de Babord presanté aux Ennemis Et 3. à tribord au cas que leurs Berges Ussent voulus venir pendant le Combat nous aborder de ce costé la, Javois de mon Equipage pour lors 70. hommes. les autres Estant Employé Pandant ce tems la à haller tous les petist Battimant chargé des Effets du Roy à porté de mousqueterie de terre ou nous avions fait un depost à la hâtte En outre celuy qui Estoit hor d'insulte Et une autre Partie Estant Employé à la Batterie du Sieur Reboul

qui à fait tout ce qu'on Peut faire, Javais aussy à Bord 45. Soldats Sous les ordres de monsieur dangac, Je n'emparleré point ils Sont connus Pour de Braves gens, ce nest pas à moy d'En faire de Loge, cest avec cest forces la que nous avons Commencé le combat Entre 5. Et 6. heures du matin Et tenüe Jusqua 11. heures ou apres avoir perdüe 30. hommes, 8 Pieds d'Eaux dans la Calle et avoir coullé la grande fregatte angloise qui ne ce seroit Jamais relevé dou Elle Estoit Sans le peu d'Eau qu'elle avoit Sous Elle quil la facilitoit de reprendre cest coups quelle avoit à L'Eau, nous avons Esté contrain de mettre le feu dans la fregatte; le Bienfesant En à fait autant, Et le marquis de malauze lauroit fait aussy Sans les prisonniers anglois qui Se trouvoit à Bord que nous navons pas voulus sacrifier à la fureur des Sauvages, Sitot nos Batimants brulées Jls ont Expediées la Gouellette Et les 17. Berges pour venir prendre Et Brullé tous les Petist Batimants chargée des Effets du Roy, ce qui nous à mist dans le cas de Mettre le feux nous mêmes à tous ceux qui Estoient hors de portées de fusil de Terre Et nous avons defandus tous les autres Jusqua 11 h<sup>re</sup> du Soir quils ont Esté contraint de ce retirér aprest avoir tiré leurs Prisonniers du maloze Et y à avoir mist le feux cest la Seulle chose quil ont fait avec 3. v<sup>z</sup> de Guerre Et 2. f<sup>tes</sup> pendant 17. Jours Et sans ozé desandre à terre l'espace de 6. Lieu de teren Jl Est Extremement flatteur pour moy d'avoir Eüe Sous mes ordres d'aussy Braves Jens comme J'en avoient;

Le 9<sup>e</sup>. courant les deux fregattes ont desendus Et rejoint les V<sup>z</sup> de Guerre Et Le 17<sup>e</sup>. Jls ont tous Evaquée la rivierre, le même Jour le S<sup>t</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Simon Est venüe du montreal En 13. Jours, Jl ma aporté un ordre de M<sup>r</sup>. Vaudreil pour partir dans ma fregatte, Et porté cest paquets Jusq'au premier port de france allié ou neustre Et comme Elle Estoit Brullé, J'ay fait travailler à une gouellete Cadienne qui ce trouvoit la Et le mise En Etat de Sortir le 10<sup>e</sup>. aoust nous Estions nord Et Sud de Bonnaventure, Et le 3<sup>e</sup>. 7<sup>bre</sup> J'ay mouillé â S<sup>t</sup> ander aprest



avoir Eu 11 h<sup>re</sup> de chasses au detroit de belille Et En 13 Jours  
Estant venue d'une terre à l'autre ;

Giraudais B<sup>ux</sup>

octobre 1760

Detail de Sa Campagne  
Sur le Machault

Lieut<sup>t</sup> de f<sup>te</sup> 1760.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>4</sup>.—Vol. 98.—1760.—Campagne d'Amérique.

1760

RELATIONS DEPUIS NOTRE DEPART DE ROYANT JUSQU'AU  
JOUR DE NÔTRE COMBAT AVEC LES ANGLAIS LE HUIT  
JUILLET MIL SEPT CENT SOIXANTE :

Nous Sortime Le dix avril de la riviere avec un Vent favorable petit vent qui nous continuat toute la nuit le Lendemie onze environ dix heures nous Ume Connoissance de deux Vaisseaux que nous reconument pour Ennemie après quils nous Eument aproché l'un fut reconnû pour un Vaisseaux de cinquante Canons et l'autre de trente Six pour l'ors le Sieur La Giraudais fit Signal de Sauvequi peut à la flotte et pris chasse faisant toujours Sa même route les ennemis nous chasserent pendant deux heures et demie La fregatte nous áprochat à bonne portée de Canon pour l'ors nous forsame de voilles S'est deux vaisseaux Sapercurent que nous avions L'avantage de la marche Sur Eux pour l'ors le gros vaisseaux revira debord la fregatte en fit autempt après Nous avoir tiré Sa bordé nous lui rispostame de quelque coup de la Nôtre et nous Continuame Notre route ;

Le douze au matin nous rencontrame Le Marquis de Malose nous fime route ensemble jusqu'au dix Neuf que nous apersume avant et Sou le vent a nous deux Voilles nous courume Sur celle qui étoit Souvant à Nous la joignime et la



reconume pour une prise d'un corsaire de bayonne qui fit route pour france le Vaisseau qui étoit avent a nous nous àprochat et Nous le reconume par nos Signaux de reconnoissance pour le bienfaisant Nous fime Notre route et depuis Sejour nous N'avons fait aucune rencontre jusqu'au quatorze may entre Lisle aux Oiseaux<sup>1</sup> et entre Costie<sup>2</sup> d'un batteau Anglais a qui nous doname chasse que nous joignime que nous àmariname qui nous apris que L'escadre anglaise Etoit dans La riviere depuis Six jours Nous etions prés pour l'ors de donner dans La riviere on tin Conseil de guerre ou il fut décidé que l'on méteroit dans L'abbaye de chaleure nous y donname le Lendemain quinze nous trouvame à Son ouvert cinq batteaux et goillette anglaise que nous àmariname et que Nous Conduisime a l'entrée de la riviere de Ristigouche ou nous motüllame Le dix Sept mon premier Soin après avoir Expedie M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Simeon<sup>3</sup> pour porter Les paquets à Montréal fut de travaillé à Etablir un camp pour rafraîchir Nos troupes et Nos Equipages faire faire des fours pour faire du pain restant tres peut de Biscuit à bord des Navirre :

J'ai trouvé dans ce Sejour de Misere plus de mille cinq cents ame Extenué de Nanisions et mourant de faim ayant été obligé de mangè des paux de Castore pendant tout l'hiver a qui Je fait donner une demie Livres de farine par jour et un Cartron de Bœuf en àtendant Les ordres de Monsieur Le Marquis de Vaudreüil ce petit Secours les à tiré des portes de la mort ce que je Continué jusqu'a ce jour :

<sup>1</sup> Ile-aux-Oiseaux (Birds' Island). The most northerly of the Magdalen island group, about 48° N. lat., lying slightly east of I. Brion, between that island and Pointe Riche in Newfoundland.

<sup>2</sup> The island of Anticosti lies in the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and is 118 miles long and 31 miles wide.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine-Charles de St. Simon, born at Quebec, November 4, 1734, was son of Charles Paul Denis, sieur de St. Simon, Provost Marshal at Quebec. He was appointed second ensign in 1757, and ensign with full pay in 1759. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 100.) He was buried on June 5, 1785, at Léogane, Haiti. (Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. iii. p. 343.)

DETAIL DEPUIS L'ARRIVÉE DES VAISSEAUX ANGLAIS DANS  
LA RIVIERE DE RISTIGOUCHE JUSQUE AU JOUR DU  
COMBAT.

Le Vingt deux Juin au matin l'on nous raporta avoir Vu un Vaisseau de force par le travers de l'isle à heront<sup>1</sup> Le deux une Goillette que Nous tenions pour decouverte aux ditte Jsle Commendé par le Sieur LeRoi fut attaquée par plusieurs berges il fut obligé d'abandonné Laditte Goillette et Se rendy avec Son Equipage à bord du Machault dont il etoit Lieutenant.

Le vingt-quatre nous eume Connoissance de deux autres vaisseaux qui Etoient en dedans des isle, le vingt Sept nous eume pareille Connoissance de deux autres Vaisseaux ce qui fît prendre Le party à M<sup>r</sup> Lagiraudais de remonter la riviere le plus haut quil Seroit possible et de travailler à faire decharger les vivres et autres effets tant de Son Vaisseau que des deux autres qui etoient Sous Ses ordres il ne pris Se partis qu'apres avoir fait Couler plusieurs batiments pour boucher le chenal cette chesne etoit Soutenûe par une batterie de quatre pieces de Canon de douze et deux de Six elle à Soutenus tant quil n'y â eu que les deux fregate qui L'on Canonée mais le vaisseau de Soixante quatorze Canons la prenant en flanc elle ne puis Soutenir etants à barbette apres avoir fait Crevé les Canons elle fut abandonnée Monsieur de la Valliere<sup>2</sup> Capitaine etant

<sup>1</sup> Ile-aux-Harengs (now Heron Island). A small island at the head of Baie-des-Chaleurs, lying directly south of Tracadigash Bay.

<sup>2</sup> Louis LeNeuf, sieur de la Vallière, ■ native of Plaisance, and son of Michel LeNeuf, sieur de la Vallière, and of Renée Bertrand, married Marie Charlotte Rousseau de Souvigny, at Louisbourg, September 20, 1739. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 C., p. 113.) He was appointed lieutenant, May 1, 1743, and captain, April 15, 1750, and made Chevalier de St. Louis in 1756. On May 1, 1764, he was appointed commandant major of the national troops in Guiana. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 122.)

avec Soixante hommes De troupes pour la Soutenir en cas de desente et environ cent Cadiens et quelque Sauvages ;

après cet Evenement nous n'avons cherchée qu'a retardé Laproche de l'ennemie pour avoir Le temps de mètre au moins nos vivres à terre ; pour cette effets nous avons etablie deux bateries L'une Sur une pointe au Sud et l'autre Sur celle du Nord qui fesoient un feux Croisée celle du Sud étant gardé par des officiers du Machault bienfaisant et Marquis de Maloze quelqu'un de leur Equipage des Cadiens et des Sauvages elle à fait abandoné deux fois une goillette qui les canonée avec du canon de Six.

Celle du nord etoit garnis de trois Canons de Douze et de deux de Six Servie par le Sieur Reboulle Soutenüe par trente hommes de nos troupes Commendé par Monsieur Dubois-berthelot<sup>1</sup> il est certain que S'est deux batteries ont fait tout ce que l'on peut faire au monde ; celle du Sud devenû unitille une foÿ Le vaisseaux prêst de nous elle n'avoit que du Canon de quatre ; Celle du Nord n'a cessée Son feux que quand Le vaisseaux Se Sont retiré elle nous reste toutes les deux ainsis que leurs Canons ; Le Machault Etant aporté de la Soutenir étant enbossé au millieux du chenal presentant babord à Lennemie des le momant que nous avons pris le party de mettre les vivres à terre J'envoyé Monsieur Dupont Duvivier<sup>2</sup> avec Son piquet au dépeaux des vivres cet offier S'est fort bien Comporté et présenté quand les berges Sont Ventües pour S'emparer des batteaux Et Goillettes et Esquiffe qui etoient

<sup>1</sup> Boisberthelot was appointed second ensign, January 1, 1747 ; ensign with full pay, April 15, 1750 ; lieutenant, April 1, 1754, and on May 1, 1764, captain in the national troops in Guiana. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Dupont, chevalier DuVivier, son of François Dupont DuVivier and Marie Mius-d'Entremont, was born at Port Royal, Acadie, November 12, 1707 (*Canadian Archives*, M. 69, p. 11), and married, at Louisbourg, October 24, 1750, Marie Joseph LeBorgne de Bellisle. (*Ibid.*, F. 179 E., p. 318.) He was appointed ensign with full pay, April 1, 1738 ; lieutenant, January 1, 1747, and captain, April 15, 1750. He was made Chevalier de St. Louis in 1760. (*Ibid.*, F. 129, p. 122.) He died in crossing the ocean, returning from Baie-des-Chaleurs, October 24, 1760, according to Bazagier's letter of December 4, 1760. See p. 390.

encore chargées il obligéa L'ennemie de Se retirer Sa troupes etoit Renforcée une partie des Equipage et plusieurs brave Cadiens ;

Nous nous étions débaracé des prisonniers que nous avions à bord du Machault en les envoyant à bord du Marquis de Maloze avec un détachement de vingt cinq hommes et un Sergent et un Sergent de Confiance pour leur garde ;

Espace en blanc Le huit Juillet a quatre heures du Matin une fregatte de trente deux Canons nommée la et une de vingt deux nommé . . . . . Se rendirent à nous à demie portée de canons je dit à nous n'ayant jamais abandonné Le Machault que quand il â été desidé quil le falloit brulé ;

Le Combat Commencat environnt les cinq heures le feux fut tres Viffe pendant deux heures au bout duguel temps on vint nous dire quil n'y àvoit plus de poudre n'y Gargouses dans le Moment Monsieur de lagiraudais envoyà Sa chaloupe en chercher dans un batteaux dans lequel Nous les avions déposée ; Je ne Scay à quoy àtribuer pourquoy il ne nous en parvin pas Se ne peut être que par terreure de la part du patron de Canotte Je doit le penser car nous avons trouvé les poudre dont il etoit chargé.

Monsieur Lagiraudais vint me dire quil y avoit plus de quoi faire feux et que nous avions Sept pieds d'Eaux dans La calle Je lui repondis que je lui avois dit que je ne quitteroit le Machault que quand il decideroit quil faudroit Le Bruller Monsieur D'orfontaine<sup>1</sup> Capitaine Etoit avec moy à bord et le Sieur Loppinot<sup>2</sup> mon aide Major qui est blessé d'un boulet à

<sup>1</sup> Michel Rousseau, sieur d'Orfontaine, son of Gabriel Rousseau, sieur de Villejouin and Marie Josephte Bertrand, was appointed second ensign to the troops of Ile Royale, April 1, 1741 ; ensign with full pay, January 1, 1747 ; lieutenant, March 1, 1749 ; captain, April 15, 1750 ; and on May 1, 1764, captain of the national troops in Guiana. He was made Chevalier de St. Louis in 1760. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 124.) At Port La Joye, May 4, 1757, he married Angélique LeNeuf de la Vallière, his first cousin. (*Ibid.*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 286.)

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas Loppinot was appointed second ensign, April 15, 1750 ; ensign with full pay, April 1, 1754 ; lieutenant, March 15, 1756. He was regimental



## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 371

la jambe ; droite que je crain fort de perdre Sa blessure étant fort Considerable ;

Nous àvons deux jambes Coupée dans nos Soldats deux blessé a la main et cinq de tué et plusieurs matelots Le Sieur Reboulle premier Lieutenant du Machault à aussi été blessé d'une Contusion à la jambe ;

Nous àvons été obligé de vacquere le Machault d'en retirer nos blessé et après d'y mètre Le feux. Nôtre retraite S'est faitte avec toute L'ordre possible ayant pendant une partie du chemin les boulets à nos trousses ; Le bienfaisant fait aussi brullé le Marquis de Malose c'est Evaquée ne convenant pas d'y mètre Le feux ayant Les prisonniers à Son bord les anglais les ont Retiré y ayant mis Le feux Linsendie de S'est Vaisseaux nous Causent bien des pertes malgré La diligence que l'on à porté pour leur dechargem<sup>t</sup> nous avons perdûs beaucoup l'on Sauve tous les jours des Carcasse ;

L'ennemie a trouvé du feux pendant cinq Lieux tant au Nord qu'au Sud et je puis Vous assurer quils n'ont pas osé mètre à terre dans cette distance et quil n'ont pas un homme à Nous Le Seul àvantage qu'une Escadre de cinq Vaisseaux Composé d'un de Soixante quatorze, un de Soixante dix, un de Soixante quatre un de trente deux un de Vingt deux rem-

adjutant at Ristigouche, where he died from his wounds, July 26, 1760. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 136, and M. 73, p. 28.) Here follows his certificate of burial :—

“ L'an mil sept cent soixante le vingt-sixième du mois de juillet, a été inhumé par moi prestre.recolect aumonier des troupes de la marine, Nicolas Loppino S. Nicolas Loppinot officier major des susdits troupes, décédé du même jour, dans le cimetierre du camp des Reserves en présence de Messieurs dangeac, d'orfontaine, de la valiere, devannes, de pommerois, de villedonné après avoir été, avec la plus grande édification munie de tous ses derniers sacrements en fois de quois j'ai signé avec les témoins.

père Ambroise

Rousseau de D'orfontaine,

Potier de Pommeroy,

Villedonné, Le chev. duvivier de Vannes, Dangeac, Delavalliere  
f. étienne. P. R.”

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 73, p. 28.)



porte C'est de Nous avoir Contraint de Brulé nos Vaisseaux Si elle en à brulé un C'est par Commiseration pour leurs prisonniers ;

Je ne puis m'enpeché de rendre Justice à la valeur de nos officiers et Soldats puis qu'a ceux du Machault qui ont combattû Sous mes yeux ceux des deux autres Vaisseaux qui Se Sont trouvé Sur les batteries ont tout bien fait Je né que du bien à dire de tout Le monde ; apres L'occasion nous Nous Sommes disposés à Nous Mètre a labris dinsulte et à Mètre Les vivres à Couverts car Nous somme dans un bois debout ;

Deux deserteur de leur bord qui ont deserté ont assuré que la grande fregatte Etoit fort mal traitée et qu'ils ont perdûs beaucoup de monde c'est deux hommes Sont Suspecque, ils Sont Soldat du Canada ;

Le Machault n'avoit à bord partant de Bordeaux que onze Cents coup de Canons et ayant été obligé d'en fournir Sur les batteries le jour du combat il ne S'est trouvé que quatre cents cinquante à bord Si Les Munitions Nous ont Manqué c'est Lá faute de L'armateur Jl ne Sais qui Jl est Nous devons ce que Nous avons à terre aux batteries que Nous Etablie ayant retardé La jonctions de L'ennemie de onze Jours avec Nous ; et avec le Secours de Nos batiments Coulés ; au camp de Ristigouche Le cinq Aoust Mil Sept cent Soixante.

D'ANGEAC.<sup>1</sup>

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>4</sup>, vol. 98.—1760.—Campagne d'Amérique.

<sup>1</sup> Gabriel François d'Angeac was the son of Gabriel d'Angeac, captain of a company of the Marines at Louisbourg. There, on December 31, 1735, he married Geneviève Le Fèvre. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 B., p. 473.) He was appointed second ensign at Ile Royale, May 1, 1723 ; ensign with full pay, May 8, 1730 ; lieutenant, June 26, 1732 (*ibid.*, F. 284, p. 12) ; captain, January 1, 1747 ; Chevalier de St. Louis, 1754 (*ibid.*, F. 229, p. 121), and Governor of St. Pierre and Miquelon, February 23, 1763.

EXTRAIT de la Revue faite en ce Poste de la Troupe detachée de la marine, et de france pour Canada le printems d<sup>er</sup> Sous le Commandement de Monsieur Dangeac Capitaine et chev<sup>er</sup> de l'ordre royal et militaire de S<sup>t</sup> Louis.

SAVOIR.

*première* Compagnie ou piquet.

## OFFICERS.

M<sup>rs</sup>. . . { Dangeac Cap<sup>ne</sup>  
Devanne Lieu<sup>t</sup>1 . { il doit repasser en france  
et être remplacé par M<sup>r</sup>  
Bourdon autre L<sup>i</sup> et ancien Comt

SERGEANTS.

Jean Bernier dit Sansoucy.  
Salomon Saufrange d. Saufrange.

CAPORAUX.

André ferrand dit idem.  
Jean Boileau d. la trique.  
Jacques Mesnard d. Brisefer.

TAMBOUR.

Louis Langlais d. prêt a boire.

FIFRE.

Joseph Balofier dit S<sup>t</sup> Joseph.

<sup>1</sup> François Dupont DuVivier, chevalier de Vannes, a native of Serignac, bishopric of Saintes (France), married Anne Madeleine Lafitte, a native of Ile Royale, at Louisbourg, September 10, 1755. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 G., p. 303.) He was appointed lieutenant, April 15, 1750, and captain, April 30, 1764, and on May 1, 1764, was given a yearly pension of 600 livres. On June 22, 1770, he was made Chevalier de St. Louis. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 133.)

## CANONNIERS.

Jean Lacroix dit Larose.  
Louis Rossignol dit rossignol.

## SOLDATS.

Pr<sup>e</sup> Labarte d. Languedoc.  
Jean B<sup>te</sup> Laforest dit Lesage.  
André Rorigue d. Rodrigue.  
Joseph Le Sere d. Toulouze.  
Nicolas Brochet dit visensoin.  
Paul Magenty d. Lafleur.  
henry le vasseur d. Belhumeur.  
Jacques Monarie d. Sans façon.  
Jacques Rousselot d. Jolicœur.  
Etienne Berthelemy dit LaRose.  
Jean Dandy d. Lacouture.  
Antoine Gerard d. Laverdure.  
Sebastien le Comte d. l'Eveillé.  
François Lucouet d. Lafentaisie.  
François Labardin d. Valantin.  
Pierre Paillet dit Lafrance.  
Pierre David dit Laperle.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Gorelle d. brindamour.  
Ant<sup>ne</sup> Adrien LeLon d. Laramée.  
Jean Goucée d. Couturin.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Simon d. Vatau.  
Antoine Alary d. LaGiroflée.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> Benard d. Lafortune.  
Jean Siloin d. Lafaveur.  
Jacques Mothet d. Tranchemontagne.  
Jean Martos dit LaRigueur.  
Claude Bourgenau d. Sans cartier.  
Michel Michet d. LaRose.  
Jacob Estingue d. Le Suisse.

# ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 375

Jean LeBlanc d. Laplaine.  
 P<sup>re</sup> fornier d. Belamy.  
 Guillaume Geraux d. Bellerose.  
 Marc Lacomme d. Jolicœur.  
 Jacques Bertier d. Bertier.  
 Jean P<sup>re</sup> Dacémard d. Laviolette.  
 Joseph frances d. Mastrig.  
 Jacques Ant<sup>e</sup> Ranché d. Ranché.  
 Vincent Bertaud d. Clery.  
 P<sup>re</sup> Dubois d. Dubois.  
 Philipes Prudhôme d. Prudhôme.

Total  
 2. officiers  
 49. soldats

51.

3<sup>e</sup> Comp<sup>ie</sup> ou piquet.

## OFFICIERS.

M<sup>rs</sup> . . { Dupont Duvivier Cap<sup>ne</sup> 1  
 { de Vildenay Lieutenant 2

## SERGEANTS.

Louis Orlin d. Jolicœur une jambe emportée.  
 Manuel Gourman d. Brunet.

## CAPORAUX.

F<sup>ois</sup> foy d. S<sup>t</sup> Denis.  
 F<sup>ois</sup> Savin d. Leonord.  
 Germain Poignet d. LaTulipe.

## CANONNIERS.

François Giraud d. Giraud.  
 Mathurin Picard d. Mathurin.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 369, n. 2.

■ Villedonné was appointed lieutenant, March 15, 1735, and on May 1, 1764, he received a pension of 400 livres. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 136.)

## TAMBOURS.

Mathurin Guénigaud d. Le Sombre.  
Robert Emonet d. St Lemberet.

## SOLDATS.

François Offerion d. LaNoix.  
François Jourdain d. Languedoc.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Maule dit Larose.  
Louis Colconac d. Lapel.  
F<sup>ois</sup> LePomier d. Lafrance.  
Jacques Josse d. Jolicœur.  
Nicolas horlut d. Dubuisson.  
F<sup>ois</sup> Gomel d. St Martin.  
Jean Dufleau d. Brindamour.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Blain d. Vadeboncœur.  
Louis Planchon d. Prêtarire.  
Michel Renard d. Laflotte.  
François Denizet d. Laviolette.  
Louis Saillard dit Maubeuge.  
Jean Chausselard d. Bonnevolonté.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Louis Machat de Pampadour d. Pampadour.  
F<sup>ois</sup> Margret d. Jolibois.  
Jean Detrau d. Jolicœur.  
André Chapron dit la Liberté.  
Jozeph Girouin d. St Jozeph.  
Michel hubert d. La Perle.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Berau d. l'aigle.  
Jean hortier d. LaLoüette.  
Arnaud Boudriau d. Brisebarriere.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Orliac d. lavolonté.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Blanchard d. Sanschagrin.  
F<sup>ois</sup> Piot d. laRoche.  
Pr<sup>e</sup> Chevalier d. Dupuis.



## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 377

Pr<sup>e</sup> Jullien d. Jolibois.  
Balthazard peraisse d. Saragoce.  
Jean B<sup>te</sup> foyer d. foyer.  
Jacques Bernier d. Lafleur.  
René Beins d. laRoze.  
Michel favard dit Sansraison.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> Melisset d. Prêtaboire.  
Jean Pinaud d. Blezois.

2. off<sup>rs</sup>  
45. soldats  
Total 47.

*Piquet ou 2<sup>e</sup> Comp<sup>ie</sup> de M. Delavalier<sup>1</sup> repassé  
en France Sur la goëlette commandée par le S<sup>r</sup>  
la Giraudais.*

### OFFICIER.

M<sup>r</sup> . . de Pommeroy<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Faisant fonction de  
Major a la place de M. de Lopinaud  
mort apres le Combat, de ses blessures.

### SERGEANTS.

Gabriel Bayle dit Sansprendre.  
Charles Cornu d. Brindamour.

### CAPORAUX.

Jean Prée dit Laforge.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> Lafontaine d. Lafontaine.  
Nicolas Gabriel Anier d. Lavictoire.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 368, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> René Gédéon Potier, sieur de Pommeroy, was son of Guillaume Potier, sieur de Pommeroy, and Jeanne Philippe de Catalogne. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 297.) He was appointed second ensign, March 1, 1749; ensign with full pay, April 15, 1750; lieutenant, April, 1755; and, on May 1, 1764, captain of the national troops in Guiana. On November 14, 1757, at Port La Joye, St. John Island, he married Marguerite Dailleboust de St-Villemé. (*Ibid.*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 297.) See reference to Madame Pommeroy, vol. i. p. 402.

## CANONNIERS.

Guillaume Pinsot d. Lafaveur.  
 Germain Renis d. Lagrenade.  
 An<sup>e</sup> Delpée d. Delpée.

## TAMBOURS.

Nicolas Bernard d. brindamour.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Cavillac d. Belle Etoile.

## SOLDATS.

Antoine Ducours d. Poitevin.  
 Nicolas Morau d. S<sup>t</sup> Germain.  
 Michel LeLievre d. LeLievre.  
 Jean Jacques Desroches d. Laprairie.  
 Claude Ravaud d. Sans regret.  
 Pr<sup>e</sup> Gilet d. La Bouteille.  
 Pr<sup>e</sup> Camus d. Camus.  
 Jean Martineau d. Larsenac.  
 Jean Gouaze d. Sansoucy.  
 Jean De Genne d. Verdun.  
 Jozeph Perot d. Lapleur.  
 Martin Ser d. S<sup>t</sup> Martin.  
 Jean Bourdole d. La Montaigne.  
 Louis Bourguignon d. Lagrenade.  
 Claude Aineaux d. francœur.  
 Claude Verset d. verset.  
 Michel Lorette d. Lorette.  
 Augustin Suisse dit Laramée.  
 Nicolas Bouche d. Baguette.  
 Pr<sup>e</sup> Boite d. Sansoucy.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Derache d. LaLiberté.

# ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 379

Guillaume Roussel d. Roussel.  
 Benoist Collon d. fleur d'orange.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Glatar d. Bourguignon.  
 Louis Mesmé d. La Giraudiere.  
 François Dée d. fend levent.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Guilber d. S<sup>t</sup> françois.  
 P<sup>re</sup> Bouton d. Fontenay.  
 François Labarre d. Oleron.  
 Claude Laurin d. Laurin.  
 Nicolas Report d. Brindamour.  
 P<sup>re</sup> Collon d. Sans chagrin.  
 Julien Sevée d. Julien.  
 Jean Rectos d. Baubassin.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Gendros d. S<sup>t</sup> Come.  
 Etienne Aché d. Aché ou S<sup>t</sup> Etienne.  
 Jean Pouche de Pignerolle.  
 Jean B<sup>te</sup> l'homme-Dieu d. Brûlevillage.  
 Jean Maris Caboul d. Lamusique.  
 Jozeph Mousel d. LaLancette.  
 Barthelemy Bremond d. Sans quartier.  
 François Lovignon d. La Liberté.  
 Denis Fouquet d. Bellerose.  
 Daniel Richard d. LaRoze.  
 Jacques Torvarin d. Sans regret.  
 Jacques Genty d. Genty.  
 Jean Lecomte d. Bijoy.  
 Jozeph Sallet d. Languedoc.

deserté de l'Escadre  
 anglaise ici 4. jours  
 après l'affaire il fut  
 pris a Lajeune Lorette  
 10. jours après Qué-  
 bec etant Cavalier de  
 la Rochebeaucouret  
 tiré de la Comp<sup>ie</sup> de  
 Lacorne l'ainé.

Embrose Legay d. Lagrenade.

deserté comme l'autre et fut  
 pris a charlebourg 12. a 15  
 jours après Quebec; il etoit  
 volontaire de Repentigny et  
 du poste de S<sup>t</sup> Augustin, il  
 est marié a une Simard V<sup>e</sup>  
 Tremblay de La Baye S<sup>t</sup> Paul,  
 et sa Compagnie est cette de  
 Boishebert.

Total  
 offi<sup>r</sup> 1.  
 soldats 59.  
 60.

4<sup>e</sup> Comp<sup>ie</sup> ou piquet.

M<sup>rs</sup> . . { Dorfontaine Cap<sup>ne</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
 { du Boisbertelot Lieutenant.<sup>2</sup>

## SERGENTS.

Nicolas Stable d. Stable.  
 Jozeph Reffée d. Blondin.

## CAPORAUX.

Ant<sup>e</sup> Fautrier d. Levy.  
 Charles Thubert d. Thubert.  
 Jean Arsent d. Lafeuillade.

## CANONNIERS.

Ant<sup>e</sup> Grary d. Vulquin. la jambe emportée.  
 Jean B<sup>te</sup> Dardy d. Moustache.

## TAMBOURS.

Jean B<sup>te</sup> Golzard d. Golzard.  
 Jozeph Côte d. fleur d'Epine.

## SOLDATS.

Jean B<sup>te</sup> Seré d. Valenciennes.  
 Jean Claude Thevenin d. Livernois.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Penot d. Marné.  
 André Boisseaux d. Boisseaux.  
 Jacques henequel d. Larose.  
 Nicolas Geoffroy d. La Tulipe.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> halard d. Dupuis.  
 François LaNoce d. Lavigueur.  
 Etienne Poisson d. La Tendresse.  
 Jean Jozeph Ant<sup>e</sup> defée d. Lajeunesse.  
 Jean havard d. Lapipe.  
 François Touché d. Dubreuil.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 370, n. 1.<sup>2</sup> See p. 369, n. 1.

Jean Parlaud d. Jolibois.  
Jacques hardy d. belhumeur.  
Jean B<sup>te</sup> Coché d. Lafeuillade.  
Jean Dormois d. francœur.  
François Suire d. Printems.  
Louis faroux d. dubuisson.  
Jean françois filliette d. Bourguignon.  
Charles Picher d. Bellegarde.  
Jean Martin d. La Riviere.  
Jacques Espard d. St Jacques.  
Gabriel Barthelemy Ostande d. Ostande.  
Jean Coujine d. Langenois.  
François Mercier d. Luxembourg.  
Jacques Paris d. Ladouceur.  
Jean Daniel d. Loramée.  
Martin Louis Triboulé d. St Louis.  
Louis Jacques Gaze d. l'Eveillé.  
Laurent Boucher d. Chamberry.  
Nicolas LeMere d. Laviolette.  
Jacques Robin d. LaLime.  
Jean B<sup>te</sup> Lameline d. Lapensée.  
Michel Morel d. Marchaterre.  
Philipis Dape d. St Phelipes.  
Louis Curé d. Lorageux.  
Philipes Gazeton d. Lamour.  
Antoine Gaubin d. frape dabord.

off<sup>rs</sup> 2.  
Soldats 47.  

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Total 49.

SOMMAIRE.

	off <sup>rs</sup>	Soldats
1 <sup>re</sup> Compagnie . . . . .	2.	49.
2 <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	1.	59.
3. . . . .	2.	45.
4. . . . .	2.	47.
	<hr/> 7.	<hr/> 200.
	<hr/>	<hr/>



Nous Ecrivain de la Marine faisant fonction de Comm<sup>re</sup> en ce poste Certifions avoir fait la Revuë de la Troupe ci-devant a l'Isle Royal et denommée au présent Rolle, suivant les ordres de Monsieur l'Intendant. M<sup>r</sup> de St Simon off<sup>er</sup> de Canada venu aussi de France le printems d<sup>er</sup> ■ été detaché de montréal en ce Poste où il est avec cette Troupe. a Ristigouche Fonds de la Baye des Chaleurs en Canada le 17. aoust 1760.

BALAGER.

[Bazagier]

*Archives des Colonies.*—Serie D<sup>2</sup>.—Vol. 48-2—Canada et Ile Royale.—Compagnies Détachés, p. 530.

2<sup>ème</sup> Bati-  
ment  
1<sup>ère</sup> Lettre

CANADA 17 7<sup>bre</sup> 1760

M. BAZAGIER Envoye toutes les pièces à M<sup>r</sup> de Russ  
le Juin 1761

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer cy joint, l'extrait de la revue des troupes de ce poste, je n'en pu la faire plutût, les mouvemens considérables de cette partie m'en ont empêché, et j'oubliai dans le compte que je pris la liberté de rendre à votre Grandeur, par le petit Machault, de comprendre dans l'état qui précédée cette revue un détachement posté en avant.

De quelques corsaires du port qui ont eu permission d'aller croiser, la chaloupe la Fortune de 26 hommes d'équipage et 3 pierriers, sous le commendement du Sieur Gramon, sortie du 30 Juillet dernier a fait deux prises considérables de vivres, boissons et marchandises seiches les 11 et 18 aoust dans les pazages de Gaspay, elles passaient de Baston à Quebec dont 1<sup>o</sup> pour le compte du Roi d'Angleterre; elles consistent en deux batteaux de 80 à 90 Tonneaux bien grées et bons pour le long cours, 1 est neuf, 6 et 7 hommes formoient leurs équipages.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 383

Le 11 d'aout le batteau les Bonsenfans de 35 hommes et 3 pierriers, Capitaine Jung, sortit et il rentra il y a quatre jours avec une goëlette de 45 à 50 Tonneaux chargée majeure partie de diverses boissons et de quelques vivres et marchandises, elle avoit pareille destination, sortoit du même port et fut prise et 7 hommes au large de Bonaventure; il brûla aussi une goëlette qui s'étoit jettée à la côte en allant de l'Isle St Jean à Louisbourg chercher des vivres; un lieutenant second com<sup>t</sup> et 14 soldats qui furent pris et mis à terre étoient à bord: un esquif qui portoit deux familles accadiennes, du port la Joye à Louisbourg a aussi été amariné par ce batteau à la satisfaction de ces gens la

Les armateurs et capitaines de ces corsaires m'ayant requis, Monseigneur, pour observer les formes convenables pour la sureté et validité des objets, j'y ai souscrit et observé et fais les démarches qu'auroient pu faire quelques officiers de l'amirauté; j'en rends compte aussi avec tout ce qui regarde le poste à Monsieur l'Intendant, qui voudra bien me donner des ordres au sujet de ces prises.

J'ose me flatter Monseigneur, que vous voudrés bien applaudir à ce procedé de ma part.

Des particuliers de cette Rivière ont bien armé et fait sortir pour la course, mais depuis le 23 aoust qu'ils ont mis à la voile, ils n'ont pas reparu, ils ont une goëlette de 35 Tonneaux, armée de 47 hommes, 10 pierriers et 3 canons d'1<sup>1</sup>.

Je joins encore ici autant juste qu'il se peut l'état général de la quantité de monde dépendant de ce poste, et la déclaration d'un habitant qui peut Monseigneur, vous interesser.

Entre autres copies que j'ajoute tous les états des effets chargés à bord du petit Machault, dont bonne partié provient des prises de la flotte du Sieur Giraudais, ainsi que de ceux qu'il a laissé au poste de convention déterminée avec Monsieur le Commandant quelques quarts de salaisons et majeure partié de blé d'inde se sont trouvés pourris. Ces premiers effets ont été déclarés à terre par ce capitaine de navire, déclaration

que Monsieur D'angeac et moi avons visée, mais nous ignorons absolument du plus ou du moins qu'il peut avoir fait charger à son bord, sa goëlette de 35 Tonneaux étoit chargée au point que le logement même de l'équipage fut diminué, il fit débarquer apris second maitre d'autorité, et il a tiré beaucoup de billets sur ce qu'il avoit laissé au poste et pour bien d'autres objets; lui-même et partié de son monde, ont depuis leur débarquement ici jusqu'à mon arrivée au poste, fait des consommations considérables de vivres et boissons du Roy sans mesure ce que Monsieur le Commandant et moi avons en peine d'éteindre, les bâtimens n'étant pas commencés.

Suivant les ordres de Monsieur le général, Monseigneur, et ce qui a été arrangé par Monsieur D'angeac qui me fait part de ce à quoi il se détermine. Il a été délivré aux habitans du poste et de vilages en dependant  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>L</sup> de farine pour chaque personne jusqu'à la fin de février, outre un très petit parti de salaison une fois donné ce Commandant a accordé aussi en sus depuis mon arrivée à quelques uns d'entreux un peu de vivres et boissons comme il s'y est crû obligé; un bon nombre avoit eu bien des affaires à cause de l'échect causé par l'ennemi en recompense et autrement.

Je prends la liberté d'envoyer à Votre Grandeur, quelques nouvelles écrites avec peu de tranquillité et de facilité pour le papier qui je crains nous manquera de bonheur.

Depuis un mois de mauvais tems les batimens du camp, n'ont jusqu'à présent pu se parachever en entier, j'y porte tous mes soins, pour conserver nos effets et de préférence les vivres qui en aparence ne passeront pas l'été 1761. Les extra ordinaire dans un païs sauvage et nouveau comme celui-cy font toujours craindre la consommation nos magasins alant finir Monseigneur j'aurai l'honneur de vous rendre un compte plus positif des marchandises que l'on sera à même de déballer l'accadien travaille difficilement le soldat n'est du tout point à plaindre.

Les particuliers n'ont encore relevé que 2 de leurs bâtimens coulés lors du combat.

Des imprimés destinés pour Montréal, je n'ai pu en trouver ici que 20 de ceux de lettres de change premières que j'envoie à Monsieur Bigot.

Le Sieur Lartigue capitaine du M<sup>is</sup> de Malauze, commandant à présent le batteau le petit marquis de 80 tonneaux seule prise qui reste de la flotte que commandoit le S<sup>r</sup> Grivaudais il ■ 93 hommes d'équipages des navires le Machault et le Marquis de Malauze et est destiné pour porter les secours et paquets de la Cour en France incessamment, étant prêt.

Je vous supplie Monseigneur de vouloir bien m'honorer de vos bontés à l'égard des services que j'ai faits dans cette Colonie et à Louisbourg depuis 10 ans, et précédemment 6 ans à Rochefort : dans l'intermédiaire je fus écrivain sur l'escadre de Monsieur Beaussier et à Brest en 1756 [? 1750];

Monsieur Hocquart en écrit purlors à Mg<sup>r</sup> de Moras avantageusement mes services du Canada sont d'autant plus peinibles depuis mon retour

Il y a 3 ans que j'ai toujours été employé dans des postes critiques, et exactement chargé de détail dans les postes des pays d'en haut, à l'Isle aux Noix et ici d'où j'ose espérer de Votre Grandeur, de l'avancement ; J'ai eu avis en France dès le commencement de 1758. que je serois écrivain principal mais je n'en ai rien sçu depuis mon retour à la Colonie.

Dans mes instructions je suis chargé de ce qui regarde la construction des batimens de terre et le radout de ceux de mer après leur déchargement mais je n'ai disposé d'aucune manœuvre n'y voile, j'ai seulement menagé ce que j'ai pu ; la partie de l'hospital m'est aussi confié. A l'égard des effets et vivres Monsieur Dangeac doit tirer les billets que je dois voir pour le besoin des familles et sauvages, néanmoins Monseigneur, ce commandant qui avoit tout commencé à mon arrivée au poste m'a paru désirer suivre ces objets de concert avec moi. Nous avons en effet partagé le travail du tout à quoi je porte continuellement mes soins ; mais je n'ai fait que des représentations quelques fois sur la partie qui le regarde,

surtout au sujet des vivres distribués et j'ai taché avec les connoissances que j'ai pris de la situation de chaque famille que l'égalité du bien-être fut autant que je l'ai pu rencontrée : en outre les affaires avoient besoin d'être accélérées.

J'aurai l'honneur de vous rendre compte, par un autre bâtiment des dépenses et situations des équipages anciens du Machault, du Marquis de Malauze et du Bienfaisant.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect.

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BAZAGIER

à Ristigouche

fond de la Baye des Chaleurs

le 17 7<sup>bre</sup> 1760

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale,  
vol. 105<sup>bis</sup>, p. 406.

1760

ÉTAT PRÉCIS DU MONDE DE LA DÉPENDANCE DE CE  
POSTE

10 Soldats passant à Miramichy	Officiers de Troupes . . . . .	7	} hommes 206
	Soldats . . . . .	199	

A hyverner ■ poste	150 familles accadiennes . . . . .	800	Personnes 1318
	46 familles à Miramichy . . . . .	262	
	17 familles Normans et métifs à Gaspay, Pabos & <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	80	
	36 familles accadiennes de 3 vil- lages de Caraquit . . . . .	150	
	5 familles à Chipagan . . . . .	26	



# ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 387

familles sauvages du Poste . . .	250		
Familles Micmacks de Paquemouck, Miramichi, Gedaig et de [Ri]Chibouctou . . .	212	Personnes 462	
Personnes employées au service des familles et domestiques .		30	à hyverner au Poste
Equipage du Bienfaisant . . .	38		
id restant du Machault . . .	31	69	à renvoyer
Prisonniers, hommes femmes et 4 enfants . . .		à vérifier 31	
		<hr/> 2116	

A Ristigouche  
le 13 Septembre

BAZAGIER.

*Ibid.*, p. 416.

## MALADES À L'HÔPITAL.

8 Soldats  
4 Matelots du Machault  
1 Prisonnier  

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13 le 16 Septembre

## BATIMENS RESTANT AUX PARTICULIERS LE 13 SEPTEMBRE 1760

2 batteaux de 80 à 90 Tonneaux  
1 Goëlette de 50 T<sup>x</sup> prise faite  
1 Goëlette de 35 en course  
1 id de 55 que l'on vient de relever  
8 autres bâtimens petits existent encore  

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Un batteaux de 90 Tonneaux  
13 relevé aussy.

## CANONS DE

au camp . . . . .	12 . 6 . 4
en batterie les 3 derniers . . . . .	1 - 1 - 3
à la Pointe à Bourdon . . . . .	5 - 1
à la Batterie avancée . . . . .	3 - 2 - montes
Total . . . . .	<u>4 8 4</u>

*Ibid.*, p. 417.

CANADA, RISTIGOUCHE

28 Octobre 1760.

M. BAZAGIER,

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ai pris la liberté de rendre compte à votre Grandeur, de notre évacuation le 15 de ce mois que l'on mit à la voile, nous ignorions encore la capitulation de Montréal, mais deux jours après au matin nous aperçûmes à my-baye pointe de Paspediack au Nord levant au plus près quelques bâtimens qui nous obligèrent de virer de bord et d'aller chercher le Sud vers la petite baye des Piziguis afin de rengler cette partie pour sortir.

Le 18 courant des bords le vent Sud on aperçut au matin 7 batimens dont 2 frégattes qui nous donnèrent la chasse jusqu'en cette rade et à la nuit. Le lendemain le Capitaine Allen commandant la Marine et le Major Elliot, commandant la troupe anglaise venant de Quebec, détachèrent un garde de la Marine sachant un peu le français, au camp avancé annoncer cette capitulation accompagnée d'un ordre de Monsieur de Vaudreuil.

Enfin Monseigneur, les arrangemens sont pris en conséquence et nous devons faire voile de nouveau après-demain pour aunix [?]

J'ai l'honneur d'ajouter à votre Grandeur, qu'il reste en ce poste 1003 personnes françaises de tous âges dont j'ai remis

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 389

la liste à ce major qui va ordonner qu'il leur soit délivré les vivres restant en magasin : les familles des côtes éloignées sont exceptées par rapport au nombre

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BAZAGIER.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale, vol. 105<sup>bis</sup>,  
p. 418.

A BORD DU NAVIRE LA BONNE INTENTION, EN RADE  
DE CHEDEBOIS LE 4 OCTOBRE<sup>1</sup> 1760

M. BAZAGIER

MONSEIGNEUR

Je prends la liberté de rendre compte à votre Grandeur de l'arrivée de notre paquebot à bord duquel nous sommes embarqués en rivière Ristigouche, le 29 Octobre, avons mis à la voile des Islets au héron le 5 Novembre et arrivé en cette rade hier au soir Monsieur D'angeac, commandant Monseigneur, sur l'ordre de Monsieur de Vaudreuil, dont fut chargé Monsieur Outelas,<sup>2</sup> enseigne de Canada embarqué aussy, a suivy la capitulation de Montréal, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous en informer à notre départ par la Goëlette que commande le Sieur Riou canadien sorti avec nous; Monsieur Allen commandant la Marine qui nous chassa du milieu de la Baye des chaleurs à Ristigouche d'où nous avons sorti le 15 Octobre, et Monsieur Elliot, major de troupes anglaises à leur retour de Quebec ont capitulé avec Monsieur D'angeac

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous envoyer Monseigneur, l'extrait exact de la revue des 4 piquets du camp de Ristigouche,<sup>3</sup> de cet embarquement desquels un caporal et 9 soldats sont passés en Septembre avec Monsieur de Niverville enseigne à Mira-

<sup>1</sup> Sic, for décembre.    <sup>2</sup> Sic, for de Catalogne : see p. 412.    <sup>3</sup> See p. 373.

misshy, un sergent et 2 soldats ont resté à ce camp malgré les ordres, et Monsieur Duvivier, capit<sup>ne</sup> du 3<sup>ème</sup> Piquet est mort de la petite vérolle dans la traversée le 24 du mois dernier : 60 personnes de divers équipages ont aussi passé sur ce Paquebot. Le Sieur Lartigue capitaine du batteaux le petit M<sup>is</sup> de Malauze, fut détaché pour porter des paquets à votre Grandeur et avoit avec lui 73 hommes majeure partie passagers desquells je joignis avec cet Extrait, le rolle de revue et d'autres pieces.

J'aurois souhaité Monseigneur, qu'il se fit un inventaire des magasins à notre deblayement d<sup>er</sup>

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BAZAGIER.

Ecrivain de la Marine faisant cy devant fonctions de Commissaire à la Baye des Chaleurs.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale, vol. 105<sup>bis</sup>,  
p. 420.

Colonies  
1761

ETAT DE LA SITUATION DU POSTE DE RISTIGOUCHE, DEPUIS  
LE 27 JUILLET, JUSQUES AU 5 NOVEMBRE 1760.

M. BAZAGIER.

La fin  
de Juillet

#### EVÈNEMENTS

Les navires le Machault, le Marquis de Malauze et le Bienfaisant, qui avoient armés à Bordeaux, et 4 de leurs prises se trouvèrent brûlés et coulés, une 5<sup>ème</sup> avoit été reprise en faisant la découverte au bas de la Rivière, la 6<sup>ème</sup> existoit ; majeure partie des effets et munitions des uns et des autres avoient été sauvés au nouveau camp, mais il y eut du pillage

au déblayement ; les magasins n'étoient que commencés et on prenoit ouvertement ; ce qui fut arrêté peu après enformant des billets de délivraison et sans lesquels rien ne devoit être enlevé.

Il fallut fretter un bâtiment accadien pour envoyer les dé-  
pêches de Monsieur de Vaudreuil, à la Cour ; le Sieur Giraudais <sup>Com-  
mencement  
d'Aout</sup> capitaine y embarqua les meilleurs effets de ses prises de la Pelleterie, ce qu'il voulut, il remit au magasin du Roi, des effets qu'il ne crut pas intéressants, 36 hommes d'équipage et passagers y embarquèrent.

La chaloupe la Fortune armée de 29 hommes, capitaine <sup>Aout</sup> Sieur Gramond, fit deux prises de 100 Tonneaux chacune considérablement chargées de vivres et marchandises sèches dans les pazages de Gaspay, elles passaient de Boston à Quebec, une pour le comte du Roi.

Le batteau les Bons enfants fut armé de 35 hommes sous le commandement du Sieur Jung, et prit en Septembre sur les côtes de l'Isle St Jean une goëlette chargée de vivres et marchandises, un autre que transportoit un détachement de 15 hommes à Louisbourg, et un esquif où étoient deux familles accadiennes qui alloient au même port, ce détachement fut mis à terre, le bâtiment brûlé et une de ces familles passa à Ristigouche.

Les accadiens armèrent aussi une goëlette 47 hommes <sup>Com-  
mencement  
de 7bre</sup> formoient son équipage, au commencement d'Octobre ils firent à la vue de Gaspay une bonne prise, ils furent poursuivis par une frégate qui leur fit échouer leur bâtiment ils se batirent vigoureusement à terre et menèrent le tout à Chipagan où ils étoient encore à la capitulation.

La Sieur Lartigue capitaine d'un batteau des anciennes <sup>Le 14  
Septembr</sup> prises fut expédié pour le duplicata des dépêches pour la Cour ; il avoit à bord 74 hommes, majeure partie passagers françois.

Monsieur de Niverville enseigne commandant à Mira- <sup>l'amy  
7bre</sup> michy, enmena à son poste un caporal et 9 soldats du camp, ils y étoient encore lors de la capitulation.



En aout  
7bre &  
8bre

Il y a eu de petits batimens expédiés pour le cabotage particulier, et le transport de munitions du Roi, destinés pour les côtes et villages dependants de ce poste.

A la fin de  
7bre

Monsieur Dangeac, reçut ordre d'évacuer et de repasser en France, mais le tems d'armer plusieurs petits bâtimens partie délabrés n'ayant permis que de sortir le 15 Octobre et n'ayant point de biscuit fait comme on le souhaitoit en cas d'événement. Une flotte ennemie le rencontra le 19 dans la Baye des chaleurs et le chassa à coups de canon, pierriers et fusils, il falut rentrer et suivre la capitulation du Canada que cette flotte avoit, sans pouvoir faire d'inventaire des magasins.

Ces différentes positions ont déterminé à radoubier plusieurs bâtimens de mer, et construire de grands bâtimens de terre; de faire des marchés, affritemens, réglemens procès-verbaux, instructions, rolles de revues de la troupe, des matelots et habitans pendant la campagne et à l'évacuation, déclaration de capitaines anglais et françois et de pilote pris de force et informé de l'affaire du capitaine Boucher qui hyverna et fut pris à gaspay en 1759 &c<sup>a</sup>, appositions de scellés en rade et à terre, inventaires ventes de bâtimens et effets à l'égard des prises dernières et des particuliers morts ou pris, des inventaires de situation des magasins du Roi, états particuliers et général de consommation et d'effets pris pour en tenir compte, et autres pièces indispensables au service du Roi, d'lamirauté et du particulier.

Le 11  
Octobre

Le misionnaire Manach envoya de Beauséjour une lettre du 12 Septembre, par laquelle il réclame un coffre de chapelle qu'il laissa à Miramichy le 11 Juillet en en désertant avec quelques familles, il vent prouver qu'en passant à l'ennemi il n'a pas moins remply son objet; il a dit il suivi ses sauves chés l'anglois même.

Monsieur Niverville envoya des plaintes constatées de la rebellion des accadiens de sa partie, lesquels prirent d'autorité les vivres dont il étoit chargé et refusèrent aussi en maîtres de lui passer un domestique par raport a la ration.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 393

Les habitans en général ont eu  $\frac{1}{2}$  livre de farine par personne, jusques au premier de Mars 1761 avec 14<sup>L</sup> de lard et 5<sup>L</sup> de bœuf salé chacun pour tout le tems : objet que l'on pouvoit donner en sus de la farine, plusieurs d'entre eux se sont sentis du pillage et des dons précipités ; mais les plus malheureux qui l'on a reconnu ont été un peu mieux traités. 10. à 20<sup>L</sup>. de poudre par famille selon la force de chacune leur furent aussi délivrées.

Des effets qui auroient dû se donner aux habitans il ne s'en <sup>Dans le cours à l'evacuation</sup> délivra qu'une très petite partie à ceux qui étoient dans le plus pressant besoin, lesquels furent aussi reconnus par d'exactes visites. Il restoit des billets pour travaux &<sup>a</sup> sur les magasins, il n'y en eut que partie d'acquittés ces magasins étoient néanmoins bien fournis.

L'état des habitans du poste montant à 1003 personnes fut <sup>La Capitulation</sup> donné au Major Elliot commandant anglois pour la terre, après l'avoir déterminé de lasser à ces Accadiens au moins les vivres du magasin ils en eurent effectivement les clefs après d'amples provisions faites par l'ennemi qui s'empara aussi des bâtimens chargés d'effets et munitions considérables : il a pu rester 800 quarts de farine avec 9 barriques de vin et dubtomb [?] Dans le paquebot sur lequel il a passé avec la troupe 60 marins, il falut acheter du bœuf et obtenir par grâce de mauvais vin pour la table quoique le poste étoit bien garni. Une goëlette de la rade fut vendue à des marins françois par le capitaine Allain elle devoit passer à Bordeaux sous le commandement du Sieur Rioux,

Les autres Accadiens, les Normands pêcheurs, les Amalites et Micmacks domiciliés, et ceux des autres villages avoient cy devant eu leur part.

## QUANTITÉ DES PERSONNES DÉPENDANTS DU POSTE.

Il y a dans cette partie 300 hommes à même de porter les armes	A Ristigouche 160 familles Accadiennes	Personnes
	faisant . . . . .	1003
	Sur le Corsaire accadien . . . . .	47
Français	A Miramichy 35 familles faisant . . . . .	194
	A Richibouctou 11 fam . . . . .	68
	A Caraquet 36 familles . . . . .	150
	A Chipagon 5 familles . . . . .	26
	A Gaspay, Pabot & <sup>a</sup> 17 familles normandes et metifs faisant . . . . .	100
		<u>1588</u>
Sauvages	A Ristigouche les familles Micmacks for- ment . . . . .	250
	à Poquemouc, Miramichy, Esedaig et Richi- bouctou forment . . . . .	212
	Total . . . . .	<u>2050</u>

N<sup>e</sup>. Les habitans des trois postes de Miramichy, de celui de Chipagan, des 3 de Caraquet, étoient fort à plaindre en Juillet : ils se pleignoient être dans le même état depuis quelques années : ceux de Ristigouche sortoient de diverses côte sans doute aussi malheureux : ils sont tous adroits mais paresseux et indépendants s'ils ne sont gouvernés.

Les normands, de la partié de Gaspay, Pabos, Pazpediat, la grande rivière n'étoient pas mieux cet été.

Lors de la capitulation les anglois ont brûlé deux batimens à canon qui restoient, encloué, rompu des canons, et demoli les

deux premières batteries, il ■ resté 7 petits batimens pour la pêche des habitans.

à Paris le Dernier Décembre 1760.

BAZAGIER.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale, vol. 105<sup>bis</sup>,  
p. 567.

CANADA le 11 Octobre 1760

M. BOURDON.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Avant le fâcheux évènement de la prise du Canada, Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil a donné ordre à Monsieur Dangeac, commandant les troupes d'évacuer ce poste avec tous les officiers et soldats de sa garnison, ainsi que tous les matelots; dans une lettre particulière, il lui ordonna de me laisser commandant avec les Sieurs Niverville et Saint Simeon, le premier est dans un poste que Monsieur D'angeac lui avoit confié ainsi que les ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil le portoit: Je ne puis imaginer quelles peuvent être les raisons que Monsieur le Général ■ eût pour me quitter dans un poste comme celui cy, sans soutien de troupes, que des habitants qui ne peuvent prendre les armes, contre leur vainqueur à moins que la capitulation de Montréal, ne fit pas mention d'eux, auquel cas ils sont résout de garder les bois autant qu'ils pourront jusqu'à la paix.

Je me voit aujourd'hui bien embarrassé du party que je dois prendre; je pense que ma résidence n'est que pour empêcher qu'on ne fasse des incursions l'ennemie et di maintenir aussi les sauvages, pour qu'ils n'agiscè de même et les faire vivres<sup>1</sup> en paix avec les habitants qui réside avec eux, de même que pour leur faire donner leur besoin des magasins qui sont icy qui sont assés pourvû surtout en marchandises, mais pour les vivres je ne croit pas si je puis me maintenir jusque au mois

<sup>1</sup> Read: "qu'on ne fasse des incursions sur l'ennemie et d'y maintenir aussi les sauvages, pour qu'ils n'agissent de même et les faire vivre en paix," &c.

de Juin quil puisse y en avoir pour plus lontems auquel tems je prévient votre Grandeur, que je me préparoit à me faire un armement pour aller en France, crainte qu'une saison plus avancée me mette à même d'essuyer une autre misère égalle à celle que j'ai essuyé l'hiver dernier en me réduisant à manger des peaux de bœuf, peaux de castore et des chiens, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de le marquer à votre grandeur par les Sieurs Lavallière et Devannes.

Vous voyez Monseigneur, à combien d'événements je suis exposé, je n'ai jamais eu de volonté dans le service mais je ne vois pas les avantages que j'en naye retiré car depuis deux ans la commission de Capitaine devoit m'être accordé étant le plus ancien lieutenant du corps de Louisbourg y ayant trois compagnie vaccante; je plein d'autant plus mon sort que je me vois faire celui de lieutenant et que peut être en mon absence on fera le remplacement des dittes compagnies et j'auroit peut être le désagrément d'estre oublié. Je me repose sur la promesse que Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil ma fait, quil feroit valoir les services que je rendray comme il est lui même sur les lieux et qu'il rendra compte de son Gouvernement et des officiers à qui il a donné ordre de rester dans ces postes cy, ainsi que celui que Monsieur Dangeac vous rendra; tout cela me fait espérer que je ne seroit pas oublié et que votre Grandeur ne saretera pas à la seul récompense de capitaine mais aussi celle de la croix de St Louis, pour la récompense des différents services que j'ay fait tant pour les sauvages que dans les différentes escadre où je me suis embarqué et des différents combat que j'ay essuyés; En gros en voicy quelqu'un en mil sept cent quarante quatre au port roial y commandant deux cents cinquante hommes Sauvages mon retour dans le mois de Novembre, dans l'escadre le Duc D'anville, et mil sept cent quarante cinq, et mil sept cent quarante sept dans celle de Monsieur Lajonquière. Sur le Diamant avec Monsieur Aucart, pris et mené en Angleterre, en quarante huit embarqué pour aller en Canada ou jarivé en bon port deux



## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 397

mois après repartie pour aller faire faire des matereaux pour Louisbourg par ordre de Monsieur de Lagalissonnière. En mil sept cent cinquante huit au siège de Louisbourg, dou j'en suis sorté par ordre de Monsieur le Chevalier Durucourt nôtre Gouverneur sept jours avant la redition de Louisbourg pour porter des ordres à Monsieur de Boishebert, qui commendoit le camp volant après la redition de la place. J'eus ordre dudit Gouverneur de suivre le détachement, je me suis rendu dans cette partie où on me laissa commandant pendant le siège, je me suis maintenû jusqu'à l'arrivé de Monsieur Dangeac, qui en a pris le commandement par ordre de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, et aujourd'hui mes remis comme je l'ait ci devant dit à votre Grandeur.

J'auroit l'honneur de lui rendre compte de l'état du poste par l'évacuation du cinquième bâtiment dans lequel Monsieur Pommeroy lieutenant, passe avec le reste de la troupe ;

Je suis en espérant ce départ avec un profond respect

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BOURDON.<sup>1</sup>

Au camp de Ristigouche le 11 Octobre 1760.

*Ibid.*, p. 400.

### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAP<sup>T</sup> HILL TO GOV<sup>R</sup> WHITMORE, DATED FORT AMHERST, 14<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1760.

"This morning Captain Adlam came into this Harbour from Richibucto, and Informs me of the following particulars,

<sup>1</sup> Jean François Bourdon, sieur Dombourg, a native of La Rochelle, Parish of St. Barthelemy, was son of Jean François Bourdon, sieur Dombourg, a native of Quebec, and Madeleine Poyrel. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 49.) He was appointed second ensign, January 1, 1747 ; ensign with full pay, March 1, 1750. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 139.) At Port La Joye, July 6, 1752, he married Marguerite Gautier, a native of Port Royal and daughter of Joseph Nicolas Gautier. (*Ibid.*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 49.) On May 1, 1764, he received a pension of 400 livres, and on May 22, 1775, was made Chevalier de St. Louis. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 132.)

Viz<sup>t</sup> That on the 9<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> the Chief of the Tribe of the Richibucto Indians (who produced Articles of peace Signed by General Lawrence) Acquainted him, that there was on the third Instant at Mirimichi, ■ Great Force of French in Arms, and Several Armed Vessells; and that at Rastigushi in the Bay of Challeurs, there was lately Arrived from France Several Men of War, with Land Officers on Board.

That on the 10<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> the Chief of the Tribe of the Mirimichi Indians (who had likewise a Regular passport Signed by Col: Fry) Arrived at the Harbour of Richibucto on his way to Fort Cumberland, to give Col<sup>o</sup> Fry Intelligence of the following particulars, Viz<sup>t</sup>,

That on the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant, he left in the Mouth of the River Mirimichi, 6 Armed Vessells, mounting from 10 to 12 Guns Each, and 500 men in Arms, partly Canadiens, with 5 French Officers, One lately Arrived from Old France, & four from Canada; That ■ few days before he was at Rastagush, at which place was lately Arrived from France Five Men of War, two of Fifty Guns, the others something smaller, with several Officers and Soldiers on board, and that there likewise were several other Armed Vessells in that Harbour, but that he could not Understand anything of their Destination."

Indorsed: Extract of Letter from Captain Hill to Governor Whitmore, Dated Fort Amherst, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

Enclosed in the Gov<sup>rs</sup> to General Amherst of the 1<sup>st</sup> July.

Containing Intelligence of the Enemy's having two 50 Gun Ships & three Frigates in the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence.

In M. G. Amherst's of Aug<sup>t</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 6.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 399

*Extract.*

LOUISBOURG, July 1<sup>st</sup> 1760.

“On the 25<sup>th</sup> May, ■ Detachment of One hundred & Sixty Men under the command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Hill of General Warburton's Regiment, Sailed from this Port; They arrived at Fort Amherst & Relieved the Garrison the 30<sup>th</sup>. As soon as Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam & his Detachment were Embarked, he proceeded (according to his Instructions) to visit the Lurking places of the Enemy. Upon his Entrance of the Harbour of Richibucto the 11<sup>th</sup> ultimo the French Abandoned their Houses & fled to the Wood's, he found at Anchor One Brigg, & four Smaller Vessells, some miles up the River, did all he possibly could to bring them off, but they Grounded; He then sett them on fire, & burned them to the waters Edge, and Arrived here the 28<sup>th</sup> with his whole detachment, and all well.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> I received a Letter from Captain Hill, of which I here Enclose an Extract; I immediately communicated to Capt. Byron the Intelligence it contains, who the very next day sailed with the 70 Gun Ships the Scarborough & Repulse Frigates in Quest of the Enemy, and I hope soon to hear they have been so fortunate ■ meet with them.

I immediately on Receipt of Your Letter o' the 4<sup>th</sup> Ordered two Officers & Thirty men of the Company of Artillery to Embark, and they are Sailed with the Convoy.

As I have an Opportunity of taking up some Vessells here, I have begun to Embark some of the Ordnance Ships for Hallifax, that no time may be lost.

Engineers Debbiege & Spry, & Cap<sup>t</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lewis & L<sup>t</sup> Congreve of the Artillery, Embarked and Sailed with the Convoy this day.”

EDW<sup>d</sup> WHITMORE.

His Excellency

GENERAL AMHERST.

Indorsed : Extract Letter from Governor Whitmore to General Amherst, Dated Louisbourg, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1760.

Acquainting him of the Reinforcem<sup>t</sup> &<sup>ca</sup> having sailed for

Quebec. That Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam with ■ party had been in Richibucto Harbour, which the Enemy abandoned, leaving five Vessells, which he burnt, they being aground, & Enclosing Intelligence received from Cap<sup>t</sup> Hill at Fort Amherst, of the Enemy's having two 50 Gun Ships & 3 Frigates in the River St<sup>t</sup> Lawrence.

In M. G. Amherst's of Aug<sup>t</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 5.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 31.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN ON BOARD  
THE FAME MAN OF WAR, IN THE RIVER RICHTI-  
GOUCH, IN THE BAY OF CHALEUR, JULY 10.<sup>1</sup>

[This interesting letter is reprinted from the *Chronicle of the Annual Register* for the year 1760, p. 137.]

20th.

The last I wrote you was from Halifax, from whence we sailed to Louisbourg, and from thence, in company with five other small vessels, for Quebec. The evening following, viz. the 17th May, set in with three French frigates, or rather merchantmen freighted by the French king. We met them off Cape Gaspey; they took two of our small fleet; and, if the weather had not been foggy, would have taken all; the day before they took four other vessels, bound also for Quebec.

These three ships were part of a fleet of six which sailed in March from Bourdeaux, with troops and horses for the garrison at Montreal; three were taken in the channel, and the other three were to pass Quebec; but, unluckily, one of the small vessels they took had ■ French pilot on board, who in-

<sup>1</sup> Byron's letter to Lord Colville, dated on board the "FAME, Bay of Chaleurs, July 14th, 1760," will be found in vol. ii. p. 491.

formed them that lord Colville had sailed some time before ;<sup>1</sup> on which they altered their course and steered for this bay, and immediately sent an express by land to Montreal, for orders from M. Vaudreuil ; but before he returned, the *Fame* came in sight, and two or three days after four more, viz. in all, the *Fame*, of 74 guns, the honourable John Byron, Commodore ; Dorsetshire 70, Captain Campbell ; Achilles 60, honourable Samuel Barrington ; Repulse 32, Captain Allan ; and Scarborough 20, Captain Scot.

These vessels were sent from England to see Louisbourg destroyed, and should never have thought of coming this way (as it is a place little known, and never suspected for a French settlement) had not an Indian from Merimichi informed the governor of Louisbourg, that there were in this river two 50 gun ships, three frigates, and a great many armed schooners : on which he informed Commodore Byron, who thought an opportunity like that of curbing the French should not be suffered to slip : his sails were all on shore, but in the afternoon he ordered the sails to be bent, and next morning put to sea, and arrived here the 24th of June, and was surprised to

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the *Journal* of Vice-Admiral Alexander Lord Colville, 1732-1764, pp. 46 and 47 :

“When I sent C. Wallis with a small Squadron down the River, we had been alarmed with several imperfect accounts, of french Fleets being in the lower River and Gulph. Captain Byron had arrived at Louisbourg from England with 3 sail of the Line, and having had the Intelligence more perfect than what reached us, sailed with the *Fame*, Dorsetshire, Achilles, Scarborough and Repulse ; and at Ristigouche, the bottom of the Bay of Chaleurs he found a french Frigate of 30 Guns and two Storeships, and about 19 small Vessels ; all which he destroyed. Most of the small Vessels had been taken from our Traders last Year and this, and some were part of my Convoy from Halifax : by these we learned that this French Armament, could not have been above eight or ten Leagues to Leeward of us, for several Days, while we were working up thro’ the mouth of the Gulph : That being loaded with warlike Stores, they were endeavouring to get into the River before any english Ships should arrive ; but being disappointed in this hope, by the certain Intelligence that we were before them, they altered their Course and proceeded to Ristigouche, thinking it a Place of too difficult access, on account of the shoal Water, to be attacked in.”



see only the three above-mentioned vessels, their names and strength as follow: the *Machault* 32 guns, *Commodore la Giraudée*; *Bienfaisant*, 12 guns, pierced for 30, Captain Grammont; *Marquis de Malos*, 16 guns, Capt. L'Artige.

The *Fame* arrived before any of the rest of the vessels; but being a large vessel, and little water, and a very difficult channel, could not get up for a good many days, which gave the French an opportunity to land most of their goods, and mount up to the head of the river. On their first arrival here they landed their troops, and built a battery; but the *Fame* soon silenced it: however, it was a great hinderance to our boats in sounding, the French vessels being quite light, and acquainted with the channel, got faster up than our two frigates, which gave them time to erect two new batteries, on two opposite points, in a narrow place of the river, which, with the *Machault* and *Bienfaisant's* broadsides, made hot work for the two frigates and an armed schooner, as none of the line of battle ships could come higher than the first battery; at the batteries there were 250 soldiers, 700 Acadians, and 800 Indians, and on board the *Machault* between 4 and 500 men, and 140 or 150 on board the *Bienfaisant*.

The *Commodore*, finding it impossible to get up with any of the line of battle ships, sent some of his best men on board the frigates, and officers from his own and the rest of the ships, and manned a schooner of 4 six pounders with 100 men, commanded by one of his officers: the boats were manned, and, in defiance to all the fire from the batteries and ships, the vessels warped up, and the boats sounded under the very batteries. When they came up to the batteries, they soon silenced the weakest, and then brought their broadsides to bear on the other battery and ships, and a very smart fire was kept up for a long time, till at last the *Machault* struck, and all the guns of the battery (four excepted) were silenced: and a little time after the French set fire to her and the *Bienfaisant*, and dismounted the *Marquis de Malos's* guns, which I believe

never fired once; all the men got ashore. In the engagement we had 12 killed and 12 wounded. The French say, they had 30 killed and wounded; most of their officers were wounded.

It was very surprising that these vessels ever were destroyed; it seemed to me impossible; and the French were very secure, and with good reason; but success attends our arms, and, God be praised, our commanders know, and our officers will fight. It was a glorious attempt, and succeeded to admiration: but our Commodore would not depart till he had finished the business he came upon.

The English prisoners were sixty men and seven women, taken in these small vessels for Quebec. Before the English ships appeared we were well used; but on their coming in sight, we were put into the hold of a small schooner, without air, without light, strongly guarded by a party of soldiers, under the cannon of the battery; our cloaths and beds taken from us; we had not room to stretch ourselves along on a tier of casks, which remained in the hold. This misery we suffered five days, and had very little provisions, and only brackish water to drink; then we were transported into the hold of the frigate, and worse treated there: the sailors were put into irons, and the captains and merchants had an old sail to lie on, spread on a row of hogsheads. Our allowance was bread and wine, with two ounces of pork per day; but, thank God, our appetites were not very keen; and if we complained that we were stifled with stench and heat, and eat up with vermin, they silenced us with saying, "Well, you shall go on shore under a guard of Indians," after telling us the savages had sworn they would scalp us every soul: they told us also, that, if we made the least noise, they would point four cannon into the hold and sink the vessel, or burn us like a parcel of rats.

When we begged for one of our own shirts, for God's sake, they said they were too busy to mind us. We remained

seven days in this condition; and when they saw our vessels hard after them, they confined us in the hold of the Marquis de Malos; and on the second or third day of our confinement, we heard the engagement, and, by two terrible reports, we understood the vessels of the French were blown up. Immediately after, we were ordered upon deck, and desired to embark upon a raft, which would have sunk with one half of our number; but we resisted, and would not go, for fear of the Indians: they told us then the vessel was ours, and desired us to take our chance; and then a guard of soldiers forced us into the hold, and overlaid the hatches, and left us.

Some time after, growing uneasy, and almost mad with fear, expecting every moment to be blown up, we knocked down a large bulkhead, and forced up the hatches, and set ourselves at liberty; and on rummaging the hold, to look for fire laid for us, we found an old English pendant, which we hoisted, that the English might observe us; but the smoke of the other two ships burning between us, hindered them from seeing us: all the shore was lined with Indians, firing small arms upon us; but, thank God, we were out of the reach of muskets. We were in the utmost perplexity to get away, because we knew, had we remained aboard that night, we should have been boarded by the Indians, and every man scalped.

We searched the ship for arms, but found none. We got a hogshead of scalping-knives, and every man took one, and armed with sticks and cannon-shot, we determined to stand on our defence to the last, if we could not escape. We hoisted a sail upon the raft, and enlarged it, determined to pass the battery, and get to the English ships before night; but, happy for us, a young fellow who could swim very well, set off, and arrived safe at the Repulse, which was a full league distant from our prison; and immediately nine boats were manned, and bravely passed the battery, in spite of a brisk cannonading from it; the Repulse and Scarborough covered

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 405

the boats, and plied the fort so successfully, that they abandoned it, and left us masters. Capt. Wood of the marines was my deliverer on the 8th of July; he commanded one of the boats, and took me on board, and brought me safe into his ship.

*Copy.*

LOUISBOURG, 3. August 1760.

SIR,

I did myself the Honour of writing to You o' the 16<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> of which I Inclose a Copy, since then, viz o' the 17<sup>th</sup> I received Yours Dated 26<sup>th</sup> June, the Contents of which I shall pay due regard to: only as the difference of paying Artificers according to Your Regulation, and as we have been Accustomed here, is but small, And as it might much retard the Service, to make any Alteration for the little time it will Continue, I thought it best to go on as formerly, which I hope You will Approve of.

Inclosed in the Letter I had the honour of writing to You o' the 1<sup>st</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> was an Account that the Chief of the Tribe of the Richibucto Indians, who had made peace with Governor Lawrence, had given Information to Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam, that there was on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June at Miramichi, a great Force of French in Arms, and several arm'd Vessells, and that at Rastagoush in the Bay de Chaleurs there were lately arrived from France, several Men of War, with Land Officers on board, and the same Intelligence (only with some Variation) was also Confirmed to Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam, by the Chief of the Tribe of the Mirimichi Indians; At same time I Informed You that I communicated this Intelligence to the Honb<sup>le</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron, of His Majesty's Ship Fame, who next day, viz<sup>t</sup> the 18<sup>th</sup> June, sailed with the Dorsetshire, and Achilles, Men of War, & Scarborough & Repulse Frigates, in Quest of them—I have now



to Inform You, that on the 24<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron returned into this Harbour with all the Ships (except the Repulse who being much damaged was sent to Halifax to Refitt) He Informed me that high up in the Bay of Challeurs he discovered about Thirty sail of Vessells, among whom was a Frigate of Thirty Six Guns & two Large Letter of Marque Store ships; The Enemy warped them as high up as they could, and got three Batteries Erected on the Shore to defend them, Our Ships tho' often Aground, and their Men Carrying Warps out in Boats, Exposed to a hott fire from the Shore, Yet got up so as to Silence the Batteries, and the Frigates got up to, & Engaged the Ships untill they Struck, but in about an hour after, the Enemy themselves blew up the Frigate, and sett fire to the rest so that they were all burnt. They released about Sixty English Prisoners taken in several Vessells going to Quebec, and retook a small Schooner belonging to New England.

There were about three or four Hundred Regular Troops, and a Thousand Canadians who all fled into the Woods. The great Quantity of Stores destroyed with these ships, & the demolishing such a number of their Vessells, will doubtless in a great Measure disconcert any scheme the Enemy may have had of sending Supplys by the way of the Rivers, and will put an End (I hope entirely) to the Depredations they have made on our Vessells going up to Quebec.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> Ulto in the Evening His Majesty's Ship Vengeance arrived off this Harbour, having on board Dispatches for You, Brig<sup>d</sup> Murray and Gov<sup>r</sup> Lawrence, with the most pressing orders that they might be forwarded with the utmost Expedition. Those for You and Brig<sup>d</sup> Lawrence, he left with Commodore Byron, & proceeded to Quebec with the other. The Scarborough was immediately Dispatched with Yours, Who sailed next morning at day light, so that by him I had an opportunity of writing to You.

Inclosed are Monthly Returns of the State of this Garrison.



## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 407

I most heartily & Sincerely wish You health and all prosperity, and have the honour to be

Sir, &<sup>ca</sup>

EDW<sup>d</sup> WHITMORE.

His Excellency

GENERAL AMHERST.

Indorsed : Copy Letter from Gov<sup>r</sup> Whitmore

To General Amherst

Dated Louisbourg, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1760.

Giving an Account of the Success of His Majesty's Ships under Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron, against the French Fleet in the Bay of Chaleurs, &<sup>ca</sup>

In M. G. Amherst's of Octo<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 3.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 177.

*Copy.*

CAMP OF MONTREAL,

9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

SIR,

I Am to Return You my thanks for Your Favor of the 3<sup>d</sup> Ultimo (which came to my hands Yesterday) as also for the Intelligence it Contains of Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron's Success in the Bay of Chaleurs, which I doubt not will have put an Entire end, to the Depredations which the Enemy in those Quarters, had so long, and so frequently made, on our Vessells going up to Quebec.

By the Capitulation, mentioned in my other Letter of this day, not only, all the French Troops throughout Canada, are to Evacuate the same, but, in general, Every One of the Inhabitants within the whole Extent of that Country, are Subjected to the Dominion of Great Britain; Whereby all Apprehensions, on Account of those at Rastagoush, must now

shortly Subside, as I shall take the proper Measures, with Lord Colvill, for Sending the Regulars to France. And Cause the Oath of Allegiance to be tendered to the Inhabitants, after which I dare Say they will be Cautious not to Offend.

You have done very right not to Conform to the Regulations I sent You, for the Pay of Artificers, since it might have been Attended with a Retarding of the Service; and Especially as You Say, that the difference between that and Yours is but Small.

I am Obligated to You for the Information You are pleased to give me of the Dispatches that came for me by His Majesty's Ship Vengeance; they came to my hands some days since.

I am, with great Regard  
Sir, &<sup>ca</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

His Excellency  
Gov<sup>r</sup>. WHITMORE.

Indorsed: Copy Letter from General Amherst  
to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Whitmore

Dated Camp of Montreal, 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1760.

In Answer to the Gov<sup>rs</sup>. of 3<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup>.

That he did not doubt but that Captain Byron's Success had put an end to the Depredations the Enemy had so long made in the Bay of Chaleurs, And that as by the Capitulation, All Canada was Subjected to His Majesty's Dominions, all Apprehensions on Acco<sup>t</sup> of the French at Ristigoush must Subside, &<sup>ca</sup>

In M. G. Amherst's of Octo<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1760.

N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 181.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 409

SIR,

I have the honour to send you an Account of the Disposition of the King's Ships under my Command, which will shew the situation of the Army under Brigadier General Murray before Montreal Capitulated, and the method I have taken to guard the River St. Lawrence.

Captain Byron Senior Officer of the King's Ships at Louisbourg, in consequence of Intelligence he had received from Brigadier General Whitmore, of some Ships of the Enemy being at Ristigouchi in the bottom of the Bay of Chaleurs, immediately sailed with the Fame, Dorsetshire, Achilles, Scarborough and Repulse; and found the french Ships at the Place described, being the Machaux Frigate of thirty Guns, two large Store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller Vessels, most of which had been taken from our Traders last Year and this. All these, with two Batteries and two hundred Houses were destroyed, and the Settlement totally ruined. But I cannot do Justice to Captain Byron's spirited Behaviour, better than by Enclosing a Copy of his Letter to me, which being dated in the Bay of Chaleurs on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, I imagine was immediately after this Service was performed.

The Frigate and Storeships came out in the Spring, but finding our Squadron had got up the River before them, put into the Bay of Chaleurs. Captain Wallis—with the Prince of Orange, Rochester and three armed Vessels was (in pursuance of my Orders) going up the Bay of Chaleurs, but met Captain Byron coming down.

The joint Request of Generals Amherst and Murray concurring with my own Inclinations to serve Captain Deane of the Diana, has induced me to send him to wait on you with this Letter. He commanded all the Vessels Employed on the Expedition from Quebec to Montreal; and from his own Abilities has surmounted the Difficulties of an unknown, intricate and dangerous Navigation.

To sum up his Merit in one Sentence he has approved

himself a most deserving Officer, and as such I presume to recommend him to your Favour.

He is very capable of giving you an Account of whatever you desire to know, with relation to this Country.

I am with great Respect and Esteem.

Sir,

Your most Obedient and  
most humble Servant

COLVILLE.

Northumberland at Quebec

12. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> PITT Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Indorsed : Quebec Sept<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1760.

Lord Colville.

R<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> by Capt<sup>n</sup> Deane.

M. 215<sup>a</sup> (C.O. 5 : 58), p. 593.

*Copy.*

CAMP OF MONTREAL,

15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

MY LORD,

Having been Informed, that the French Troops, which Landed in the bay de Chaleurs, were still, to the number of 300, or nearly that at Rastigush; I have Applied to Mon<sup>r</sup> Vaudreüil for an Order from him to the Commanding Officer of those Troops, to Comply with the terms of Capitulation; this Order I have Obtained, and I send with the French Officer, who is to see this Order Executed on the part of M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreüil, and I order a Field Officer, two Captains, four Subalterns and 150 Men from Quebec to Embark and proceed to the Bay de Chaleurs.

I am therefore to Desire Your Lordship, that upon receipt hereof, You will be pleased to order such Vessell, or Vessells as You Judge proper to take in the above Detachment, and

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 411

to Convey them to the Bay de Chaleurs, and back again to Quebec, with all the Arms, Artillery, Ammunition &<sup>ca</sup>, they shall agreeable to the terms of the Capitulation have received from this body of French Troops, & the Inhabitants, and as many more Transports, as Your Lordship shall Judge Necessary for Embarking & Conveying to Rochelle in old France, the aforementioned Body of 300 Men; Which Transports You will please Cause to be Equipped & Victualled, in the same manner as those I requested of Your Lordship Yesterday, for the Troops that go from hence, And I doubt not, but You will think it necessary, that some Ship of Force, should Accompany these Vessells into the Bay de Chaleurs, and that You will order one Accordingly.

The Articles of Capitulation are so long, I have not at present time to have them Copied, but I shall send them to You by the next Occasion.

I am

My Lord

&<sup>ca</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

LORD COLVILLE.<sup>1</sup>

Indorsed: Copy Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst

To Lord Colvill

Dated Camp of Montreal 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

That M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil having sent an Order by a French Officer to the Commanding Officer of the Troops Landed in

<sup>1</sup> Lord Colville, on board the *Northumberland* at Quebec, writes as follows to Major-General Amherst on September 18, 1760:

"Agreeable to Your Desire, I am now preparing Vessells, to carry the Troops to the Bay of Chaleurs; and Transports to Carry the French Prisoners from thence to Rochelle.

"I am in hopes they will be ready to sail in two days, and one of the King's Ships shall attend them for that Service." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 216 (C.O. 5: 59), p. 241.)



the Bay of Chaleurs, directing him to Comply with the terms of the Capitulation, the Gen<sup>l</sup> had ordered ■ Field Officer with ■ proper Detachment to Accompany him, and therefore Desiring his Lordship to order such Vessels as he should Judge proper, to take said Detachment to the Bay of Chaleurs, and back again, with all the Arms &<sup>ca</sup> that might be found there, with as many more Transports as he might Judge necessary to Convey the French Troops, which were Supposed to be about 300 to Rochelle in old France.

In M. G. Amherst's of Octr 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 24.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 237.

CAMP OF MONTREAL

Sept. 15<sup>th</sup> 1760.

DEAR SIR,

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has appointed an Officer Named Catalogne, to go with his Orders to the Officer Commanding the French Troops who have Landed in the Bay des Chaleurs, that they should deliver Up their Arms, and Comply with the Articles of Capitulation, in which they are Included with all Canada,

You will therefore please immediately to Dispatch an Officer with Mons<sup>r</sup> de Catalogne<sup>1</sup> to Quebec, from which

To this letter General Amherst's answer is dated "Camp of Montreal, 21st Septem<sup>r</sup> 1760," in which he says : "I am this moment favored with Your Lordship's Letter of the 18th and am to Return you my thanks for the Orders you have given for the preparing the Vessells to carry the Troops to the Bay of Chaleurs, & Transports to carry the French Prisoners to Rochelle. Before this reaches Your Lordship, you will have Learnt from Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray, that My Opinion Agrees with Your own in regard to the Troops being sent to Louisbourg, if it should be found Impracticable for the Vessells to Return to Quebec this Season." (*Ibid.*, p. 244.)

<sup>1</sup> Louis François Gédéon De Catalogne, born at Louisbourg, February 14, 1734, son of Joseph De Catalogne, lieutenant of a company, and of Charlotte Renault de Dubuisson. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 B, p. 379.) He married, at Montreal, February 19, 1759, Marie Louise Guyon. (Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. iii. p. 265.) He was the grandson of the engineer Gédéon

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 413

place You will order a Field Officer, Two Captains, Four Subalterns, and One hundred & Fifty men to Embark and to proceed to the Bay des Chaleurs, where he will apply to the Officer Commanding the French Troops, and See Everything Executed according to the Articles of Capitulation ; and he is then to put on board the Vessell, in which he is to Return to Quebec, all Arms, Ammunition, Stores &<sup>ca</sup> and see the French Troops Embarked, that they may proceed to La Rochelle, in like manner as is Ordered for all the French Troops now going from Canada. The Field Officer will take an Exact List of the Names of the Officers and Men, which is to be Signed by the Several Officers, Certifying that they are not to Serve during the present War.

Enclosed is a Letter for Lord Colvill, desiring that His Lordship will immediately on the Receipt of it, Order such Vessells as he shall Judge requisite, for the Execution of the Above Service, and he will give the proper Orders to the Master, or Masters, of the Transports (as I suppose the Number of French may amount to Three Hundred men) to proceed with them to La Rochelle. If from any unforeseen Event these Troops may have been Supplied with Vessells to Carry them off, the Field Officer will in that Case, make ■ very Close Search to take any Artillery, Ammunition, &<sup>ca</sup> they may have left behind them, and will Return to Quebec.

I am, &<sup>ca</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> MURRAY

P.S.—Enclosed are the Articles of Capitulation for the Field Officer, as far as necessary for his Guidance.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 247.

Nous Ordonnons à M. de Catalogne Enseigne en pied d'Infanterie de se Rendre à Ristigouche avec L'Officier Chargé De Catalogne. He was appointed ensign with full pay, March 15, 1755. At the capitulation of Montreal he was taken prisoner. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 145.) He died at St. Domingo in 1781.

des Ordres de Son Excellence Le Général Amherst, ou etant, il remettra Nôtre Lettre pour M. Danjai, ou autre Officier Commandant en Son Absence au d. lieu, dans ce cas que les Officiers qui auront resté dans cette partie soient Inferieurs à lui, il les rassemblera avec les Soldats qu'il peut y avoir, leur fera mettre bas les Armes, et Se retirera avec Eux sur le Vaisseaux Anglois qui lui Sera destiné en france, Suivant l'Article de la Capitulation concernant les d'Troupes.

Fait à Montreal le 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1760.

VAUDREÜIL.

*Copie.*

Indorsed : Copy. Orders from M<sup>is</sup> de Vaudreüil to a French Officer, directing him to Accompany the Detachm<sup>t</sup> sent by Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst to Ristigouch to Deliver his Orders to the Officer Commanding the French Troops at that place to Comply with the terms of the Capitulation &c<sup>ca</sup>.

15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

In M. G. Amherst's of Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 38.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 284.

*Copy.*

CAMP OF MONTREAL, Sep<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1760.

MY LORD,

I Had last night the favor of receiving Your Lordships Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> Instant, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Cramahé, Enclosing an Account of the King's Ships under Your Lordship's Command.

I am much Obliged to Your Lordship for the Dispatch with which You have forwarded Major Barré, who, to Judge by the Winds, as we had them here, must have very soon got out of the River.

I am glad to find there are Vessells sufficient, with what Your Lordship can Assist us in, by putting the Prisoners on

board the Men of War (which may be sent from England to France) to take the whole Number over, and I believe I may Include those at the Bay des Chaleurs, for I don't Imagine, that all there will be at that place, of the French, or La Marine Troops, will Amount to Three Hundred Men, notwithstanding the Accounts they have given of their Numbers.

I proposed immediately after the Capitulation that the Marquis de Vaudreuil should send Jointly with me to the Bay des Chaleurs; he was Convinced this Party had got off, but on the Report I had afterwards of the Party being yet at the Bay des Chaleurs; he very readily sent an Officer, which will Settle that Affair entirely; I am not the less Obligated to Your Lordship for the Intelligence You have sent me from that part.

I Send Your Lordship Enclosed a Copy of the Capitulation.

I am, with the greatest Regard,  
My Lord, &<sup>ca</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.<sup>1</sup>

R<sup>t</sup> Honb<sup>le</sup>

LORD COLVILL

Indorsed: Copy Letter from General Amherst  
To Lord Colvill.

Dated Camp of Montreal

19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Thanking His Lordship for the Dispatch with which he had forwarded Major Barré, and Enclosing a Copy of the Capitulation.

In M. G. Amherst's of Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 25.

M. 216 (C.O. 5: 59), p. 239.

<sup>1</sup> Major-General Amherst, in a letter to the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, dated New York, January 7, 1761, says: "I have not heard anything farther of Major Elliot and the part of the detachment with him, from the bay des

*Copie.*

Etat des Officiers des Troupes Detaché de La Marine en Garnison à Ristigouche, Compris dans la Capitulation du huit Septembre dernier, faite à Montréal, Entre Messieurs Le Marquis De Vaudreüil, et Le General Amherst, qui doivent S'embarquer pour France, sur le Cartel, envoyé à ce Sujet, sur leur Parolle de ne point Servir pendant la présent Guerre, Contre Sa Majesté Britanique, et ses Alliés.—SCAVOIR.

Messieurs—D'angeac	Capitaine Commandant
Dupont Duvivier	Capitaine
D'orfontaine	Capitaine
Bourdon	Lieutenant
Du Boisberthelot	Lieutenant
Pommeroy	Lieutenant
Villedonné	Lieutenant
Saint Simeon	Enseigne en pied
Bazagier	Commissaire
Marrot	Chirurgien Major de les Troupes

Lesquels Officiers, et Troupes seront, transferé en France Guidant L'Article 3. de la Capitulation.

Chaleurs, so I am apprehensive they may have been drove to some of the West India Islands." (*Canadian Archives*: M. 217 (C.O. 5 : 60), p. 10.)

Extract from a letter of General Amherst to Pitt, dated New York, February 27, 1761 :

"The Vessel that was missing with Major Elliot and part of the Troops from the bay des Chaleurs, was Cast away on the Island of Sable, but the men all saved except two Seamen. Major Elliott and the Detachment are arrived at Halifax, they have gone through a Scene of distress as you will see by the Copy of his Letter which I enclose." (*Canadian Archives*: M. 218<sup>1</sup> (C.O. 5 : 61), p. 221.)

General Amherst writing from Staten Island, October 5, 1761, to Secretary Ch. Townshend, says :

"Since my last Letter I have received from Lieut. Colonel Elliot a List of the Officers and men taken at Ristigouche which I enclose to you." (*Canadian Archives: Military Despatches*, M. 309, p. 219.)



# ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 417

Fait au Camp de Ristigouche Le Vingt Sept Octobre Mil Sept cent Soixante.

(Signe) D'Angeac, Cōmandant

Bourdon

D'orfontaine

Duboisberthelot

Villedonné

Dupont Duvivier

St Simon

Potier Depommeroy

Bazagier

Abstract of the Non Commission'd Officers & Privates, belonging the 'forementioned Companies of the Marine, Subject to the Capitulation of Canada—Vizt.

Compagnie de D'Angeac . . . .	49
de La Valliere . . . .	47
de Dupon Du Vivier . . . .	44
de Dorfontaine . . . .	45
Total . . . .	<u>185</u>

(Signé)

D'ANGEAC, Cōmandant.

Endorsed: Copy of the Parole of the French Officers at Ristigouche, who, pursuant to the Capitulation of Canada, are not [to] serve during the present War; with an Abstract of their Numbers, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1760—deliver'd in by Lt. Col. Elliott the 29<sup>th</sup> August 1761.

*Military Despatches: M. 309, p. 221.*

*Duplicate Copy.*

HALIFAX, Jan<sup>ry</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1761.

SIR,

I Do myself the Honor to Acquaint You that Conformable to General Murray's Orders I sailed from Quebec the 23<sup>rd</sup>

Sep<sup>t</sup> with 1 Cap<sup>t</sup> 2 Lieuts, 4 Serj<sup>ts</sup> 4 Corp<sup>ls</sup>, 2 D<sup>rs</sup> 100 private for Risticoush under Convoy of the Repulse frigate, Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen: We arrived there the 20<sup>th</sup> Octo<sup>r</sup> Mons<sup>r</sup> Danjac the Commanding Officer of the French Troops took Eight & forty hours to Consider whether he should Comply with the Terms of Capitulation; On the 30<sup>th</sup> the Troops laid down their Arms; 3 Cap<sup>ts</sup>, 4 Sub<sup>s</sup>, 8 Serj<sup>ts</sup>, 178 Rank & File, and Embarked in the Flag of Truce sent for them.

We were Employed till the 5<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> in getting on board the Stores from their Magazines, in which was 327 barrels powder, Musket ball, small Shot, Blankets, Coarse Brown Cloth, Flour, Pork, Wine, Rum, & Brandy, the particular Quantity cannot ascertain, there being a great deal more than the three Schooners I had with me could receive on board, the Powder was all brought away, the Shot I threw into the River, where it was impossible for them to get them out; the rest of the Goods I desired the Cap<sup>ts</sup> of Militia to divide equally amongst the Inhabitants.

There were five pieces of bad Cannon, three of twelve & 2 of nine pounders, upon a Wretched Battery En barbett, they had two six pounders in their Camp; as Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen Assured me it was Impossible to get these Cannon on board, I broke their Carriages and Spiked the Cannon.

The Inhabitants by the List I have got amount to one Thousand and three persons, about 700 of them, as I was informed able to Carry Arms; those that had Arms, by my orders Delivered them up. Ristigoush is a scattered parcel of Loghouses, in the midst of woods, and no Clear Ground near it; the Shallowness of the Water up the River makes it very difficult for anything bigger than a Canoe to get up; near to Ristigoush there is a village, with about one Hundred Mick Mack Indians; the heads of whom I made peace with by burying the Hatchet, giving them a few Blankets, & a little Provisions.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen retook two New England Sloops & some

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 419

prisoners; these he Carried with him to Halifax, what other Vessells that were there, and might be of any Service were Burnt.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> we sailed in the Evening, unfortunate for us we lost Convoy, the night we got through the Gut of Canso, Came on a Storm which Continued three days, and obliged us to lye too 'till the 14<sup>th</sup> in the morning the weather Cleared up a little, And we Saw Land, which the Master of the Vessell took for Gaberouse bay, but was Canso; About ten O'Clock next night we struck on the North East barr of the Island of Sable, where we continued thumping four Hours. Expecting to fall to pieces, when she got off she took in so much water, that it was with the greatest Labour we got to the South shore of the Island of Sable where we run on shore in the afternoon; in sending our Boat on shore to fix a Rope, in returning, the Surf was so great that she was lost with two sailors in her. The Sea still continuing very high did not attempt going on shore, but Employed ourselves in throwing over Provisions; next morning finding the Vessells hole almost full of Water and Sand, we were obliged to venture (through a very great Surf) on shore, which was happily Effected in a few hours without the loss of a Man; by means of an Empty Cask fixed between two Ropes, and fastened on shore; in this manner we were drawn the space of four-score Yards; it was two nights before we could pick up anything to get over our heads, the provisions we had been able to save I found by Calculation to serve Us till May (the time I expected we should get off) we had five ounces Flour and one Gill of Liquor a day, four pounds of pork for six men a week; however a few days relieved us from this pinching allowance having discovered horn'd Cattle, and Horses both which we killed; we now got some Yards & Sails from the Vessell and Erected ourselves Barracks & ■ Store house, the Sedge of the Island served for Thatch; our greatest mortification was now to see Vessells very often Discover our Signals; but none had

Charity enough to Come to our Relief, till ■ small Schooner from Marble head Came the 31<sup>st</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> in search of some fishermen that were missing, she saw my Signals, and Staid off the Island a week, 'till she could send her boat on shore, which was the 7<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>—next day was Embarked a Serjeant & seventeen men, with the Master & Sailors of our Vessell, and some of another Sloop that was wrecked a few days after us, the weather Coming on bad, and the Master of the Vessell not Chusing to stay, dispatched him to this place, where he arrived the 9<sup>th</sup>, Came back by Col. Forster's Orders on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and next day we arrived here.

The Arms Accoutrements, Camp Equipage, L<sup>t</sup> Daltons Baggage, and all my own are lost, I was not able to bring away the Stores—The Vessell being too small & myself & party in no very good condition for a Voyage, thought it best to remain here 'till I have the honor to receive Your further Commands.

Serj<sup>t</sup> Major Tho<sup>s</sup> Bell Exerted himself upon this occasion very much, which he has likewise done upon many others, in Justice to him, Sir, I take the Liberty of recommending him to You. I have Just had the pleasure to hear Cap<sup>t</sup> Carter & the Vessell with the Powder is arrived safe at New York.

I hope You will not think this narrative too tedious, they are all the particulars I can Carry in my Memory, for my papers to the shirt on my back went away together.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect,

Sir, &<sup>ca</sup>

R. ELLIOT

Major to the 43<sup>d</sup> Regim<sup>ti</sup>

His Excellency

General AMHERST.

Indorsed : Copy Letter from Major Elliot of the  
43<sup>d</sup> Regt<sup>t</sup> to Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst.

Dated Halifa 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1761.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 421

Acquainting the General of his having Executed his orders at Ristigoush in Disarming the Inhabitants, and Embarking the French Troops (after having laid down their Arms &<sup>ca</sup> agreeable to the Capitulation of Canada) on board the Repulse Frigate, and that having reembarked the whole of his Command, he sailed from Ristigoush, but soon had the misfortune to lose his Convoy in a Violent Storm, and Containing a Narrative of the Wreck of the Schooner in which he was on the Isle of Sable without the loss of any of his men, & of their being brought to Halifax by a Schooner that Accidentally discovered his Signals.

In M. G. Amhersts of Feb<sup>y</sup> 27: 1761.

N<sup>o</sup> 24.

M. 218<sup>1</sup> (C.O. 5: 61), p. 316.





## XXIX

# LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

### I. MANUSCRIPTS

#### ABERCROMBY.

Despatches from General Abercromby to the Hon. William Pitt, 1758. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 50 (formerly A. & W. I. 87). Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

#### ADMIRALS' DESPATCHES.

Admirals' Despatches, vols. 481, 482. Despatches from Holmes, Durell, Saunders, and Colville, 1759-1760. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London: copies in the Canadian Archives, M. 652B.

#### AMHERST.

Despatches from General Amherst to the Right Hon. William Pitt, 1758-1760. The originals are in Series C.O. 5 of the Public Record Office, London. These letters, with their numerous enclosures, constitute the official record, from the British side, of the war in America during the period of Amherst's command. Copies are to be found in the Canadian Archives. Large portions of these despatches are published in Kimball's "Correspondence of William Pitt": see "Pitt" in the "Printed Material" section of this list.

#### ARCHIVES DES COLONIES.

Archives des Colonies, Series C<sup>11</sup>, in the Archives Nationales, Paris. The most important sub-series for the student of the war in America are the Canada, Ile Royale, Acadie, etc., Correspondance Générale. Transcripts are in the Canadian Archives.

#### ARCHIVES DE LA MARINE.

Archives de la Marine, Paris. Series B<sup>4</sup> contains the records of the campaigns in America in 1758, 1759, and 1760. Portions of these have been copied for the Canadian Archives.

#### BELL.

The Bell Papers, consisting of a "Transcript of the Journal of General James Wolfe, 1759"; "Diary of the Gaspé Expedition"; "Journal of the Quebec Expedition"; and various memoranda relating to Louisbourg

## 424 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

and Quebec. In two volumes. By Captain Thomas Bell, Secretary and Aide-de-camp to General Wolfe. Formerly in the possession of Rev. Evelyn Burnaby, Vicar of Chittoes, Chippenham, grandson of the Rev. F. Burnaby, Rector of Greenwich, and purchased from him in 1909 by Mr. Beckles Willson, formerly of Westerham, Kent. Copies are in the possession of the editor.

### BIGOT.

Conclusions apportées le 22 Août 1763. From the manuscript portion of vol. v. of "L'Affaire du Canada," in the Archives of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. This document contains the official indictment of Bigot and his associates. There is a copy in the Canadian Archives.

### BOUQUET.

Bouquet Papers: British Museum, Add. MSS. 21,631-21,660. Henri Bouquet (1719-1765) was a Swiss soldier of fortune who joined the British forces in America in 1756, and performed notable services during the Seven Years' War and the Pontiac uprising. The original collection of Bouquet's official and personal correspondence is deposited in the British Museum. Copies are in the Canadian Archives, Series A.

### BROWN.

Brown Collection of Manuscripts: British Museum, Add. MSS. 19069-19074. Copies are in the Canadian Archives, M. 651, 651A, 651B. The British Museum purchased this collection from Mr. Alexander B. Grosart on November 13, 1852.

### COLVILLE.

Journal of Vice-Admiral Alexander, 8th Lord Colville; from 1732 to 1764. In 4 volumes, containing the Journal of the *Northumberland*, and of the *Sutherland* hospital ship. Original manuscripts at one time in the care of the editor, now in the possession of Viscount Colville. The following note in the handwriting of Lord Colville is found on the last page of the first volume: "I have written these Memoirs chiefly for my own use. But it is possible, that hereafter, when I shall have taken my Departure for a better Station, they may gratify the Curiosity of some Friends, or Relations, who may be desirous to know how I steered my course, through the troubled Seas of this Life: and I have therefore taken some pains to write them plain and legible. I propose to continue writing in such another Volume as this; which I imagine will be more than sufficient, to hold all the Memorandums, and observations, which I may take in my Head to set down for the remainder of my Days.—COLVILLE."

### DRUCOUR.

Journal ou relation de l'attaque, de la défense et de la capitulation de Louisbourg. Par M. le Chevalier de Drucour. The original is in the Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>: Ile Royale, vol. 38). This is a minute diary kept by the Governor of Louisbourg;

it reproduces many of his letters, the proceedings of the military councils, &c. A copy is in the Canadian Archives, F. 171, pp. 77-210.

#### DUMAS.

Dumas Papers. A portfolio of correspondence and memoirs of the Sieur Dumas (see vol. i. p. 418, n. 2), the originals of which are in the Archives of the Historical Society of Montreal. Copies have been made for the Canadian Archives.

#### HALDIMAND.

Haldimand Papers: British Museum, Add. MSS. 21,661-21,892. Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791) was a friend of Henri Bouquet, and came to America at the same time. He served in the Seven Years' War, and afterwards held various military and civil positions in Canada and Florida. He was Governor-General of Canada during the greater part of the American Revolution. The original collection of Haldimand's official and personal correspondence is deposited in the British Museum. Copies are in the Canadian Archives, Series B.

#### LA FORCE.

Journal fait par le S<sup>r</sup> LaForce, Commandant les Bâtiments sur le lac Ontario, du Siège de Niagara. The original is in the possession of M. René de Kerallain, of Quimper, France, who has presented a copy to the editor. See vol. iii. p. 233.

#### LOGS OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

Logs of the British Fleet, 1758, 1759, 1760. The Masters' Logs of those vessels taking part in the Louisbourg and St. Lawrence expeditions. The originals are among the Admiralty Papers in the Public Record Office, London. Copies are to be found in the Canadian Archives, M. 594B-604. Portions of these Logs are published in Wood's "Logs of the Conquest of Canada." See "Wood" in the "Printed Material" section of this list.

#### LORING.

Letters of Joshua Loring and Memorial (with enclosures) of Mrs. Mary Loring: Public Record Office, London, Ad. Sec., Captains' Letters, vols. 2045-2052 and A.O. 4, bundle 47. Loring served with Amherst on Lake Champlain in 1759 and on the St. Lawrence in 1760. Copies of these papers are in the Canadian Archives.

#### LOUISBOURG.

Journal du Siège de Louisbourg, Mars-Aôut 1758, non signé: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>. Amérique du Nord: Ile Royale, vol. 10). This diary "is an excellent record of what passed each day, and of the changing conditions, moral and physical, of the besieged." A transcript is in the Canadian Archives.

#### LOUISBOURG.

Journal du Siège de Louisbourg, non signé: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>, Amérique du Nord: Ile Royale, vol. 10). A transcript is in the Canadian Archives. The French journals of the siege of Louisbourg agree very closely in all important particulars.

## MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES.

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: Correspondance Politique: Angleterre. Some documents in this collection have been copied for the Canadian Archives.

## MOREAU ST. MÉRY.

Moreau St. Méry Collection: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, F<sup>3</sup>). This mass of documents relating to the colonies was gathered together by Moreau de St. Méry (1750-1819), a French official, statesman, and historian. It was purchased by the French Government, and incorporated in the Archives des Colonies, deposited at the Archives Nationales. The Canadian Archives possess copies.

## MURRAY.

Despatches from General James Murray to the Hon. William Pitt, General Amherst, and others, 1760: Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 64. Among the enclosures is the first part of Murray's Journal. Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

## MURRAY.

Private and official correspondence of James Murray, in the possession of Mrs. Murray, Bath, England. Copies have been placed in the Canadian Archives.

## MURRAY.

Private letters relating to James Murray, in the possession of Captain the Hon. Arthur C. Murray, M.P. Copies are in the possession of the editor.

## MURRAY'S JOURNAL.

Journal from May 18 to September 17, 1760. This appears to be a continuation of the Journal kept by General Murray from September 18, 1759, to May 17, 1760, which has been published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. The manuscript volume in which this continuation is found contains also the published part of Murray's Journal, a short account of the campaign against Quebec in 1759, the Articles of Capitulation of Montreal, and an address said to have been delivered by Wolfe to his troops before the battle of the Plains. This manuscript belonged to William Paxton, Quartermaster of the Forty-Seventh regiment, who was quartered in Montreal in 1774. It is now in the possession of the editor.

## ORDRES DE L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE.

Campagnes de 1755 à 1760 au Canada—Le livre d'ordres de l'armée française: Library of the Historical Society of Montreal. This manuscript, which contains the daily Orders of the French army in America under the Baron de Dieskau, the Marquis de Montcalm, and the Chevalier de Lévis, was purchased by the late Abbé Verreau in London in 1872. The orders of the campaign of 1755 have been published in "Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal," vol. 10 (1900). Copies of the orders for the later campaigns are to be found in the Canadian Archives.



## PARKMAN.

Parkman Papers: Archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. A volume of extracts and *resumés* from this valuable collection, the papers of the historian Francis Parkman, is in the Canadian Archives.

## PICHON.

Pichon Papers: (1) Bibliothèque municipale de Vire. Manuscrits. N<sup>o</sup>. A. 201 (Ancien n<sup>o</sup>. 219). "Copie de différentes lettres de M. Thomas Pichon dit Tyreel [*sic*] Es<sup>er</sup> lesquels originaux m'ont été communiqués par M. de Cateret 1<sup>er</sup> Président des États de Jersey & par Elisabeth Poingdestre servante dudit Pichon. Manuscrit de la main de M<sup>r</sup>. Martin Goulhot, prêtre de Vire." (2) Bibliothèque de Vire (Calvados). Manuscrits. Extrait du dossier B. 14 (ancien n<sup>o</sup>. 165). "Recueil de lettres: 1<sup>o</sup>. Lettres de Thomas Pichon . . . ; 2<sup>o</sup>. Lettres diverses . . . ; 3<sup>o</sup>. Lettres & notes diverses formant un total de 77 feuillets. . . . (Provenant de Thomas Pichon.)" Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

## PUNISHMENTS.

A manuscript volume, containing records of punishments inflicted on the soldiers of a regiment which, apparently, was quartered in Quebec during the years 1778 to 1785. It was left behind in the Convent of the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec, when that building ceased to be a military hospital in 1785, and is now in the possession of the editor.

## THOMSON.

Journal of James Thomson, Sr., Quartermaster under Wolfe and overseer of Military Works in Quebec: Archives of the Literary and Historical Society, Quebec. The Journal covers the period from May 13 to September 13, 1759. A copy is in the Canadian Archives.

## TOURVILLE.

Journal de la campagne du Capricieux Commandé par Monsieur le Chevalier de Tourville, Capitaine de Vaisseau, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>. Amérique du Nord: Ile Royale, vol. 10). There is a copy in the Canadian Archives.

## WOLFE.

A Collection of Two Hundred and Thirty-two Original Letters from General James Wolfe to his parents, 1740-1759. These manuscripts are the property of the Hon. Mrs. Warde, Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent, and are at present on loan in the British Museum. Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

## WOLFE'S JOURNAL.

Journal kept by Wolfe at Quebec, found among the Bell Papers. Note in the handwriting of Captain Thomas Bell: "An exact and faithful copy of General Wolfe's Journal from the 13th May 1759 to the

16th of August 1759 [the remainder of his Journal to near the day on which he was killed (13th Sept.) was destroyed by himself before the battle]—also some loose hints and part of a Journal of his Expedition to Gaspée faithfully copied from one of his memorandum Books—I delivered on my arrival in England the originals above mentioned, by Mrs. Wolfe's desire, to a Mrs. Scott who lived with Mrs. Wolfe. Mrs. Wolfe sending me word she could not see me. Gen. Wolfe by his will left all his Books and Papers to Colonel Carleton, but when his books and many papers were sent to the Colonel, the above-mentioned originals were not sent.—THO. BELL." A copy of this Journal and a photograph of the above note were obtained by the editor from Mr. Beckles Willson in 1912.

## II. PRINTED MATERIAL<sup>1</sup>

### ALLIES.

"Une Ville d'Etats: Pézenas aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Molière à Pézenas." Par A. P. Allies. Paris: A la librairie Flammarion. 1908. See vol. iii. p. 351.

### ARMY LISTS.

"A List of the General and Field-Officers, As they Rank in the Army. Of the Officers, in the several Regiments of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, on the British and Irish Establishments: with The Dates of their Commissions, as they Rank in each Corps, and as they Rank in the Army. The Royal Regiment of Artillery, Irish Artillery, Engineers, the Marines, and Independent Companies. Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, of His Majesty's Garrisons at Home and Abroad, with their Allowances, and the Officers on Half Pay, &c. Complete to the Tenth of February. London: Printed for J. Millan, opposite the Admiralty-Office. M.DCC.LVIII."

Similar lists were published each year, but the earlier numbers are now very scarce. The collection in the Canadian Archives begins with the year 1758. It has been used extensively by the editor in the preparation of this edition of Knox's Journals.

### BIGOT.

"Report concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1904. (*Being an Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Agriculture.*) Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa Printed by S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty 1905." Appendix G.—Papers *re* Bigot, Vergor, and Villeray.

### BIGOT.

"Mémoire Pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice, Police, Finance & Marine en Canada, Accusé: Contre *Monsieur le Procureur-Général du Roi en la Commission, Accusateur*. Premier Partie, Contenant l'Histoire de l'Administration du sieur Bigot dans la Colonie, & des Réflexions générales sur cette Administration. Seconde

<sup>1</sup> The exact punctuation of the original titles has been retained.

Partie, Contenant la discussion & le détail des Chefs d'accusation. A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de P. Al. le Prieur, Imprimeur du Roi, rue Saint-Jacques. M.DCC.LXIII."

#### BOISHÉBERT.

"Mémoire pour le Sieur de Boishébert, Capitaine, Chevalier de Saint Louis, ci-devant Commandant à l'Acadie. Paris, de l'Imprimerie de Moreau, 1 rue Galande, 1760." "Le Marquis de Montcalm, qu'il rencontra sur le Pont Saint Charles, lui demanda quelles étoient les dispositions des ennemis. Il lui confirma ce que ce général avoit appris de ce débarquement, & lui dit qu'il les avoir vu des fenêtres de l'hôpital se déployer sur les hauteurs de Québec. Allez donc, lui dit cet officier général, a Beauport, pour qu'on fasse partir promptement toutes les troupes, & qu'elles se hâtent de me joindre."—*Extract from the Mémoire.*

#### BORGIA'S HOUSE.

"La maison de Borgia—Premier poste de Wolfe à la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham—Où étoit-elle située? Par P.-B. Casgrain." In "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. x., Section I, pp. 45-62.

#### BOUCHETTE.

"A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks upon Upper Canada, and on the relative connexion of both provinces with The United States of America. By Joseph Bouchette, Esq. Surveyor-General of Lower Canada and Lieutenant-Colonel C.M. Embellished by Several Views, Plans of Harbours, Battles, &c. London: Printed for the Author, and published by W. Faden, Geographer to His Majesty and the Prince Regent, Charing-Cross. 1815."

#### BOUGAINVILLE.

Correspondance de Bougainville. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 1-141. These letters form a part of an important collection of documents relating to Canada in the possession of Madame la Comtesse de Saint-Sauveur Bougainville.

#### BOUGAINVILLE.

"Les Français au Canada. La Jeunesse de Bougainville et La Guerre de Sept Ans. Paris, 1896." By René de Kerallain. The author has an intimate acquaintance with Canadian history, and is well known for his reviews of works on Canadian subjects. He is a relative of the Bougainville family, and, having made a critical study of the Bougainville papers, has produced a work of great value. He devotes considerable space to a criticism of the publications of the Abbé Casgrain.

#### BRITISH MAGAZINE.

"The British Magazine or Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies. Volume I. London. Printed for H. Payne at Dryden's Head in Paternoster Row." (1760. Also vol. II, 1761.) This periodical contains several articles relating to the war in America.

## CADET.

"Un Munitionnaire du Roi a la Nouvelle France Joseph Cadet (1756-1781) Par M. Alfred Barbier. . . . Poitiers Imprimerie Blais et Roy. . . . 1900." See vol. ii. p. 165 n.

## CADET.

"La Baronnie de la Touche-D'Avrigny et le Duché de Chatellerault, par M. Alfred Barbier." In "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Tome IX. . . . Poitiers. . . . 1887," pp. 235-382. In the "Pièces Justificatives" of this study are to be found several valuable documents relating to Cadet and Bigot. Some of these are reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 327-362.

## CALCRAFT.

Letter of Capt. James Calcraft. Quebec, Sept. 20 (1759). Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 142-146. First published in the "Scots Magazine," vol. xxi. p. 552, October 1759.

## CARD MONEY.

"The Canadian Card Money. By R. W. M'Lachlan." In the "Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal," October 1910, 3rd Series, vol. vii. No. 4.

## CARTIER.

"Jacques Cartier and his Four Voyages to Canada An Essay with Historical, Explanatory and Philological Notes By Hiram B. Stephens, B.C.L. Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., Publishers 232 St. James Street." See vol. ii. p. 328 n.

## CASGRAIN.

"Guerre du Canada. 1756-1760. Montcalm et Lévis par L'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain." Two volumes. Quebec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère, 30, Rue de la Fabrique. 1891.

## CASGRAIN.

"Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, par l'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain. . . . Québec: Léger Brousseau, Imprimeur-Libraire. 1878."

## CENSUSES.

"Censuses of Canada. 1665-1871. Statistics of Canada. Volume IV. Ottawa: Printed by I. B. Taylor, 29, 31 & 33 Rideau Street. 1876."

## CHARLEVOIX.

"Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France avec Le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par le P. De Charlevoix, de la Compagnie de Jesus. . . . A Paris, Chez Rolin Fils, Libraire, Quai des Augustins, à S. Athanase. M.DCC.XLIV. Avec approbation et privilège du Roi." Three volumes.

## CHIEN D'OR.

"The House of the Golden Dog in Quebec By Philippe-Baby Casgrain, K.C." [n.d.] See vol. iii. p. 352.



## CONNECTICUT.

"The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut . . . Transcribed and edited in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly. By Charles J. Hoadly, State Librarian. Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company." Fifteen volumes: 1850-1890. See vol. i. p. 376 n.

## CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS.

"Canadian Archives Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791 Selected and Edited with Notes by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa Printed by S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty 1907."

## CORBETT.

"England in the Seven Years' War A Study in Combined Strategy By Julian S. Corbett, LL.M. Lecturer in History to the Royal Naval War College In Two Volumes With Maps and Plans. Longmans, Green and Co. 39 Paternoster Row, London New York, Bombay, and Calcutta 1907."

## DAWSON.

"A Discourse, delivered at Quebec, in the Chappel belonging to the Convent of the Ursulins, September 27th, 1759; occasioned by the Success of our Arms in the Reduction of that Capital: at the request of Brigadier General Monckton, and by Order of Vice-Admiral Saunders, Commander in Chief. By the Reverend Eli Dawson, Chaplain of His Majesty's Ship Sterling-Castle, on Board of which the Vice-Admiral's hoisted his Flag, during the Siege. London: Printed for R. Griffiths, opposite Somerset-House in the Strand. MDCCLX." This pamphlet is very rare. A reprint from the copy in the British Museum was published in the Battlefield Series, No. 4 (1901), by the nuns of the Franciscan Convent at Quebec, 1901.

## DE RAMEZAY.

"Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay, Commandant à Québec, Au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18 Septembre 1759, D'après un manuscrit aux Archives du Bureau de la Marine, à Paris. Publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Des Presses de John Lovell, Quebec. 1861." The original manuscript is now in the Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>, Canada: Correspondance Générale, vol. 105-3), and a copy is in the Canadian Archives. This mémoire was written by De Ramezay to justify himself against charges made by the Marquis de Vaudreuil and others.

## DESANDROÜINS.

"Le Maréchal de Camp Desandroüins 1729-1792. Guerre du Canada 1756-1760 Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine 1780-1782. Par l'Abbé Gabriel. . . Verdun Imprimerie Renvé-Lallemant, Rue Saint-Paul, 15. 1887."



## DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

"Dictionary of National Biography Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. . . . New York The Macmillan Company London Smith, Elder, & Co." Sixty-three, and three supplementary volumes: 1885-1901. Constant use has been made of this valuable work.

## DIONNE.

"N. E. Dionne—La Nouvelle-France de Cartier à Champlain 1540-1603. Québec Typographie de C. Darveau 82 à 84, rue de la Montagne. 1891."

## DOUGHTY.

"The Fortress of Quebec, 1608-1903. With illustrations. By A. G. Doughty. . . . Quebec: Dussault & Proulx, 1904."

## DOUGHTY AND DIONNE.

"Quebec Under Two Flags A Brief history of the City From its foundation until the present time By A. G. Doughty and N. E. Dionne. With Illustrations. . . . Quebec The Quebec News Company. 1903."

## DOUGLAS.

"A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America. By William Douglas, M.D. Two Volumes. London, 1760." See vol. i. p. 366.

## DU CALVET.

"The Case of Peter Du Calvet, Esq. Of Montreal in the Province of Quebec. Containing, (Amongst other Things worth Notice,) An Account of the long and severe Imprisonment he suffered in the said Province by the Order of General Haldimand, the present Governour of the same, without the least Offence, or other lawful Cause, whatever. To which is prefixed, A Dedication of it in the French Language, (Mr. Du Calvet not understanding English) To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Humbly imploring the Protection and Countenance of his Majesty's Royal Justice in his Endeavours to procure some Compensation for the Injuries he has received. London, Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXXIV." See vol. i. p. 289 n.; vol. ii. p. 52 n.

## DUSSIEUX.

"Le Canada sous la Domination Française d'après les Archives de la Marine et de la Guerre Par L. Dussieux. Deuxième Édition. Paris Jacques Lecoffre, Libraire-Éditeur Rue du Vieux-Colombier, 29. 1862." The "Pièces Justificatives" include many valuable documents from the Archives in Paris.

## EMERSON.

"Diary kept at the Siege of Louisbourg March 15-August 14, 1745 By the Rev. Joseph Emerson of Pepperell, Mass. With Notes and an Introduction by Samuel A. Green Cambridge: John Wilson and Son. University Press. 1910." See vol. i. p. 173 n.

## ENTICK.

"The General History of the Late War: containing it's Rise, Progress, and Event, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. And exhibiting The State of the Belligerent Powers at the Commencement of the War; their Interests and Objects in it's Continuation; and Remarks on the Measures, which led Great Britain to Victory and Conquest. Interspersed with The Characters of the able and disinterested Statesmen, to whose Wisdom and Integrity, and of the Heroes, to whose Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that Naval and Military Success, which is not to be equalled in the Annals of this, or of any other Nation. And with Accurate Descriptions of the Seat of War, the Nature and Importance of our Conquests, and of the most remarkable Battles by Sea and Land. Illustrated with A Variety of Heads, Plans, Maps, and Charts, Designed and Engraved by the best Artists. By the Rev. John Entick, M.A., And other Gentlemen. The Second Edition, Corrected. . . . London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Poultry; And John Millan, at Charing-Cross. M.DCC.LXV." Five volumes.

## FISHERIES.

"U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries. George M. Bowers, Commissioner. Part XXVII. Report of the Commissioner for the year ending June 30, 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1902." Pp. 227-240: "An annotated List of the Fishes known to occur in the St. Lawrence River. By Baron Warren Evermann and William Converse Kendall." See vol. ii. p. 328.

## FOLIGNÉ.

"Journal des faits arrivés à L'Armée de Quebec Capital dans l'Amérique Septentrional pendant la Campagne de l'Année 1759. Par M. de Foligné. From the original in the Archives de la Marine, Paris. Printed . . . 1901, for A. G. Doughty." Also published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 163-217. M. de Foligné was a naval officer who, during the siege of Quebec, commanded one of the principal batteries of the town.

## FORTESCUE.

"A History of The British Army. By The Hon. J. W. Fortescue. . . . Macmillan and Co., Limited St. Martin's Street, London." Seven volumes have appeared, 1910-1912.

## FORT FRONTENAC.

"A Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt, Esq; from an Officer at Fort Frontenac. London: Printed for J. Fleming, opposite *Norfolk Street*, in the *Strand*. MDCCLIX."

## GAGNON.

"Chansons Populaires du Canada Recueillies et Publiées avec Annotations, Etc. Par Ernest Gagnon. . . . Québec: Robert Morgan, Éditeur. 1880." Second Edition. See vol. ii. p. 313.

## 434 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

### GANONG.

"Additions and Corrections to Monographs on the Place-nomenclature, Cartography, Historic Sites, Boundaries and Settlement-origins of the Province of New Brunswick. By W. F. Ganong, M.A., Ph.D." Published in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. xii. (1906), Section II, pp. 3-157.

### GANONG.

"The Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from Cartier to Champlain. By W. F. Ganong, A.M." Published in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," vol. vii. (1889), Section II, pp. 17-58.

### GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

"The *Gentleman's Magazine* and Historical Chronicle. Volume xxix. For the Year M.DCC.LIX. By Sylvanus Urban, *Gent.* London: Printed for D. Henry, and R. Cave, at St. John's Gate." The contemporary numbers of this magazine, and in particular those for the year 1759, contain many interesting articles relating to the war in America. A complete set of "The Gentleman's Magazine" is in the Canadian Archives.

### GESNER.

"New Brunswick; with Notes for Emigrants. . . . By Abraham Gesner, Esq. . . . London: Simmonds & Ward, 6, Barge Yard, Bucklersbury. 1847."

### GIBSON.

Letter from James Gibson to Governor Lawrence: "Bason of Quebec, 1st Aug. 1759," with a postscript dated August 10th. Published in "Selections from Public Documents in the Province of Nova Scotia," pp. 452-459, and in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 61-69. The original is in the Archives of Nova Scotia. James Gibson, a gentleman volunteer, was with the expedition against Louisbourg under Pepperell, and published an account of the siege in London in 1745. He was also with the army before Quebec in 1759.

### GORDON.

"Copy of Journal kept by — Gordon, One of the Officers engaged in the Siege of Louisbourg under Boscawen and Amherst, in 1758. Certified by his son, Major H. W. Gordon [father of the celebrated General Gordon]." Published in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vol. v. pp. 97-157.

### GRAND MAGAZINE.

"The Grand Magazine of Magazines, or Universal Register, . . . MDCCCLIX. London: Printed for T. Kinnersly, in St. Paul's Church-Yard." This volume contains an "Account of the Proceedings of the Fleet and Army before Quebec," and many other references to the campaign in America.

## GRANT.

Letter from Lieutenant James Grant to Colonel Bouquet, dated "Camp at Crown point Sept. 15th, 1759." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 138-140. The original is among the Bouquet Papers (*q.v.*).

## HAWKINS.

"Hawkins's Picture of Quebec; with Historical Recollections. Quebec: Printed for the proprietor by Neilson & Cowan. 1834."

## HENDERSON.

Letter from James Henderson to his Uncle. Quebec, October 7, 1759. Published in "Notes and Gleanings," vol. ii., April 15, 1889. Accompanying the letter was a memorandum stating that it had been copied from the original in the early part of the century by a lady then residing in Devonshire. A manuscript copy of the text as published is in the Canadian Archives.

## HENNEPIN.

"Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique, entre Le Nouveau Mexique, et La Mer Glaciale . . . Le tout dédié à Sa Majesté Britannique Guillaume III. Par le R. P. Louis Hennepin, Missionnaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. A Utrecht, Chez Guillaume Broedelet, Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVII." See vol i. p. 387.

## HENNEPIN.

"Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que L'Europe Avec les reflections des entreprises du Sieur de la Salle, sur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. . . . Avec approbation & dédié à Sa Majesté Guillaume III. Roy de la grande Bretagne par le R. P. Louis Hennepin, Missionnaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. A Utrecht: Chez Antoine Schouten, Marchand Libraire. 1698."

## HERVEY.

"Journals of the Hon. William Hervey, In North America and Europe, From 1755 to 1814; with Order Books at Montreal, 1760-1763. With Memoir and Notes. Suffolk Green Books. No. XIV. Bury St. Edmund's: Paul & Mathew, Butter Market. 1906."

## HOLMES.

Letter of Admiral Charles Holmes, dated "Lowestoft off Foulon in the River St. Laurence, above Quebec 18 Sept. 1759." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 295-299. The original is in the British Museum, Add. 32895, f. 449. This is the earliest official account of the battle of the Plains.

## INTENDANTS.

"Les Intendants de la Nouvelle France. Notes sur leurs familles avec portraits et armoiries, par M. Régis Roy." Published in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. ix. (1903), Section I., pp. 65-107.



## JEFFERYS.

"The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America. . . . Illustrated by *Maps and Plans of the principal Places*, Collected from the best Authorities, and engraved by T. Jefferys, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. . . . London, Printed for Thomas Jefferys at Charing-Cross. MDCCLX." The plans contained in this rare work are of the greatest importance. Owing to the author's position they may be regarded as official.

## JESUIT RELATIONS.

"The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791. The original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes; illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Fac-similes. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. . . . Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, Publishers." Seventy-three volumes: 1896-1901.

## JOHNSON.

"The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart., by William L. Stone. . . . Albany: J. Munsell, 78 State Street. 1865." Two volumes.

## JOHNSTONE.

"Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone: in three volumes: translated from the original French M.S. of the Chevalier. By Charles Winchester, Advocate, Aberdeen. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. . . ." 1870-1871. A translation of the first two volumes went through three editions in the early part of the nineteenth century, the last being by Longman & Co., London, in 1822. There is in the Canadian Archives a copy of the original manuscript, which was in the possession of the late Hugh Fraser Leslie, of Powis, in Aberdeenshire. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in its Second Series of Historical Documents, published three narratives attributed to the Chevalier de Johnstone, said to be copied from manuscripts in the French War Archives. Paris: The Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-1758; Dialogues of the Dead [or, A Dialogue in Hades]; and The Campaign of 1760 in Canada. The first of these is not to be found in the Leslie Manuscript, the title-page only being given. The Chevalier de Johnstone was a Scottish Jacobite who had been aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray and to Prince Charles Edward during the rising of '45. Having escaped to the Continent, he entered the French military service, and was sent to Ile Royale. In 1758, when Louisbourg was about to fall, he escaped to Canada, where he was successively aide-de-camp to Montcalm and to Lévis. The "Mémoires" give an account of the Chevalier's adventures in Scotland and on the continent of Europe, as well as in America. They were deposited in the Scots College in Paris, from which they were brought to England, and finally were acquired by John Leslie of Powis, a collateral descendant of the Chevalier.



## KALM.

"Travels into North America ; containing Its Natural History, and A circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture in general, with the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Commercial State of the Country. . . . By Peter Kalm, Professor of Oeconomy in the University of *Aobo* in Swedish *Finland*, and Member of the *Swedish* Royal Academy of Sciences. Translated into English By John Reinhold Forster, F.A.S. . . . Warrington: Printed by William Eyres." Three volumes: 1870-1871. See vol. ii. p. 43 n.

## LE CLERCQ.

"New Relation of Gaspesia With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians By Father Chrestien Le Clercq Translated and Edited, with a Reprint of the Original, by William F. Ganong, Ph.D. Professor in Smith College. Toronto The Champlain Society 1910."

## LEMOINE.

"The Scot in New France, 1535-1880." By J. M. LeMoine. Published in the "Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec," Sessions of 1880-1881.

## LEMOINE.

"Dictionnaire Français-Algonquin rédigé par Geo. Lemoine, Ptre, O.M.I. Chicoutimi G. Delisle, Imprimeur, Bureaux du journal 'Le Travailleur' 1909."

## LÉVIS.

"Le Maréchal de Lévis, Gouverneur-général de l'Artois (1765-1787). Par le Comte Gustave de Hauteclocque, Membre de l'Académie d'Arras de la Commission des Antiquités du Pas-de-Calais, &c. Arras: Imprimerie Rohard-Courtin, F. Guyot succr. M.D.CCCCI."

## LÉVIS.

"Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis." Edited by the Abbé H.-R. Casgrain ; contains the following volumes :

(1) "Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier De Lévis en Canada De 1756 à 1760. Montréal C. O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeurs 256 et 258, rue Saint-Paul. 1889."

(2) "Lettres du Chevalier de Lévis concernant la Guerre du Canada (1756-1760) Montréal: C. O. Beauchemin & Fils, Lib.-Imprimeurs 256 et 258, rue Saint-Paul. 1889."

(3) "Lettres de la Cour de Versailles au Baron de Dieskau, au Marquis de Montcalm et au Chevalier de Lévis Publiées sous la direction de l'abbé H.-R. Casgrain. . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère, 30, Rue de la Fabrique. 1890."

(4) "Lettres et Pièces Militaires Instructions, Ordres, Mémoires, Plans de Campagne et de Défense 1756-1760 . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, Rue de la Fabrique. 1891."

(5) "Lettres de M. de Bourlamaque au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1891."

(6) "Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1894."

(7) "Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses Campagnes en Canada de 1756 à 1759 . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895." Many portions of this Journal appear to have been copied by the original compiler from the manuscript of Bougainville. Others seem due to the aide-de-camp Marcel. It is often difficult to determine who is the author.

(8) "Lettres du Marquis de Vaudreuil au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(9) "Lettres de l'Intendant Bigot au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(10) "Lettres de Divers Particuliers au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(11) "Guerre du Canada. Relations et Journaux de Différentes Expéditions faites durant les années 1755-56-57-58-59-60 . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(12) "Table Analytique de la Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis . . . Québec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

#### LONDON MAGAZINE.

"The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer. . . . Printed for R. Baldwin. The Rose in Pater Noster Row." Vols. xxvii.-xxix.: 1758-1760.

#### LOUDON.

"Remarks upon a Letter published in the London Chronicle, or *Universal Evening Post*, No. 115. Containing an Enquiry into the Causes of the Failure of the late Expedition against Cape Breton. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament. London: Printed for M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLVII."

#### LOUISBOURG.

"An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg in June and July 1758. By a Spectator. London: Printed for W. Owen, near Temple-Bar. 1758." A very valuable journal of the siege.

#### MACKELLAR.

"Report on Quebec by Major Patrick Mackellar." See vol. iii. pp. 151-160. Previously published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. ii. pp. 271-280. The Report, dated July 12, 1757, is addressed to the Lords of Plantations. The Report and the Plan which accompanied it were in the

possession of Wolfe during the siege of Quebec. An original manuscript is in the possession of the editor.

#### MALARTIC.

"Journal des Campagnes au Canada de 1755 à 1760 par le Comte de Maurès de Malartic Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi Gouverneur des Îles de France et de Bourbon (1730-1800) *publié par son arrière petit-neveu* Le Comte Gabriel des Maurès de Malartic et par Paul Gaffarel . . . Paris Librairie Plon E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Éditeurs Rue Garancière, 10."

#### MANDEMENTS.

"Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Évêques de Québec Publiés par Mgr. H. Têtu et l'abbé C.-O. Gagnon. . . Québec Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Cie." Four volumes : 1887-1888.

#### MANTE.

"The History of the Late War in North America, and the Islands of the West Indies, including the Campaigns of MDCCLXIII and MDCCLXIV against His Majesty's Indian Enemies. By Thomas Mante, Assistant Engineer during the Siege of the Havanna, and Major of a Brigade in the Campaign of 1764. London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell in the Strand. MDCCLXXII."

#### MÉMOIRES SUR LE CANADA.

"Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760. En trois parties; avec Cartes et Plans Lithographiés. Publiés sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. (Ré-impression.) Québec: Imprimerie de Middleton & Dawson. 1873." The first impression was published in 1838. The manuscript, which bears the title "Mémoires du S—— de C—— contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre, et sous le Gouvernement anglois," was presented to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec by Colonel Christie.

#### MONCKTON.

"Report of the Proceedings of the Troops on the Expedition up St. John's River in the Bay of Fundy under the Command of Colonel Monckton." Published in "Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society," No. 5 (1904), pp. 165-175; also in "Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1905," vol. iii., Appendix A, Part III. pp. 236-241. The original of Monckton's Journal is in the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 5:54. A copy, from which the notes to the present work have been taken, is in the Canadian Archives.

#### MONCKTON.

Original Letters in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount Galway (Baron Monckton) of Serlby Hall, Yorkshire. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 63-72. Among these are letters from Wolfe, Amherst, Saunders, and others to Brigadier-General Monckton.

## MONCKTON.

Letter of Brigadier-General Robert Monckton to the Hon. William Pitt, River St. Laurence, Quebec, 8th October 1759. Enclosed in this letter are a Return of the Casualties during the siege of Quebec, an Account of the French Ordnance captured at Quebec (signed by Major Godwin), and a Mémoire from the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Boishébert. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 127-137. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 5:51. Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

## MONCRIEF.

"First Number of the Corps Papers, and Memoires on Military Subjects; Compiled from Contributions of the Officers of the Royal and East India Company's Engineers. Printed for circulation among Subscribers. With map and numerous illustrations. London: John Weale, High Holborn. MDCCCXLVIII." Pages 3 to 20 contain a description of the expedition. in 1759 "by an engineer upon that expedition," said in a foot-note to be Major Moncrief. The Journal of Major Moncrief is reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 33-58. The same Journal, with slight variations, was published by the late George Desbarats about thirty years ago in the "Dominion Illustrated." At that time it was claimed to be identical with the Journal of Mr. James Thompson.

## MONTCALM.

"Le Marquis de Montcalm (1712-1759) par Thomas Chapais. Québec J. P. Garneau, libraire-éditeur 47, rue Buade. 1911."

## MONTRESOR.

Journals of Col. James Montresor, 1757-1759. Journals of Capt. John Montresor, 1757-1778. Published in "Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1881. New York. Printed for the Society. MDCCCLXXXII." Captain John Montresor's Journal of the Siege of Quebec is also published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 301-334.

## MURDOCH.

"A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie. By Beamish Murdoch, Esq., Q.C. . . . Halifax, N.S.: James Barnes, Printer and Publisher." Three volumes: 1865-1867.

## MURRAY.

"Governor Murray's Journal of Quebec. From 18th September, 1759, to 25th May, 1760. Public Record Office, America and West Indies, vol. 99." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in its "Third Series of Historical Documents," 1871. A manuscript copy is in the Canadian Archives.

## MURRAY.

Ordinance establishing Military Courts. "By His Excellency Mr. James Murray, Governor of Quebec, etc." Dated October 31, 1860.



Published in "Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791," pp. 33-36.

MURRAY.

General Murray's Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada, June 5, 1762. Published in "Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791," pp. 37-61. This Report was also printed privately for A. G. Doughty in Quebec, 1902.

NEW YORK COLONIAL DOCUMENTS.

"Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; Procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent [of the State of New York]. . . . Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., LL.D. With a General Introduction by the Agent. . . . Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers." Eleven volumes: 1856-1861. Four supplementary volumes were published later. Volume X. contains translations of many important French documents. Volume XI. consists of a very useful index.

NOVA SCOTIA.

"Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, relating to the Colonization of New Scotland, and the Institution of the Order of Knight Baronets of Nova Scotia. 1621-1638. The Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh: M.DCCC.LXVII." See vol i. p. 360 n.

NOVA SCOTIA.

"A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia, and a Report of the present State of the Defences, with Observations leading to the further growth and Security of this Colony, done by Lieutenant Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer in America, upon a Tour of the Province in the Autumn of the Year 1783, and the Summer, 1784. Under the Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, given at Head Quarters at New York, the 28th Day of July 1783." Published in "Report on Canadian Archives, 1884," pp. xxvii.-lix.

NOVA SCOTIA DOCUMENTS.

"Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia. Published under a Resolution of the House of Assembly passed March 15, 1865. Edited by Thomas B. Akins, D.C.L., Commissioner of Public Records. The Translations from the French by Benj. Curren, D.C.L. Halifax, N.S., Charles Annand, Publisher. 1869."

PALAIS DE JUSTICE DE QUÉBEC.

"Rapport Général du Commissaire des Travaux Publics de la Province de Québec 1897. Imprimé par ordre de la Législature. Québec: Charles Pageau, Imprimeur de sa Majesté la Reine." 1897. "Appendice No. 4. Palais de Justice de Québec: Notes sur le Terrain et l'Edifice, par Ernest Gagnon."



## 442 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

### PALAIS EPISCOPAL DE QUÉBEC.

"Histoire du Palais Épiscopal de Québec par M<sup>gr</sup>. Henri Têtu Prélat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté, Procureur de l'Archevêché de Québec. Québec Librairie Montmorency-Laval Pruneau & Kirouac, libraires-éditeurs 46 rue de la Fabrique. 1896." See vol. ii. p 206 n.

### PARKMAN.

"Montcalm and Wolfe. France and England in North America. Part Seventh. By Francis Parkman. In three volumes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1897." This excellent work has become the standard history of the conquest of Canada. There are many editions of Parkman's writings: that used by the editor is known as the "Champlain" edition.

### PARKMAN.

"The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada. By Francis Parkman. In three volumes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1898."

### PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES.

"Pennsylvania Archives. Selected and Arranged from Original Documents in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, conformably to Acts of the General Assembly, February 15, 1851, & March 1, 1852. By Samuel Hazard. Commencing 1756. Volume III. [1756-1760]. Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Severns & Co. 1853." This volume contains many important documents relating to the campaign against Fort Duquesne and to relations with the Indians.

### PICHON.

"Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Politique Du Cap Breton, depuis Son établissement jusqu'à la reprise de cette Isle par les Anglois en 1758. A La Haye, chez Pierre Gosse, *Et se trouve* A Londres, chez Jean Nourse, MDCCLX." Attributed to Thomas Pichon.

### PICQUET.

"André Chagny. Un Défenseur de la 'Nouvelle-France.' Francois Picquet 'Le Canadien' (1708-1781). Contribution à l'Histoire du Canada pendant les vingt-cinq dernières années de la domination française. Montréal Librairie Beauchemin *Rue Saint-Jacques*, 79—Paris Plon-Nourrit et Cie *Rue Garancière*, 8—Lyon Librairie Emmanuel Vitte *Place Bellecour*, 3. 1913." See vol. iii. p. 225 n.

### PITT.

"Correspondence of William Pitt when Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball Two volumes . . . New York The Macmillan Company London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1906."

## PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

"The Plains of Abraham. Notes, Original and Selected, by Lt. Colonel Beatson, Royal Engineers. Gibraltar: Printed at the Garrison Library Press. 1858." With Plan. The first eleven pages refer to the Plains and the remainder of the book deals with the life of Montcalm. It contains also a plan of the property of Abraham Martin. The book is exceedingly rare. There is a copy in the Canadian Archives.

## PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

"Les Plaines d'Abraham Endroit Historique à Conserver. . . . Conférences par P.-B. Casgrain, Président de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, données au Collège Morrin, les 14 décembre 1899 et 8 février 1900." Published in "Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec," 1898-1900, pp. 27-109.

## POUCHOT.

"Mémorial upon the Late War in North America, between the French and English, 1755-60; followed by Observations upon the Theatre of Actual War, and by New Details concerning the Manners and Customs of the Indians; with Topographical Maps. By M. ——— Pouchot, *Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; former Captain of the Regt. of Bearn; Commandant of Forts Niagara and Lévis in Canada.* Translated and Edited by Franklin B. Hough. With additional Notes and Illustrations. . . . Printed for W. Elliot Woodward, Roxbury, Mass. 1866." Two volumes. The French edition bears the following title: "Mémoires de la dernière Guerre de l'Amérique Septentrionale, entre la France et l'Angleterre, suivis d'Observations, dont plusieurs sont relatives au théâtre actuel de la guerre, de nouveaux détails sur les mœurs les usages des Sauvages, avec des Cartes Topographiques. Par M. Pouchot, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal & Militaire de St. Louis, ancien Capitaine au Régiment de Béarn, Commandant des forts de Niagara de Lévis, en Canada. Yverdon, M.DCC.LXXXI."

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham By A. Doughty in collaboration with G. W. Parmelee. In six volumes, with Plans, Portraits and Views. Quebec Dussault & Proulx 1901." This work is referred to in the notes as "Siege of Quebec."

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"A Journal of the Siege of Quebec. To which is annexed, A Correct Plan of the Environs of Quebec, and of the Battle fought on the 13th September, 1759: Together with a particular Detail of The French Lines and Batteries, And also the Encampments, Batteries and Attacks of the British Army, And the Investiture of that City under the Command of Vice Admiral Saunders, Major General Wolfe, Brigadier General Monckton, And Brigadier General Townshend. Drawn from the Original Surveys taken by the Engineers of the Army. Engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to His Majesty." (1760.) Reprinted in "Siege of Quebec,"

#### 444 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

vol. iv. pp. 259-278. The author of the Journal is evidently Townshend, and the plan has been identified as having been made from the surveys sent by Townshend to Pitt in October 1759. The original print is very scarce; a copy is in the Canadian Archives.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"An Accurate and Authentic Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1759. By a Gentleman in an eminent Station on the Spot. London: Printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Ludgate-Street MDCCLIX." Reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 279-294. A part of this Journal appears to have been written on the morning of September 13, 1759, while the troops were in motion.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence." Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Fourth Series, 1875. The manuscript was found amongst the papers of the Allsopp family, and presented to J. M. LeMoine, President of the Society.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence: containing a true and most Particular account of the transactions of the Fleet and Army under the Command of Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe from the time of their Embarkation at Louisbourg till after the Surrender of Quebec, by the Serjeant-Major of Gen. Hopson's Grenadiers. Boston: Printed and sold by Fowle and Draper, at their Printing-Office in Marlborough Street. 1759." Reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 1-11. This Journal seems in many respects to be similar to that published by the New York "Mercury," December 31, 1759. There are, however, many additional facts of importance which are not included in the "Mercury," for example, page 9: "The same day we went to get our plunder, which we discovered on our March round the Island, consisting of Gowns, Shirts, petticoats, Stockings, Coats and Waistcoats, Breeches, Shoes, and many other articles too tedious to mention, and some Cash; which, if the Things had been sold to the value, would [have] fetch'd upwards of 500*l.* Ster." The Journal runs from June 1 to September 19, 1759. There is a copy of the pamphlet in the Library of Congress at Washington, from which a transcript was made for this work under the direction of the Librarian. The narrative as published in the New York "Mercury" of December 31, 1759, was republished under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Second Series, 1868.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Journal of the Particular Transactions of the Siege of Quebec, by an Officer of Fraser's Highlanders." This journal was contributed many years ago by Mr. Noble to "Notes and Queries" from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. Galloway, of Inverness. It was republished in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 167-189.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Extract from a Manuscript Journal, relating to the Operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, Then Lieutenant of the 78th (Fraser's Highlanders,) and serving in that Campaign." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Second Series, 1868.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec, Capital of All Canada, and Of the Retreat of Monsieur de Bourlemaque, From Carillon to the Isle aux Noix In Lake Champlain, From the Journal of a French Officer On Board the Chezine Frigate, Taken by his Majesty's Ship Rippon. Compared with the Accounts transmitted Home by Major General Wolfe, and Vice-Admiral Saunders; With Occasional Remarks. By Richard Gardner, Esq; Captain of Marines in the Rippon. . . . London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pallmall. MDCCLXI." Because of the expert opinions and observations from both French and English standpoints which this work contains, it is one of the most valuable contemporary records of the siege of Quebec. It fixes the position of the British Army after the ascent of the Cliff, the route taken to the battlefield along the Ste. Foye road, and designates the houses on the left occupied by the British Light Infantry, before the arrival of the French on the Heights. A translation of a portion of this Journal is incorporated into the work of Captain Knox. The original pamphlet is very scarce; there is a copy in the Public Archives of Canada. It has been reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 231-258.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Siège de Quebec en 1759. Copie d'après un manuscrit apporté de Londres, par l'Honorable D. B. Viger, lors de son retour en Canada, *En Septembre* 1834—*Mai* 1835. Copie d'un manuscrit déposé a la Bibliothèque de Hartwell en Angleterre. Quebec: Des presses de Frechette & Cie, No. 8, Rue Lamontagne. 1836." The original bears the following note: "Presented to the Hartwell Library by W. H. Smith, R.N. This MS. was given to Captain Smith by Captain (now Commodore) Schomberg, the Son of Sir Alex. Schomberg, who wrote the notes in the margin." The Journal covers the period from the 1st May to the 10th September, and contains very interesting details of the early days of the siege. Pages 38 to 41 contain a translation of the Memorial sent by Lieut. Jean Denis de Vitre to the Right Honourable William Pitt regarding the services of his father, a pilot of the English Fleet in the operations against Quebec. This manuscript was part of the library of John Lee, in Hartwell House, London. His manuscripts were sold in 1894, and the fate of this volume is unknown.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Journal Abrégé de la Campagne de 1759 en Canada, par M. M. . . . Ayde de Camp de M. le Mis de Montcalm." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 283-301. This Journal appears to be that of the aide-de-camp Marcel; the original is in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville.



## 446 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Relation du Siège de Québec." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 303-326. The original is in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville. It contains many valuable notes. An incomplete copy of this document was published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in its "Evènements de la Guerre en Canada" (1861), pp. 1-15, from an original in the Archives du Département de la Guerre, Paris. A translation of the same copy is in "Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," vol. x. pp. 993-1001.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Relation de ce qui s'est passé au Siège de Québec, et de la prise du Canada; par une Religieuse de l'Hopital Général de Québec: adressée à une Communauté de son Ordre en France. Imprimé au Bureau du Mercury rue Buade [Quebec] 1855." The reverend sister who is the authoress of this account of the battle of the Plains, states distinctly, on page 9, that the sisters could see the engagement from the windows of the hospital.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Mémoire sur la Campagne de 1759 depuis le mois de Mai jusqu'en Septembre. Par M. Joannès, Major de Québec." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 219-229. The original is in the Archives de la Guerre, in Paris.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Extrait d'un Journal tenue à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm, Lieutenant Général." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in "Evènements de la Guerre en Canada durant les années 1759 et 1760" (pp. 29-78), which, bound up with the "Memoire du Sieur de Ramezay," forms the First Series of Historical Documents, published by the Society in 1861.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Siège de Québec en 1759. (Journal Précis de ce qui s'est passé de plus intéressant en Canada, depuis la nouvelle de la flotte de M. Canon, tenu par M. Jean Claude Panet, ancien Notaire de Québec.)" Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Fourth Series, 1875.

### RAYMOND.

"Glimpses of the Past. History of the River St. John A.D. 1604-1784. By Rev. W. O. Raymond, LL.D. St. John, N.B. 1905."

### RÉCHER.

Journaux de M. Jean Félix Récher, Curé de Québec. Published by Mgr. H. Têtu in the "Bulletin des Recherches Historiques," vol. ix., April-December 1903. These Journals cover the period from June 5, 1757, to September 8, 1760. The curé was robbed and wounded by a



British soldier on the night of November 7, 1759. He was then removed to the Convent of the Ursulines, and came into contact with many of the British officers during the winter of 1759-60.

#### ROGERS.

"Journals of Major Robert Rogers: containing An Account of the several Excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the Continent of North America, during the late War. From which may be collected The most material Circumstances of every Campaign upon that Continent, from the Commencement to the Conclusion of the War. London: Printed for the Author, And sold by J. Millan, Bookseller, near Whitehall. MDCCLXV." A new edition, edited by Franklin B. Hough, with many documents and notes, was published at Albany in 1883.

#### ROY.

"La Famille Juchereau Duchesnay par Pierre-Georges Roy. . . . Lévis. 1903." See vol. ii. p. 63 n.

#### ROY.

"Les Noms Géographiques de la Province de Québec par Pierre-Georges Roy. Lévis. 1906."

#### ROYAL MAGAZINE.

"The Royal Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Companion. . . . London: Printed, pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Licence, for J. Coote, at the King's Arms in Pater Noster Row." Vols. I. and II.: 1759-1760.

#### SAMOS.

"L'Habitation de Samos. Par M. P.-B. Casgrain." In "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. xii. (1906-1907), Section I., pp. 3-35.

#### SAUNDERS.

Letters of Admiral Charles Saunders. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 110-122. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London, Admirals' Despatches, N.A., vol. iii.

#### SEVENTEENTH LANCERS.

"History of the Seventeenth Lancers. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Macmillan and Co., Limited St. Martin's Street, London." See vol. i. p. 223 n.

#### SOCIETY FOR BRITISH TROOPS.

"An Account of the Society For the Encouragement of the British Troops In Germany and North America. With the Motives to the making a present to those troops, also to the widows and orphans of such of them as have died in defence of their country, particularly at the battles of Thonhausen Quebec &c. *With an Alphabetical List of the Subscribers to this Benevolent Design, and a State of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society.* London. M.DCC.LX."

## 448 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

### S.P.G.

"Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1892 (With much supplementary information) Fourth Edition (Containing many additions) London Published at the Society's Office 19 Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W. 1894."

### STOBO.

"Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo of the Virginia Regiment, with a plan of Fort Duquesne in 1764, made by the author. Pittsburgh, 1854." A very curious but not strictly accurate journal.

### SUSANE.

"Histoire de l'ancienne Infanterie Française par Louis Susane Chef d'escadron d'artillerie. . . . Paris, Librairie Militaire, Maritime et Polytechnique de J. Corréard, Libraire-Éditeur et Libraire-Commissionnaire, Rue Christine, 1." Eight Volumes: 1848-1853.

### TANGUAY.

"Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours par Mgr Cyprien Tanguay. . . . Montréal, (Canada) Eusèbe Senécal & Fils, Imprimeurs-Éditeurs." Seven volumes: 1871-1890.

### TOWNSHEND.

Letters and Papers relating to the Siege of Quebec in the possession of the Marquess Townshend. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 191-281. Among these is a Journal of the Voyage to America and Campaign against Quebec, 1759, from a note-book or rough diary apparently in Townshend's own handwriting.

### TOWNSHEND.

"Historical Manuscripts Commission. Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, By Eyre and Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. . . . 1887." This Report contains a catalogue, not complete, of the papers relating to the siege of Quebec.

### TOWNSHEND.

Letter of Brigadier-General George Townshend to the Hon. William Pitt, dated "Camp before Quebeck Sepr ye 20th 1759." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 216-219. This is the official account of the battle of the Plains. It has been published many times; in Jefferys, Knox, and others, alterations have been made in the orthography and in the construction of some of the sentences. The original is in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W.I., vol. 88, from which the exact text was printed in "Siege of Quebec."

## TOWNSHEND.

"The Military Life of Field-Marshal George First Marquess Townshend 1724-1807 who took part in the Battles of Dettingen 1743, Fontenoy 1745, Culloden 1746 Laffeldt 1747, & in the Capture of Quebec 1759 from Family Documents not hitherto published by Lt.-Colonel C. V. F. Townshend, C.B., D.S.O. Royal Fusiliers With Plans and Illustrations. London John Murray, Albemarle Street 1901."

## URSULINES.

"Glimpses of the Monastery. Scenes from the History of the Ursulines of Quebec during two hundred years, 1639-1839; by ■ Member of the Community. Second Edition: Revised, Augmented and Completed by Reminiscences of the last fifty years; 1839-1889. A. M. D. G. Quebec: Printed by L. & J. Demers & Frère, 30, De la Fabrique street, 1897."

## URSULINES.

"Les Ursulines de Québec, depuis Leur Établissement Jusqu'à Nos Jours. A. M. D. G. . . . Québec: Des Presses de C. Darveau, 8, rue Lamontagne, Basse-Ville." Four volumes: 1863-1866.

## VAUDREUIL.

Letters of Vaudreuil, Lévis and Dumas in 1760. Copied from the originals in the possession of M. de la Rogerie; published in "Report concerning Canadian Archives for 1905," vol. i. part iv. The copies from which these letters were published are in the Canadian Archives.

## WINSLOW.

"Journal of Colonel John Winslow, of the Provincial Troops, while engaged in removing the Acadian French Inhabitants from Grand Pre, and the neighbouring settlements, in the autumn of the year 1755." Published in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vol. iii. pp. 71-196. The original is in the library of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

## WITHERSPOON.

Journal of John Witherspoon. Published in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 31-62. "John Witherspoon, one of the early settlers in Annapolis, was taken by the Indians, in 1757, while cutting wood on the Mountain, near the Fort at Annapolis, sold to the French, and carried to Quebec, where he was kept a prisoner, as told in his journal, until the capture of that city by Wolfe, in 1759." The Journal, when copied, was in very bad condition.

## WOLFE.

Letter of General Wolfe to the Brigadiers "Head Quarters, Montmorency Augst 1759," reply of the Brigadiers General to General Wolfe, undated, and "Plan of operations in consequence of the above answer." These have been published several times: see "Life of Townshend," pp. 203-208; "Siege of Quebec," vol. ii. pp. 237-243. The originals are in the British Museum, Add. 32,895.

## 450 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

WOLFE.

Letter of James Wolfe to Vice-Admiral Saunders, August 30, 1759. Published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," June 1801. A preliminary note, signed P., addressed to Mr. Urban, refers to this letter: "It is part of a collection now in my hands by the same general officer during that arduous expedition; . . . is wholly in the General's own hand-writing, and may be acceptable to some of your military readers."

WOLFE.

Letter of General Wolfe to Mr. Secretary Pitt, Headquarters at Montmorenci, September 2nd, 1759. The original is in the British Museum, Add. 32,875 f. H. 121 to 124. The letter has been published many times, in works on Wolfe and on the siege of Quebec.

WOLFE.

Letter of Wolfe to Colonel Burton, "Sutherland above Carouge, Monday, September 11 [*sic*], 1759." Published in the European Magazine, vol. xiii., February 1788. Outlines the plan of attack which was executed on September 13.

WOLFE.

"General Orders in Wolfe's Army during the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Fourth Series, 1875. This edition was from a copy said to have been originally the property of the Hon. George Allsopp, private secretary to Guy Carleton. There is a manuscript copy in the Canadian Archives.

WOLFE.

"An Address before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, Tuesday, September 13th, 1859. The Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Major-General James Wolfe, with passages omitted in the delivery, and illustrative Notes and Documents. By Lorenzo Sabine. Boston: Published by A. Williams & Co., for the Society. 1859."

WOLFE.

"The Life of Major-General James Wolfe founded on Original Documents and Illustrated by his Correspondence, including numerous unpublished letters contributed from the family papers of noblemen and gentlemen, descendants of his companions. By Robert Wright. . . . London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1864."

WOLFE.

"The Life and Letters of James Wolfe by Beckles Willson. . . . With many Illustrations and Plans. London William Heinemann 1909."

WOOD.

"The Fight for Canada A Naval and Military Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War By William Wood . . . Westminster Archibald Constable & Co Ltd, ■ Whitehall Gardens. 1904".



## WOOD.

"The Logs of the Conquest of Canada Edited, with an introduction, by Lt.-Colonel William Wood, author of 'The Fight for Canada.' Toronto The Champlain Society 1909." This work contains extracts from the log books of several vessels which took part in the operations in the St. Lawrence. See "Logs of the British Fleet" in the "Manuscripts" section of this list.

## WOODHULL.

"A Journal kept by General Nathaniel Woodhull, When Colonel of the 3d Regiment New York Provincials, in the Expedition to Montreal, in 1760." Published in "The Historical Magazine" (New York), vol. v. No. 9 (September, 1861).

## WYNNE.

"A General History of the British Empire in America: Containing, An Historical, Political, and Commercial View of the English Settlements; including all the Countries in North-America, and the West-Indies, ceded by the Peace of Paris. In two volumes. By Mr. Wynne. . . . London, Printed for W. Richardson and L. Urquhart, under the Royal-Exchange. MDCCLXX."

## III. MAPS

## I. CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE

A SERIES of four maps which, with the notes, form a very complete census of the parishes on the St. Lawrence. These four plans, measuring over 42 feet in length, were surveyed under the direction of General Murray by Captain Holland and others, and they are frequently referred to as either the Murray Map or the Holland Map. They are all original coloured MS., bearing the Board of Ordnance Stamp:

a. "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN POINT DU LAC AND REPENTIGNY ON THE NORTH SHORE, AND NICOLETTE AND VARRENES ON THE SOUTH; containing the Lake St. Pierre and all the Islands lying immediately above it in the River St. Lawrence, also all the Islands formed by the Rivers Nicolette, St. Francis, Iamaska, Masquinonge, &c., which empty themselves into the Lake . . . containing also the River Sorel from where it falls into the St. Lawrence to the Isle des Noix on Lake Champlain where it takes its rise, and the River Assumption as far as the last Settlements . . . with all the Villages, Fortified Posts, Habitations, and cultivated Country throughout the whole Extent. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the Direction of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governor of Quebec. . . . The Tract of Country contained in this Plan



was Surveyed by the Following Officers, viz. . . . All the South Shore from Veraine to Nicolet, and the River Sorel to St. Ours, also the Islands Dupas, St. Ignace, Madame de Grace, au Pierre du Moine, and the Isle au Basque, by Capt. Holland of the Royal American Regiment. . . . The Islands of Bouchard and Contrecoeur by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. . . . From Repentigny to Bertier by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Montresor, Engineer. . . . From Bertier to Point du Lac and the Rivers Assomption and Bertier and the Rest of the Islands at the entrance of the Lake, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Fusier, of the Royal American Rgt., as was also the remainder of the River Sorel as far as Isle aux Noix." 136 × 90.

*b.* "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN THE COTEAU DES CEDRES, THE UPPERMOST SETTLEMENTS OF CANADA AND THE ISLAND OF ST. THERESE; containing the Island of Montreal, Isle Iesus, Isle Bisare, Isle Perault, &c., the Lakes of St. Louis, les deux Montagnes, &c., formed by the River St. Lawrence; the City of Montreal, all the Villages, fortified posts, habitations, and cultivated Country throughout the whole Extent. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the directions of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governour of Quebec, &c. The Tract of Country contained in this Plan was Surveyed by the following Officers, viz<sup>t</sup>. From Longueuil to Varrenes on the South Shore, and from the City of Montreal to Long Point on the Island of Montreal by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Holland, of the Royal American Regiment. From la Chine to the City of Montreal, and from Long Point to the lower end of the Island, also from Cocnawaga Castle on the South Shore to the Island Hurron, with the Island of St. Paul, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Montresor, Engineer. . . . The Islands of Boucherville, St. Heleine, Therese, &c., near the South Shore, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The remaining part of the Island of Montreal, the Island of Iesue, Isle Bisare, Isle Perault, &c., with all the Tract of Country on both Shores, not already mentioned, as far as the Coteau des Cedres, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Fusier of the Royal American Regiment."

A scale of 5 miles 2000 yards to an inch. 106 × 65.

*c.* "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN CAPE TORMENT AND DESCHAMBEAUX ON THE NORTH SHORE, POINT DE LA CAILLE AND LOTBINIERE ON THE SOUTH, in which the City of Quebec and all the Villages, habitations, and cultivated Country in that extent are accurately laid down, with all the different places of Landing and Embarkations, the Encampments, Entrenchments, lines of Battle, and principal movements of the Brittish and French Armies while this Country was a Seat of War. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the direction of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governour of Quebec, &c. The tract of Country contained in this Plan was surveyed by the following Officers, viz<sup>t</sup>. . . . From St. Augustin to the River Montmorency on the North Shore, and from St. Nicholas to Pointe à la Ecaille on the South, with all the back Settlements, also the Parishes on the South River by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Holland of the Royal American Regiment. . . . The Island of Orleans, surveyed by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Lt. Spry, Engineer. . . . From Dechambeaux to St.

Augustine on the North and Lotbinière to St. Antoine on the South Shore by Lieut. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. From St. Antoine to St. Nicholas on the South, from Montmorency to Cape Tourment on the North Shore by Ens. Pittman of the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment."

Scale, 8 statute miles, 2000 feet to an inch. 170 × 61.

d. "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE WHICH LIES BETWEEN DECHAMBEAUX AND POINTE DU LAC ON THE NORTH SHORE, LOTBINIERE AND ST. THERESE ON THE SOUTH, in which the Town of Trois Rivières and all the Villages, habitations, and cultivated country in that extent are accurately laid down. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the direction of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governour of Quebec. With notes giving details of the parishes. The tract of Country contained in this Plan was surveyed by the following Officers, viz.: From Point du Lac to Cape Magdelaine on both Shores by Capt. Holland of the Royal American Regiment. . . . From Cape Magdelaine to Batiscant River on both Shores by Lieut. Fuser of the Royal Canadian Regt. From Batiscant River to Dechambeaux on both shores, by Lieut. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regt."

Inset—"Continuation of the Chaudière River, by Lieut. Haldimand of the Royal American Regt."

Scale of 8 statute miles, 2000 feet to an inch. 98 × 60.

Original in Map Division, Canadian Archives.

The legends entered on these maps are printed in "Catalogue of Maps, Plans and Charts in the Map Room of the Dominion Archives Classified and Indexed by H. R. Holmden Ottawa Government Printing Bureau 1912," pp. 597-625.

## 2. BATTLE OF THE PLAINS

"PLAN OF THE TOWN OF QUEBEC, THE CAPITAL OF CANADA, IN NORTH AMERICA, WITH THE BASON AND A PART OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, shewing the principal Encampments and Works of the British Army Commanded by Major General Wolfe, and those of the French Army Commanded by Lieutenant General the Marquis of Montcalm, during the Siege of that Place in 1759. N.B.—The British Works are coloured yellow and their Encampments red, with the Facings of the different Corps. The French Works and Encampments are coloured blue.

"With copious References to: Encampment upon the Point of Orleans; Encampment upon Point Levi; Batteries and Works at Point des Peres; Encampment near the Falls of Montmorency; Encampment and Works of the French along the Coast of Beauport; Descent of British Troops upon Beauport; Battle of 13<sup>th</sup> Sept. upon the Hauteur D'Abraham; British Encampment and Works upon the Hauteur D'Abraham after the Victory. N.B.—The different parts were surveyed as follows, viz.: The east side of the falls of Montmorency, the Point of Orleans, and the South side of the River St. Lawrence, by Capt. Debbieg, Engr. in Ordinary. The coast of Beauport from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency, by Capt. Holland of the Royal Americans, assistant

## 454 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Engineer; The ground between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Charles, by Lieut. Des-Barres of the Royal Americans, Asst. Engr.; Town of Quebec (with references) from a French Plan, Pat Mackellar, Major and Chief Engineer."

Scale of 800 feet to an inch. 76 × 25.

Coloured MS. Original in Map Division, Canadian Archives.

### 3. BATTLE OF STE. FOY

"PLAN OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT THE 28TH OF APRIL, 1760, UPON THE HEIGHT OF ABRAHAM, near Quebec, between the British Troops Garrisoned in that place and the French Army that came to besiege it. The whole effectives of the Garrison amounted to about 3000 men only. They were commanded by the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Brig<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Murray, Governor. The French Army was Commanded by the Chevalier de Levi, and amounted to upwards of 12,000 men, of which there were Ten Battalions of Regulars, the rest were Canadians and Indians. The British came out in two columns, one by St. John's gate, the other by St. Lewis's gate; the French came along the road from St. Fois, and would have been attacked before they could form, if the difficulties of the snow and ground had not retarded the advancing of our cannon, which deprived us of a great advantage." This map has copious References to the first forming of the British Troops, their position during the action, the positions of the French Troops, with their Body of Reserve. References to the Town and Works of the Besiegers. Amongst the references is the following concise account of the Battle: "The action, which lasted full three hours, was chiefly upon the flanks; there the enemy made all their efforts without making scarce any attempt upon the Center, tho their numbers were sufficient to make a push there likewise: But even upon the flanks we for some time gained considerable advantages. Upon the right our Infantry beat back their Grenadiers from the house and windmill, but they unluckily pursued too far to be sustained, and suffered accordingly; they were beat back in their turn with such a loss as to appear no more in action; upon our left we gained a good deal of ground; the Volunteers and Grenadiers of the 28th drove the enemy out of the two redoubts Y and Z; they kept possession of them for some time, but being at length surrounded, they were obliged to force their way back. The enemy had now overpowered our flanks with such superior numbers as left us no more hopes of success; a retreat began of its own accord, in which it must be observed that the Redoubt W was of great service, and kept the Enemy at bay for about ten minutes, which saved our rear and many of our wounded from being cut off from the town; this was one of the works designed to fortify the Heights; it was raised only a few Fascings high on account of the frosts, but there being two pickets left there during the action it deceived the enemy as a compleat work; we brought off only two pieces of artillery, it was impracticable to bring off the rest on account of the snow. X Y Z are Redoubts raised by us at the Siege, 1759, but were not thought of consequence enough to be



demolished when the other works were. N.B.—The dead, all the wounded men and several of the wounded officers who could not get off the field were as usual, every one, scalped for the entertainment of the Conqueror."

The notes are continued to the raising of the siege on May 16-17 at night.

Scale, 800 feet to an inch.  $16 \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ .

Original, coloured MS. signed "Pat. Mackellar, Major, Chf. Engr., 1760."

In Map Division, Canadian Archives. Reproduced in "Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1905," vol. i. part iv. p. 4.

4. "PLAN OF PART OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, FROM MONTREAL TO THE PARISH OF BERTHIER ON THE NORTH AND TO SOREL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE RIVER, by John Montessor, Sub. Engineer and Lieut.; Samuel Holland, Capt. and Assist. Engineer. This map covers the portion of the St. Lawrence surveyed by John Montessor, for the Murray Survey, viz.: from Montreal to Repentigny, in one section, and from Repentigny to Berthier in another. It is, however, of earlier date than the Murray Survey, as is shown by an endorsement, 'North America. British America Part of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Berthier and Sorel, Lt. Montessor, 25th March, 1761.' Another endorsement reads: 'Received, 30th Sept., 1761, with Mr. John Montessor's letter, Quebec, 26th March.' Every house along the river front is shewn, with the position of the Churches, Calvaries, and Mills."

Scale, 2000 feet = 1 inch.  $126 \times 26$ .

Original coloured MS. bearing the Board of Ordnance stamp.

In Map Division, Canadian Archives.

## 5. THE KING'S MAP

"PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN CAPE TOURMENT AND DECHAMBEAUX, ON THE NORTH SHORE, POINT DE LA CAILLE AND LAUBINIÈRE, ON THE SOUTH; in which the City of Quebec and all the villages, habitations, and cultivated country in that extent are accurately laid down, with all the different places of landing and embarkations, the encampments, entrenchments, lines of battle, and principal movements of the British and French armies while this country was the seat of war. The whole from a Survey carried on under the directions of the Honourable Brigadier-General Murray, Governour of Qubec, *etc.* The tract of country contained in this Plan was surveyed by the following Officers: viz. from St<sup>t</sup> Augustin to the River Montmorency, on the North shore, and from St<sup>t</sup> Nicholas to Point à la Ecaille, on the South, with all the back settlements, also the Parishes on the South river, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Holland, of the Royal American Regiment; the island of Orleans surveyed by Cap<sup>t</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Spry, Engineer; from Dechambeaux to St<sup>t</sup> Augustin, on the North, and Lotbinière to St<sup>t</sup> Antoine, on the South shore, by Lieu<sup>t</sup> Peach, of the 47th Regiment; from St<sup>t</sup> Antoine to St<sup>t</sup> Nicholas on the South, and from Montmorency to

# 456 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Cape Tourment, on the North shore, surveyed by En<sup>s</sup> Pittman, of the 15th Regiment." A Scale of Seven Statute Miles, 2000 Feet to an Inch, 7[ = 469 mm.]. Explanation of the References: 1-93. [With 6 Insets.]

([1.] "Plan of Quebec with the positions of the Brittish [*sic*] and French Armys on the Heights of Abraham, 13 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1759." Explanations: a-z. Explanation of the Town of Quebec: A-Z. Repetition Pl<sup>n</sup> No. 1. 730 × 490 mm.

[2.] "Plan of the Battle and situation of the Brittish [*sic*] and French Armys on the Heights of Abraham, the 28 of April, 1760." Explanen [*sic*]: A-X. Repetition Pl<sup>n</sup> No. 2. 741 × 490 mm.

[3.] "Plan of Quebec and the Heights of Abraham, shewing in particular the French encampment after the Battle of the 28th April [1760], their Batteries and Approaches, also the encampment of the Garrison at their Alarm Posts, and new Works erected by them during the Siege." Explanation: A-R. A Scale of 7000 Feet, for the Repetition Plans No. 1, 2, and 3[ = 222 mm.]. Repetition Pl<sup>n</sup> No. 3. 738 × 523 mm.

[4.] "Fort Jaques Cartier." To a Scale of 800 Feet to an Inch. 232 × 285 mm.

[5.] "Continuation of the Grande Rivere [*sic*] with the Village of Fariole," *etc.* 430 × 308 mm.

[6.] "The Continuation of the South River as far as Point à La Caille," *etc.* 295 × 373 mm.) MS.

[Quebec, 1761.] British Museum: K. 119. 27. 5 Tab. End.

(In King George the Third's Collection of Maps.) A facsimile is in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

6. "SKETCH OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE FROM MONTREAL TO THE ISLAND ST. BARNABY ON THE SOUTH SIDE, AND THE ISLANDS OF JEREMY ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE RIVER. By order of His Excellency James Murray, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Governour of Quebec, &c. By Capt<sup>n</sup>. Montresor."

Original MS. Plan in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

7. "PLAN OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL IN NOVA SCOTIA." References. After 1757. Copy of an MS. map in the Library of Congress.

Scale of 3 miles = 4 inches. 39½ × 9.

An uncoloured photograph is in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

8. "PLAN OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL IN NOVA SCOTIA, AMERICA." Original in the Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A.

Scale of 1 mile = 3 inches. 90 × 15½.

A photographic print is in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

9. "MAP OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL." Surveyed in the year 1733. Corrections from other surveys, &c., 1753.

Scale, 1 mile = 1⅔ inches. 44½ × 7½.

Map Division, Canadian Archives.



# INDEX

- AARON**, Thomas, reference to the departure of his family from Oswego, iii. 220
- Abenakis**, tribe of, living at Beçancour, ii. 480 ; villages of, situate within the government of Three Rivers, 482 ; village of, at St. Francis, 489 ; village destroyed by Amherst, Sept. 25, 1760, 489
- Abercrombie (Abercromby)**, James, Captain of the 42nd Regiment, appointed A.D.C. to General Amherst, i. 459, ii. 196 ; appointed Major of the 78th Regiment, ii. 196 ; appointed Lieutenant-colonel of the 22nd Regiment, 196 ; note on, 196 ; served under Gage in America, and was killed at Bunker Hill, 196 ; sent to Vaudreuil to obtain his signature to the capitulation of Montreal, 196, iii. 93 ; reported to have visited Montreal in regard to the cartel of exchange of prisoners, ii. 301 ; charged by Amherst to bring back the articles of capitulation, 563 ; sent on board the sloop *Boscawen*, iii. 64 ; letter from, to Amherst, 65 ; carries dispatches to England, 78 ; brings letters to Amherst, 85
- Abercrombie (Abercromby)**, James, Major-General, welcomes the arrival of the fleet, i. 31 ; biographical reference to, 40 ; in command of second brigade, 40 ; report of his appointment as commander-in-chief of the army on the lakes, 149 ; distribution of troops to serve under, 162, 165 ; reference to letter of April 28, 1758, 164 ; reference to, 176, 212 ; declares capitulation of Fort William Henry null and void, 181 ; orders of, *re* allowance of provisions, 210 ; publication of manifesto of, 238 ; instructs Captain Loring to provide transports to convey troops to Albany, 480 ; reference to, 594 ; dispatches delivered for, iii. 6
- Abercromby's Regiment**. *See* Forty-fourth Regiment
- Abigal**, the, reference to, ii. 502
- Abitation de Québec**, construction of, ii. 203
- Abraham**, Heights, or Plains, of, proposal to erect a chain of blockhouses on, ii. 297 ; proposal of Murray to encamp on, 1760, 336 ; Murray makes preparations to fortify, 354 ; British army occupies, April 28, 1760, 390
- Acadia**, Boishébert's instructions in regard to, ii. 57
- Acadian delegates**, imprisonment of, on George's Island, i. 32
- woman, brings captive New Englander to Quebec, ii. 354 ; brings Murray information from Nova Scotia, 366
- women, captured by British, returned to Quebec, i. 402
- Acadians**, not to leave their habitations without leave, i. 62 ; forty-eight families of, living in the mountains, 114 ; precarious existence of, 114 ; supplied with arms and ammunition, 114 ; reference to their refusal to take the oath of allegiance, 114 ; reference to the sufferings of, 115 ; list of vessels employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, 115 ; sixteen hundred and sixty-four deported from district of Annapolis, 115 ; houses of, destroyed by soldiers, 156 ; soldier knocked down by woman, 156 ; vigorous defence of children by woman, 156 ; a detachment sent to cut off retreat of, from Cape Breton, 1758, 171 ; seek to trade with British at Mayass Hill, 204 ; plot of, to surprise Halifax, 268 ; detachment

- of, reported to be in neighbourhood of Point Lévis, 410; article referring to, in the capitulation of Montreal, ii. 583
- Accession of King George II, celebration of anniversary of, i. 181
- Achille, L'*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Achilles*, the, reference to, ii. 490, iii. 401
- Adams, Captain of the *Hunter*, reference to, i. 347, 358
- Addison, Captain, appointed Major of the Quebec garrison, ii. 404; in command of grenadiers, 406; in command of the second battalion of grenadiers, composed of detachments from the 28th, 48th, 78th, second battalion Royal Americans, and 43rd Regiments, in the expedition against Montreal, 463
- Thomas, Captain of the 28th Regiment, ii. 404
- Adjutant-General, the, chased by some boats, ii. 83
- Adlam, Captain, from Richibucto, iii. 397, 405
- Admiral's* flat-bottomed boat to take fifteen Highlanders, ii. 87
- Advance guard of British attacked by the enemy, i. 505
- Adventure* transport, to be converted into a hospital, ii. 81; to take on board 250 of Otway's Regiment, 83; to take 400 of Otway's men, 87
- Advertisement, novel method of communicating with the enemy, i. 130
- Ætna*, the, fireship of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, i. 152
- Agnew, Major, reference to, i. 368; recommended to Amherst by Murray, ii. 437; note on, 459; proceeds to Lorette to re-establish a post there, 459; at Cap Rouge, 460; in command of the first battalion of grenadiers, composed of detachments from the 15th, 47th, third battalion of Royal Americans, 35th and 58th Regiments, in the expedition against Montreal, 463; sent with a detachment to Beçancour, 482; ordered to hold himself in readiness to land his troops at St. Francis, 488; decides not to land at St. Francis, 489; Lieut.-Colonel, to command the second battalion of grenadiers, 501; marches to Lorette, iii. 308; at Lake St. Peter, 319
- Agriculture, author recommends improvement in, ii. 615
- Aiguillon, Duchesse d'. See Vignerot
- Ainslie, Thomas, reference to, ii. 76
- Alarm-post, each detachment to have one, i. 380; to be appointed for convalescents, ii. 405; for the 47th Regiment at Cape Diamond, 406; for second battalion Royal Americans at Ursuline bastion, 406; for the 15th Regiment at St. John's bastion, 406; for 28th Regiment at St. Louis bastion, 406; for 35th Regiment between Otway's Grenadier Guard and Palace Gate, 406; for the 43rd Regiment at the stockades near Cape Diamond, 406; for 48th Regiment at the lower bastion, 406; for 58th Regiment at loopholes behind their barracks, 406; for 78th Regiment at Citadel Hill, 406; for Grenadiers at Citadel Hill, 406; for third battalion Royal Americans at the stockades near the Citadel, 406; for convalescents of 43rd Regiment at Vaudreuil's house, 406; for convalescents between Otway's and Bishop's Palace, 406
- Albany, burial of Lord Howe at, i. 186; wounded from Ticonderoga taken to, 186; letter from, July 29, 1758, 189; army for service on the lakes to rendezvous at, 301; provincial troops assemble at, 1759, 465; report of General Amherst's retirement to, ii. 272; reference to, 530
- Alcide*, the, capture of a French prize by, i. 328; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; to take forty Highlanders, ii. 87; of Lord Colville's fleet, 416
- Alderney*, the, hospital ship, i. 23, 65
- Alexander, Sir William, Earl of Stirling, receives grant of Nova Scotia, i. 44, 308
- Algonquin dictionary, extracts from, ii. 234
- village, within the jurisdiction of the Government of Three Rivers, ii. 482
- Allain, Louis, reference to, i. 135
- Alleghany Mountains, reference to, ii. 592
- Allen, Ethan, captures Crown Point, ii. 190

- Allen, Mr., sutler at Fort Cumberland, i. 196  
 — Captain, at Ristigouche, iii. 388
- Allen's River, Nova Scotia, ruins of settlement in the vicinity of, i. 97; reference to, 135; movements of the enemy at, 161; alarm of French at, May 5, 1758, 168; near Annapolis, danger to wooding parties sent to neighbourhood of, 173
- Allier, Jacques, appointed civil and criminal judge for the parishes between Berthier and Kamouraska, ii. 146
- Allies, A. P., historian, mention of, iii. 351
- Allsopp, the Hon. George, note referring to, i. 328
- Alpacin Mountains, reference to, ii. 190
- Ambrose, servant of General Wolfe, ii. 91, 116
- American colonies, Pitt's attitude towards troubles in, i. 300  
 — Grenadiers, ii. 173  
 — Revolution, reference to, i. 211
- Americans, under Arnold, unprepared for severity of the winter, ii. 294
- Amherst, Captain, in command of the *Captain*, i. 21, 36, 152, 357  
 — county, proposed creation of, ii. 253  
 — William, Colonel, renders assistance to author in the preparation of his book, i. 7; note on, 215; appointed aide-de-camp to General Amherst, 215; appointed Deputy Adjutant-General, 459; reference to, 472; directs manœuvres of provincial regiments, 486; extract from journal of, 490; recovered Newfoundland, ii. 617; reference to, iii. 49  
 — Jeffery, gives author access to orderly books and other manuscripts in the preparation of his book, i. 7; to command an expedition against Louisbourg, 149; biographical reference to, 162; birth of, 162; appointed page to Duke of Dorset, 162; A.D.C. on staff of Ligonier and Duke of Cumberland, 163; Major-General, in command of expedition to Louisbourg in 1758, 163; Commander-in-Chief in North America, 163; created Knight of the Bath, 163; made Privy Councillor, Lieutenant-General, and Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, 163; made a Peer and Commander-in-Chief, 163; obtains capitulation of Montreal, 163; Colonel of the 15th Regiment, 163; death of, in 1797, 163; joins the expedition against Louisbourg, May 28, 1758, 179; character of, well calculated for American service, 184; reference to, 205; joins the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 213; sends gift of pine-apples to Madame de Drucour, 230; compliments officers and soldiers on good conduct in siege of Louisbourg, 241; reference to, 242; great exertions of, at the siege of Louisbourg, 247; reference to, 252; good conduct of, at Louisbourg, 253; articles of capitulation between, and the Governor of Louisbourg, 255; appointed commander-in-chief in America, 274; regimental reports to be transmitted to, 285; preparations made by, for campaign of 1759, 301; introduces a new system of drill, 348; uses two-deep formation, 350; approves of dress of light infantry, 352; reported by French to have been defeated, 405; French army opposing, reported inconsiderable, 415; reference to, 428, 431; reported to be advancing rapidly, 432; army serving under, 1759, 458; arrives at Albany, 1759, 465; marches from Albany to Fort Edward, 465; issues order regarding punishment for scalping women and children, 468; sends order to Bourlamaque relating to scalping of women and children, 472; statement of forces under, in June, 1759, 474; marches with the army from Fort Edward to Lake George, 477; receives dispatch from Wolfe as to movements of French at Ticonderoga, 479; takes possession of trenches abandoned by the enemy, 505; reports of his success at Ticonderoga and Crown Point reach British camp, ii. 46; letter of, relating to Carr the deserter, 52; dispatch from, 71; journal of, 180; decides to abandon his attempt to capture Isle aux Noix, 197; arrives with his forces at Crown Point, 197; eulogy



of conduct of, in the campaign of 1759, 201; reported to have returned to Crown Point, October, 1759, 244; sends money to Murray, 253; report regarding retirement of, to Albany, 272; reported to be in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, December, 1759, 301; extract from letter of Murray to, March 27, 1761, 321; Lieutenant Montresor dispatched from Quebec to, 332; report of capture of an express from, to Murray, 333; failure of, to appreciate Murray's difficulties, 336; light troops of, said to be ravaging Canadian frontiers, March, 1760, 357; reported to have burned Chambly, 366; Murray sends information to, 366; reference to, 395; plans of, for the reduction of Canada, 417; seems to consider that Murray's precautions in Quebec were needless, 439; fills vacancies in the regiments at Quebec, 453; rumours that his troops are in motion, 457; Murray decides to wait no longer for the commander-in-chief, 466; causes test to be made of the iron found at St. Maurice, 482; makes preparations to proceed to Montreal, 484; reference to the army of, 504; troops composing the army of, 527; arrives at Lachine, 558; takes up a position before Montreal, 558; addresses a letter to Vaudreuil, 559; declines to receive Bougainville and sends Abercrombie to Vaudreuil, 560; refuses to grant delay regarding capitulation of Montreal, 560; Lévis complains of want of courtesy on the part of, 587; signs the capitulation of Montreal, 589; requires Lévis to affirm on his word of honour that French colours have been destroyed, 590; requires Vaudreuil to affirm on his word of honour that French colours have been destroyed, 590; reference to army of, 600; commends the action of Murray and Haviland, 601; commended for mild though determined method of dealing with Vaudreuil, 602; letter to Pitt, iii. 49, 78, 79, 84, 90; expedition down St. Lawrence, 91; at Gabarus Bay, 98; mention of, 114, 256, 290, 294, 329, 331-334; chivalry

of, 117; instructions received from, 196; Gage's opinion of, 210; Johnson, Sir William, writes to, 191, 206, 231; letter from, read by Johnson, 226; Murray writes of him to Fraser, 253; letter to, from Lévis, 297; dispatches received from, 308; dispatches for, 325; letter to, from Whitmore, 399, 405; letter from, to Whitmore, 408; letter from, to Colville, 410, 414; letter to, from Colville, note, 411; letter from, to Colville, note, 411; letter from, to Murray, 413; letter from, to Pitt, note, 416; letter to, from Elliot, 417; journals of camp before Louisbourg, 1758, 1-95 Amherst's Regiment. *See* Fifteenth Regiment

Amiot, M., house of, at Quebec, damaged by British batteries, i. 423  
*Amity's Assistance*, the, i. 22

Ammunition, battalions to be furnished with seventy rounds, i. 208; directions to soldiers for making up cartridges, 208; regulations as to number of rounds of, to be supplied to soldiers, 209; forty rounds assigned to expedition against Light House Point, Louisbourg, 224; certain regiments to carry fifty rounds per man, 230; return of, captured at Louisbourg, 258; number of rounds per man to be carried by expedition against Quebec, 335; distribution of, among regiments, 354; orders for care of, 421; supply of, to troops in redoubts, 430; amount of, to be carried by soldiers, 433; damage to, by rain during the attack at Montmorency, 453; forty rounds per man assigned to a special detachment, ii. 248; number of rounds of, to be carried by men in garrison at Quebec, 255, 257; order regarding use of, 295; regulations regarding, in Quebec, 322; stealing of, from Quebec, 326; care of, in Quebec, 332; Murray reports that there is not sufficient to hold out for fifteen days, 404

*Aneda*, the Iroquois word for the spruce tree, ii. 376

Animals of Nova Scotia, description of, i. 312

*Ann and Mary*, the, i. 22

*Ann Elizabeth*, the, with Bragg's Regiment, to anchor opposite the landing place, ii. 81; to take on board 160 of Bragg's Regiment and 100 Highlanders, 83

*Anna*, the, i. 22

Annapolis Royal, construction of fort at, i. 43; surrender of, to Nicholson, 44; chapel at, 50; reference to, 63; precautions taken in the garrison, 89; Captain Crosby of 40th Regiment appointed Lieutenant-Governor of, 94; description of the fort at, 96; dilapidated condition of certain parts of the fort at, 97; ceded to the British Crown by the Treaty of Utrecht, 97; 43rd Regiment forms garrison of, 98; certain inhabitants of, perform garrison duty, 98; candles demanded by officers on guard at, 99; arrival of Governor Lawrence with troops at, 1757, 100; horses stolen by the enemy restored by the British to the inhabitants of, 102; expedition to secure fruit for garrison of, 103; contract entered into for winter provisions for garrison of, 103; productiveness of orchards in neighbourhood of, 105; eagerness of troops to be relieved from duty at, 110; forty-eight families from the district of, who evaded expulsion, now living in the mountains, 114; inhabitants of, turn out as volunteers, 117; sloop arrives at, with provisions after difficult passage, 135; Robert Monckton appointed Lieutenant-Governor of, 163; works under construction for the defence of, May, 1788, 168; precarious state of garrison of, May, 1758, 169; New England artificers at, 172; author's opinion as to distance of, from Fort Cumberland, 172; climate at, compared with that at Fort Cumberland, 172; danger to wooding parties in neighbourhood of, 1758, 173; Cape, blockhouse near, pulled down, 174; detachment scours country in neighbourhood of, May 30, 1758, 174; French plunder storehouse in, June 1, 1758, 175; Captain Bond brings money for troops at, June 9, 1758, 176; alarm in garrison of, caused by fugitive negro servant, 179; fire-wood

brought from Boston to, 181; celebration at, of anniversary of the King's accession, 181; scorbutic disorders in garrison of, 1758, 181; wretched condition of barracks at, 182; Royal Lodge, the first Masonic lodge in Nova Scotia, 183; excursion made by detachment of garrison of, July 24, 1758, 183; French irregulars believed to be in neighbourhood of, July 31, 1758, 184; cattle and sheep brought to, from Boston, 184; attempt of French to steal cattle from, 187; position of French wharf at, 187; French appear in neighbourhood of, August 12, 1758, 188; false alarm in town of, August 10, 1758, 188; French appear in neighbourhood of, August 18, 1758, 189; sloop arrives from Boston with news of the fall of Louisbourg, 204; discontent of the garrison at, 204; excursion of British from, to gather wood, September 7, 1758, 259, 260; celebration of capture of Louisbourg at, 260; report of state of, to be made to Brigadier Monckton, 263; design of French against, 263; height of tide at, 271; families from New England propose to settle in neighbourhood of, 273; length of passage from Boston to, 279; detachment of 35th Regiment garrisons, 279; detachment of 43rd Regiment leaves, 281; provincial troops to be stationed at, 306; growth of grain and vegetables in neighbourhood of, 310, 311; neglect of fort at, 321; garrison at, ii. 592; Abbé Nicholas Vauquelin appointed parish priest of, iii. 341; reference to, 346

Annapolis Royal, Fort, party of woodcutters attacked within range of, i. 115; precautions taken to prevent surprise at, 129; repairs made to an old boat for the service of the garrison of, 153; master of *Eagle* schooner arrives at, 154; arrival of the *Endeavour* schooner at, 156; 43rd Regiment to remain there, 162; orders for one entire regiment to garrison the fort, 162; artificers from town to reinforce garrison if required, 167  
— Gut of, danger of shipwreck in, i. 283, 284



- Annapolis Royal, harbour, description of, i. 283  
 — river, proposed application for new grants of land on, i. 273; proposed settlement of Irish weavers at head of, 274  
*Annual Register*, extract from, iii. 400  
 Anse des Mères, women prisoners returned by British at, i. 440; Quebec, reference to, ii. 257  
 Anson, Lord, reference to the voyages of, i. 175, 337, ii. 16  
 Anstruther's Regiment. *See* Fifty-eighth Regiment  
 Anticosti Island, reference to, i. 360; capture of French ship near, 420; note on, iii. 367  
*Apollo*, the, sunk by the French in Louisbourg harbour, i. 259  
 Apple River, i. 56  
 — trees, great variety of, in the district of Annapolis, i. 105  
 Arbour, Pierre, captured at Gaspé Bay, i. 275  
 Arbuckle, Mr., master of a British sloop captured and burned by the enemy, i. 107  
*Arc en ciel*, *L'*, unfit for service, i. 37  
 Archbishop's palace, Quebec, cost of, ii. 206  
 Archbold, Captain, captures French post at village Brulé, ii. 363  
 Archives of Canada, to be left in the country, ii. 571  
*Aréthuse*, *L'*, frigate, reference to, iii. 107, 108, 111; position of, in harbour of Louisbourg, i. 247; service of, at Louisbourg, 219; escape of, from Louisbourg, 248  
 Argall, Samuel, reference to, i. 43  
 Arms, directions for exchange of, between various corps, i. 209; use of forge for repairing, 237; captured from enemy, allowance to be made for, 240; description of, 350; regulations regarding the use of, in active service, 459; Royal Highland Regiment permitted to carry swords, 460  
 Armstrong, Colonel, in command of Pennsylvanian troops, ii. 198  
 — John, biographical reference to, ii. 198  
 — Captain, of the second battalion of Pennsylvania, ii. 199; surveyor on the western frontier, 199; surveys the roads for Braddock's expedition, 199; serves in the Pontiac war, 199; receives a commission as colonel in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, 199; appointed brigadier-general by the Continental congress, 199; destroys the Indian village of Kittanning, 199; death of, 199  
 Armstrong, Capt.-Lieut., reference to, i. 288  
 — Governor of Annapolis, reference to, i. 200, iii. 341  
 Arnold, Benedict, reference to, i. 332  
 — American troops under, unprepared for severity of winter, ii. 294  
 — and Montgomery, reference to the invasion under, ii. 119  
 — soldier, killed while wood-cutting, Dec. 6, 1757, i. 199  
 Arnoux, surgeon, Montcalm dies in the house of, ii. 108  
 Articles buried by the British in 1758 remain undiscovered by the enemy, i. 482  
 — of capitulation, text of, ii. 126  
 Artificers, ordered to work twelve hours per day on New Fort, i. 491; rate of pay to, while employed in construction of works, 462  
 — French, history of, i. 257  
 Artillery, experiments made to test range of guns, i. 76; rate of firing during the Seven Years' War, 78, note; rapid discharge of, 78 and note; remarkable firing of six-pounder field-pieces, 78; guns fashioned out of trees to deceive the enemy, 85; to exchange arms with light infantry, 209; have care of entrenching tools, 225, 226; private soldiers to be instructed in service of, 235; French, pieces of, captured by British on landing at Louisbourg, 244; good service of, at Louisbourg, 253, 254; French, surrender of, at Louisbourg, 257; French, history and uniform of, 257; French, guns of, captured at Louisbourg, 258; detachment of, takes part in expedition to St. John's River, 1758, 262; French, number of guns of, captured at Fort Frontenac, 265; detachment of, to be sent to Halifax, 1759, 352; British, landing of, at Point Levis, 397; British, before Quebec, July 7, 1759, 404; British, transferred from Montmorency to

- Point Levis, 435 ; strength of, under Amherst in June 1759, 474 ; boats allowed for, 489 ; two twenty-four pounders and a thirteen-inch mortar employed in the works before Ticonderoga, 507 ; use of, 512 ; sent from Montmorency to Point Levis, ii. 59 ; two field-pieces in action on Sept. 13, 101 ; drawn up by the British, 112 ; sixty pieces of cannon and fifty-eight mortars set up in the camp before Quebec, 121 ; admirable service performed by, 132 ; forty-four guns and two mortars brought in from the Beauport camp, 134 ; three hundred and six pieces of cannon fall into the hands of the British on the surrender of Quebec, 136 ; order for training soldiers in service of, 239 ; to be assisted in making cartridges by men from the infantry regiments in Quebec, 273 ; construction of sleigh carriages for the use of, 326 ; use of sleighs as carriages for, 335 ; British, strength of, at the Ste. Foy, 390 ; British, loss of, at the battle of Ste. Foy, 393, 394 ; soldiers ordered to assist, during siege of Quebec, 1760, 399 ; women give assistance to, in Quebec, 1760, 410 ; havoc wrought in the French camp by guns from the town, 412 ; heavy fire by, against the camp of the enemy, 413 ; particular instructions given to, by Murray, 419. *See* Park
- Artillery Cove, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 240
- guard, creation of, before Louisbourg, i. 229
- Artillerymen, presented with twenty-five guineas by the general, ii. 553
- Artisans, return of, ordered, ii. 33
- Artois, d', arrival of regiment of, i. 48 ; surrender of, at Louisbourg, 257 ; history and uniform of, 257 ; regiment of, at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- Astor family obtains estate of Mary Philipse, i. 211
- Atalante*, frigate, arrival of, at the Foulon, April 28, 1760, ii. 390 ; the, attacks the batteries at Sillery, 429 ; driven ashore at Pointe aux Trembles, 429 ; chased by British frigates, 427 ; a frigate, reference to, iii. 251
- Aubry, M., reference to, ii. 182 ; taken prisoner by Johnson, 183 ; Lieutenant in the regiment of Lyonnais, 185 ; appointed captain of a company in Louisiana, 185 ; made a chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, 185 ; commandant, reference to, iii. 188
- Auguste*, the, reference to the wreck of, ii. 556
- Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg, An*, extract from, i. 244, 246, 248, 250, 254
- Axes and saws, supply of, for expedition against Louisburg, i. 212
- BABCOCK, Col. Henry, biographical reference to, i. 458 ; of the Rhode Island troops, iii. 24
- provincial regiment of, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458 ; strength of, in June 1759, 474 ; batteaus delivered to, 489 ; orders for, 497 ; reference to, 500
- Babinot's Hill (Babynot), movements of enemy in vicinity of, i. 161 ; mounted party of Frenchmen from Mayass Hill discovered in vicinity of, 167 ; blockhouse erected at, 174, 176 ; occupied by a detachment from Annapolis, May 29, 1758, 174 ; lands secured for pasturage in vicinity of, 183
- Baggage, quantity of, belonging to the French, secured by Murray, ii. 433.
- Bailleuil, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- Baillie, Captain, killed at the landing at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- Baird, Captain, commander of the *Defiance*, i. 21 ; reference to, 36
- Baker, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 206, 207
- Bakers, restriction on prices to be charged by, in camp before Louisbourg, i. 241 ; required to take out licences in Quebec, ii. 323 ; allowed to remain in Quebec, April, 1760, 380 ; reference to the charges of, 532
- Balfour, Captain, in command of the *Ætna*, fireship, in 1758, i. 152 ; assists in capture of French ships in Louisbourg harbour, 250, 251 ; leads expedition against French ships in Louisbourg harbour, 259 ; reference to his attack on *Le Bienfaisant*, iii. 112
- Baltic Merchant*, the, i. 22

- Baltimore*, sloop, reference to, i. 37 ; in the expedition against Quebec, 358
- Ban*, and *arrière ban*, note on, iii. 281
- Baptiste, Captain, reference to depredations of, i. 94
- Barabbas, description of a mimetic search for, in Quebec, ii. 312, 313
- Barail, Louis Jacques Charles, Marquise du, reference to, iii. 258 ; note on, 274
- Barante, M. de, reference to, ii. 31
- Barbette battery, repairs made by the French at, ii. 17
- Barbier, M. Alfred, reference to the work of, ii. 166
- Barnaby, island of, reference to, i. 343, 361 ; situation of, ii. 382
- Barnaby's Mills, reference to, i. 154
- River, now known as Round Hill Brook, i. 118
- Barnard, Lord, reference to, ii. 91
- Barnsley, Captain, commander of the *Tilbury*, i. 21, 36
- Barollon, Madame, reference to, iii. 150
- Barracks at Annapolis, wretched condition of, i. 182 ; at Halifax converted into hospital, 210 ; burning of, in Louisbourg, 249, 250 ; at Annapolis, report on state of, to be made to Brigadier Monckton, 263 ; no fires allowed in, ii. 408
- Barré, Isaac, to be major of brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 206 ; order signed by, 237 ; appointed Adjutant-General in the expedition against Quebec, 330 ; biographical reference to, 331 ; appointed major of brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg, 331 ; political career of, 331 ; carries flag of truce to Quebec, 402 ; reference to, 456 ; mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 90 ; leaves Quebec for the recovery of his wounds, 243 ; reference to, iii. 90, 95
- Barrels, order for preservation of, for use in the siege of Louisbourg, i. 237
- Barrier, erected on Mountain Hill, to protect road from lower to upper town, ii. 406
- House, Quebec, guard at, November 5, 1759, ii. 268
- Barrington, Lord, informs the author that the King was not pleased to give any order respecting his brevet rank, i. xiv ; reprimands Lieut. Simpson, xvi
- Barrois, cadet, reference to, iii. 188
- Barron, Edward, commission issued in favour of, by Wolfe, ii. 72 ; reference to, 317, 321
- Barter, practice of, between British and Canadians at Quebec, ii. 245
- Bartlett, Joseph, injured by the fire-ship, ii. 25
- Bartré, Lévis said to be intrenched there with four thousand men, ii. 499
- Bastide, Colonel, reconnoitres the ground at Louisbourg, iii. 7 ; wounded at Louisbourg, 13 ; recovers from wounds, 16
- Bastion du Roy, note on, i. 88
- Bathing, troops permitted to bathe in lake at certain hours, i. 484
- Batiscan, fleet anchors at, ii. 478 ; Jesuits receive grant of, from Jacques La Ferté in 1639, 478 ; note on the seigniorship of, 478 ; number of men assembled near the church boldly attack British vessels, 479 ; Lord Rollo lands at, 490
- Bat-men, to be supplied to the engineers, i. 355
- Batteau-men, organisation of, i. 301
- service, rate of pay to troops serving in, i. 462 ; detachments to be made from provincial troops for, 463 ; detachment of, ordered to march to Schenectady, 464
- Battel, Captain, in command of Delaware troops, ii. 199
- Batteries, erection of, before Louisbourg, i. 247, 248, 249 ; British, General Wolfe selects ground for, before Quebec, 395 ; British, at Pointe des Pères, 397 ; British, work begun on, at Pointe aux Pères, 401 ; British, at Montmorency, 416, 417 ; British, before Quebec, addition to, 444 ; guns of the, disabled, ii. 21 ; at Montmorency annoy the French camp, 27 ; erected by the British near St. Louis Gate, 119, 121 ; new works erected to enfilade the road leading to the lower town, 405 ; French, dismayed by British guns, 421
- Battery, Salvere, Louisbourg, reference to, i. 246
- -Guard, the, Quebec, reference to, ii. 257



- Battle, order of, for expedition against Quebec, i. 335 ; of the Plains, preparations on the eve of, ii. 89
- Baudoain, priest, banished from Quebec, ii. 278
- Bay of Fundy, note by the author on, i. 45 ; coals for the garrisons of, 70 ; reference to, 82
- Bay View, formerly Hog Island, i. 89
- Baye des Chaleurs, success of British ships in, ii. 490 ; reference to, 594 ; shelter for French ships, iii. 360
- Baye Verte or Verde, note on, i. 59 ; reference to, 288, 289 ; British expedition to, 298, 299
- Bayonet, not carried by light infantry, i. 353 ; use of, preferable to fire in night attacks, 400 ; to be carried by light infantry, 400 ; new method of using, 422
- Bazagier, letter from, iii. 382, 388, 389, 395
- Beacons, erection of, to mark the road from Quebec to Ste. Foy, ii. 310
- Bean, sutler, reference to, iii. 201
- Bear, appearance of a, at Fort Cumberland, i. 287 ; description of, 312
- Bear Island, formerly *Ile Claudiane*, reference to, i. 86 ; description of, 283 ; St. Lawrence River, reference to, ii. 289
- Bear River, river Hébert, named after Louis Hébert, whose house was on the banks of, i. 144
- Béarn*, regiment of, at the battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194 ; note on the uniform of regiment of, ii. 6 ; reference to regiment of, 175
- Beau Bassin, reference to, i. 57 ; discussion by the author on the situation of, 82
- Beauclaire, letter of Monsieur, iii. 349
- Beauffremont, Joseph de, vice-admiral of France, biographical reference to, i. 29 ; in command of the French fleet, 47
- Beauharnois, governor of New France, reference to, ii. 206
- Beaujeu, M. de, death of, in battle with Braddock, i. 418
- Beau monde*, peculiar elements entering into composition of, in the days of the author, i. 84
- Beaumont, Madame, captured by British, i. 402
- British troops occupy church at, i. 386 ; manifesto of General Wolfe posted at, 387 ; skirmish between Col. Fraser and Canadians near, 440, 443 ; women and children burned in a house near, 389 ; attack on Canadians at, ii. 54 ; French detachment at, March, 1760, 355
- Beauport, reference to, i. 378 ; alarm bells rung at, ii. 41 ; fleet makes a feint to land at, 93 ; inhabitants of, disarmed, 126 ; inhabitants of, entertain the British, 134 ; church, reference to, 169 ; Indians in neighbourhood of, October, 1759, 238 ; reference to British detachment at, October, 1759, 238 ; reference to, iii. 51
- Beauséjour, fort, captured by Monckton, i. 44 ; note on, 44 ; reference to, 57 ; fort erected here by the French after the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 82 ; discussion by the author on the situation of, 82 ; captured by Colonel Monckton in 1755, 82 ; author's prediction fulfilled regarding fertility of soil, 84 ; device of the French at, to deceive the British, 85 ; note on the artillery at, 85 ; capture of, by Robert Monckton, 164 ; Le Loutre opposed to the capitulation of, 201 ; Vergor accused of treachery regarding the surrender of, ii. 95 ; reference to, iii. 346
- Beaver-skins, capture of, at Fort Frontenac, i. 265
- Beçancour, note on, ii. 480 ; inhabitants of, submit to the British, 484
- Beckers, Lieutenant, reference to his arrival from Cadaraqui, iii. 211
- Beckwith, Major, in command of the trenches at Niagara, ii. 186 ; major of the 20th Regiment, note on, 186
- Bedford*, the, commanded by Captain Fowke, i. 21 ; reference to, 36 ; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151 ; sails for Gaspé, 275 ; to receive a detachment of troops, 354 ; in the expedition against Quebec, 358
- Bedford County, proposed creation of, ii. 252
- Beef, price of, at Quebec in 1789, ii. 19
- Begon, Intendant, reference to, ii. 206
- Belier, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Bell, Thomas, appointed aide-de-camp to General Wolfe, i. 332 ; biographical reference to, 332 ; extract from

- the *Journal* of, 151, 164, 255, 275, 328, 332, 334, 362, 364, 368, 377, 393, 395, 403, 404, 410, 420, 439, 442, ii. 115; mentioned in Wolfe's will, 90, 91
- Bell, Thomas, Serjeant-Major, mentioned, iii. 420
- one of the first men chosen to gain the heights of Abraham, ii. 95
- Bellecombe, M. de, biographical note on, ii. 227; reference to, iii. 290, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296
- Belle Famille, battle of, note on, iii. 202
- Belle-Isle, the Marshal de, extract from a letter of Lévis to, ii. 298
- Belle-Isle (Island), note by the author on, 607
- Belleisle Straits, loss of French ship of war in, i. 298
- Bellequeux, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Bellfeuille, M., seigneur of Grande Rivière, reference to, i. 278
- Bellin's plan, reference to, ii. 37
- Bellost, Monsieur, reference to his command at Sorel, iii. 325
- Belmont Manor, residence of Henry Caldwell, i. 332
- Belt-Party, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Bentley, Captain, commander of the *Invincible*, i. 21
- Benton, Mr., reference to, iii. 227
- Bentzell, Lieutenant, sent from Boucherville to Col. Haviland, iii. 330
- Bergen-op-Zoom, reference to, ii. 212, 431
- Bermuda*, a sloop, reference to, iii. 252
- Bernard, Peter, i. 121
- Bernard's volunteers at battle at Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194
- Bernetz, Chevalier de, present at the council of war, ii. 117, iii. 175, 177
- Bernier, M., writes to Bougainville regarding the disposition of French prisoners, ii. 7; reference to, 109; biographical note on, 298; reported to have been expelled from the General Hospital, Quebec, 298; sent to Quebec to attend to quartering of French troops previous to embarkation, 587; estimate of the strength of the Colony troops by, 589; reference to, iii. 159; commissaire des guerres, note on, 293
- Berry, the, transport, in the expedition to America, i. 22
- Berry, regiment of, i. 48; at battle of Ticonderoga, 193, 194; four men of, scalped, 503; two men from, made prisoners, 503
- Berryer, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 344
- Bertier (Berthier), reference to, i. 372
- Bertrand, M., French artillery officer, killed, ii. 545
- Bever, Samuel, Colonel, death of, i. 193
- Beza, Theodore, reference to, ii. 222
- Bic, island of, note on, i. 343; expedition against Quebec to rendezvous at, 343; reference to, 361; description of river St. Lawrence at, 363; fleet of ships reported at, April, 1760, ii. 381, 382
- Biche, La*, sunk in Louisbourg harbour, i. 259, iii. 111
- Bien Acquisé, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Bien Courville (Goat Island), reference to, i. 86
- Bienfaisant*, the, escapes burning in Louisbourg harbour, i. 249; capture of, in Louisbourg harbour, 250, 251, 252, 259; captured and towed into harbour, iii. 16, 17; orders given for the destruction of, 17; fires at the trenches, 17; reference to, 112; departure from Bordeaux, 361; in Bay de Chaleur, 365; burnt, 371, 402; mentioned, 390
- Bigart, reference to, iii. 175, 176
- Biggs, John, master of the *Neptune* transport, i. 85
- Bigot, François, Intendant of New France, blamed for failure of fire-ships at Quebec, i. 382; reference to the methods of, ii. 54; estimates the strength of the French army, 105; attends council of war, 110; competition amongst officers of the court to secure the silver of, 145; methods of, exposed, 145; makes a profit of two million francs out of the cargo of a ship which he had sold for eight hundred thousand francs, 145; wrongfully charged with the death of Philibert, 207; reports of trade carried on by, 273; issue of paper money by, 331; provision made for the return to France of, 570; pledges his credit to obtain flour, 485; appointed Intendant of



- New France in 1748, 572; biographical reference to, 572; returns to France in 1747, 572; influential connections of, 572; charged with keeping back the pay of the garrison, 572; carries on successful business operations at Louisbourg, 572; appointed a Commissary of Marine by the Count de Maurepas, 572; charges made against him at Louisbourg of withholding pay of soldiers, 572; escapes censure at Louisbourg and is rewarded, 572; enters the service of the Department de la Marine through the influence of the Count de Morville, 572; asks for Vergor to be sent to Quebec, 572; increase of colonial expenditure under, 573; returns to France in 1754, 573; resumes his duties in Canada in 1755, 573; loses 200,000 livres during the year 1758, 573; warned regarding excessive expenditure, 573; charged with restraining the commerce of the colony, 573; complaints made against his administration, 573; lives in sumptuous style, 573; returns to France in 1760, 573; brought to trial in Paris, 574; defence of, 574; ordered to make restitution, 574; condemnation of, 574; imprisoned in the Bastille, 574; works relating to, 574; allowed to live in Bordeaux, 575; character of, 575
- Bills of exchange, rumours that they were discredited causes alarm amongst the inhabitants, ii. 461
- Birch, George H. W., indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii; ii. 513; note by, on Amherst's position before Montreal, 558
- Birch-bark canoes, enemy escape in, i. 490
- Bird Islands, reference to, i. 359
- Birds, of Nova Scotia, description of, i. 315; peculiar, visit the British fleet in the St. Lawrence, 363
- Bishop, power to name, refused to the French, ii. 580
- Bishop's Palace, Quebec, damaged by British batteries, ii. 32; ruinous condition of houses in vicinity of, 160; reference to, 202, 257; account of, 205; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268
- Bizarre, La*, of the French fleet, i. 47; escapes from Louisbourg, 219; runs the blockade at Louisbourg, iii. 8
- Blackbird, or Purple Grackle, description of, i. 315
- Blakeney, Lord, colonel of the 27th Regiment of Foot, i. 16, and note; commander at Minorca, reference to, 251
- Blakeney*, the, i. 22
- Blakeney's Regiment. *See* Twenty-seventh Regiment
- Bland, Mr., reference to treatise of military discipline by, ii. 261
- Blankets, from French stores, distributed to British soldiers in Quebec, ii. 245; not to be cut up, 253; French, permission given officers in Quebec to cut up and make use of, 270
- Bleury, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 257
- Blockhouse, at Baye Verte, description of, i. 59; at Hog Island, reference to, 128; proposal to erect one at Mayass Hill, 136; for protection of cattle erected at Babinot's Hill, 168; building of, near Annapolis, May, 1758, 174, 176; completion of, behind Cape Diamond, ii. 302; proposal to erect, at Point Levi, 334; proposal to erect, south of Quebec, 349; on Plains of Abraham, service of, in siege of Quebec, 1760, 399; on the Plains, blown up, 401; shot through by a 12-pounder, 401; party of the enemy approach to, in hope of taking a prisoner, 417
- Blockhouses, erection of, before Louisbourg, i. 245; chain of, to be constructed at Quebec, ii. 245; proposal to erect a chain of, on the Heights of Abraham, 297; at Point Levi, burned, 389; service rendered by, at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391; chain of, before Quebec, 411
- Boat, repairs made to an old wreck for use of the garrison at Annapolis, i. 153
- Boats, flat-bottomed, repairs of, at Quebec, begun, ii. 354; heavy long-boats used in the rapids, 557
- Boisard, Chirurgeon Major, reference to, iii. 188
- Boisberthelot, note on, iii. 369; reference to note on, 380

- Boisclerc, Sieur de, commissaire des guerres, reference to, iii. 289
- Boishébert, Charles Des Champs de, biographical reference to, i. 60; manifesto issued by, 61; camp of, 61; receives Cross of St. Louis for his services at Louisbourg, 61; arms of, 62; is discovered by the British in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland, 78; detachment of, discovered by Governor Lawrence on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, 100; believed to be in command of a French party near Fort Edward, 1758, 170; reported to have gone to Louisbourg, 1758, 180; reported to have left for Cape Breton with a large body of irregulars, 200; reference to, at Miramichi, 203; expected on the river St. John, 268; plot of, to capture Halifax, 268; design of, against Fort Cumberland, 286; report of presence of, near Point Levis, 405; reported to be in neighbourhood of Point Levis, 410; captain, attacks British in island of St. John, 420; instructions of Vaudreuil to, ii. 57; watches the British from the windows of General Hospital, 99; meets Montcalm on the bridge of boats and advises him of position of British troops, 100; in command of the volunteers from Acadia, 168; report of arrival of, in Canada, March, 1760, 353; said to have brought word of establishment of peace, 366; with 300 men at Miray, iii. 15
- Madame, house of, in Quebec, burned by British shells, i. 424
- Boisseau, N., reference to, ii. 63, iii. 174
- Boissey, reference to, iii. 174
- Bolton, Duke of, ii. 92
- Bomb battery, before Louisbourg, reference to, i. 240
- Bomb-ketches, British, bombard French camp, i. 408
- Bomb-ships, British, prepare to attack French at Quebec, i. 402
- Bompar, M. de, reported to have captured Halifax and Louisbourg, ii. 283
- Bond, Captain, in command of the *Hind* in 1758, i. 152; visits Annapolis, June 9, 1758, 176; reference to, 358
- Bonetta*, the, sloop, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 359
- Bonhomme Michel, makes preparations for Montcalm's funeral, ii. 111
- Bonnaventure, Colonel, reference to, i. 219, 252
- Bonneau, Captain, of the regiment of Guienne, sent by Vaudreuil regarding the exchange of the Sieur de Bonnefonds, ii. 457; note on, iii. 297
- Bonnefonds, Sieur de, note on, iii. 297. See Bounefonds
- Bonne Intention, La*, reference to, iii. 389
- Bons Enfants, Les*, reference to, iii. 383, 391
- Bontein, Captain of the Engineers, taken prisoner at Louisbourg, iii. 13
- Books, need of, by officers, i. 272
- Boom across the river St. Lawrence cut away by sailors, ii. 493
- Booth, Captain, of the *Prince Frederic*, i. 358
- Boots, large stock of, to be provided for the expedition against Quebec, i. 348
- Boquet, Colonel Henry, reference to, i. 493
- Boreas*, frigate, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; capture of the *Diana* by, 259
- Borgia's House on Ste. Foy road, occupied by the British, ii. 97; British drawn up in line of battle in front of, 99; reference to, 140, 176
- Borme, M. de, in command of the brigade of Three Rivers, ii. 167
- Boscawen, Hon. Edward, appointed to command expedition against Louisbourg, i. 150; biographical reference to, 150; commander of the *Namur*, 1758, 150; report of arrival of, at Halifax, 1758, 173; orders published by, May 21, 1758, 177; excellent conduct of, in making preparations for expedition against Louisbourg, 213; reference to, 237, 252; articles of capitulation between, and the Governor of Louisbourg, 255; extract from dispatch of, 259; reference to, 277; news of victory off Lagos by, reaches Canada, ii. 308; reference to, 594; with the fleet at Halifax, iii. 1, 16;

- lands 200 marines at Kennington Cove, 10; gains victory, 68; commands fleet, 97, 98; orders chase of *Junco*, 103; French send officer to, 114; chivalry of, 117
- Boscawen*, sloop, reference to, iii. 64
- Bossens, Aumonier, a prisoner, reference to, iii. 251
- Boston, reference to, i. 87, 181, 184, 189; British regiments sent to, 1758, 263; reference to, 264; length of passage from, to Annapolis, 279; provisions from, for British army before Quebec, 396; supplies sent from, to British army before Quebec, 420
- Boucaut, M. de Godefus, reference to, ii. 63
- Boucher, awarded a quantity of Bigot's plate, ii. 145
- de St. Pierre, Geneviève, reference to, ii. 292
- Capitaine, winters at Gaspé, iii. 392
- Boucherville, Boucher de Grosbois et de, obtains concession of Boucherville in 1672, ii. 513
- Marie-Anne de, of St. Ignatius, ii. 292
- 400 inhabitants of, surrender to the British, ii. 513; cultivated society at, 513
- Bouchette, Joseph, surveyor-general of Lower Canada, quoted, ii. 43; reference to work of, 513; description of the Bishop's Palace, Quebec, 206
- Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, arrives in Quebec, i. 362; recommends the erection of batteries below Quebec, 373; sent to observe the movements of Murray, ii. 13; receives orders from Montcalm, 31; strong entrenchment of, at Cap Rouge, 78; follows British vessels to St. Augustin, 87; appears in rear of British on Plains of Abraham, 99; attacks the British on the Ste. Foy road, 100; forced to retire by Townshend, 100; retires to L'Ancienne Lorette, 100; in command of 2,060 men, 105; biographical reference to, 122; enters the naval service with the rank of captain, 122; sails on a voyage of discovery in command of the frigate *La Boudese* and the transport *L'Etoile*, 122; obtains authority to colonise the Falkland Islands, 122; serves with distinction under Montcalm in Canada, 122; made ■ member of the Royal Society, London, 122; publishes work on the integral calculus, 122; obtains the Cross of St. Louis, 122; discovers the Navigation Islands, the New Hebrides, and the Solomon Islands, 123; made ■ senator by Napoleon and Count of the Empire, 123; retires to his estates, 123; member of the Legion of Honour, 123; chosen a member of the Institute of France, 123; created a vice-admiral in 1791, 123; accepts naval command during American Revolution, 123; made an associate of the Academy of France, 123; publishes an account of his voyages, 123; takes part in an engagement between Rodney and De Grasse and succeeds in bringing eight ships to safety, 123; projects a voyage of discovery to the North Pole, 123; death of, in Paris, in 1811, 123; sent on a mission to France by Vaudreuil, 138; reference to, 178, 227; ordered to depart from the General Hospital, 228; reported to be about to attack Quebec, October 24, 1759, 243; report of return to France of, 309; in command of the troops opposed to Brigadier Haviland, 509; sent by Vaudreuil to Amherst, 559; proposes a truce for a month, 559; sent to France to ask for reinforcements, 573; sent to Quebec to attend to embarkation of troops, 587; reported to have arrived at Quebec, iii. 31; reference to, 77, 93; sent to Quebec, 289, 293; commanding at Isle aux Noix, 313; at Longueuil, 329
- Boulay, Angelique-Louise Talon du, wife of Marquis de Montcalm, i. 67
- Boulé, Helen, wife of Samuel Champlain, ii. 510
- Bounefonds (Bounnaffons, Bonnefonds), lieutenant of the artillery, letter to Amherst regarding his exchange, ii. 457; reference to, iii. 187, 244
- Boundaries of Canada, reference to, ii. 606



- Bouquet, Henry, biographical reference to, ii. 198; in command of a battalion of Royal Americans, 198; joins the expedition against Fort Duquesne under Forbes, 198; death of, from fever, in 1765, 198; Papers an important source of Canadian and American history, 198
- Bourde de la Rogerie, M., reference to, i. 202
- Bordeaux, reference to French fleet from, i. 357
- Bourdon, John François, memorandum by, iii. 395; note on, 397
- Bourgeois, Jacques, grant of land to, i. 89
- Jean, paid the sum of five pounds for accompanying Grand Maison in search of Carr the deserter, ii. 52
- Mde. Marguerite, establishes a school for girls at Boucherville, ii. 513
- Bourgogne, Regiment de, surrender of, at Louisbourg, i. 257; history and uniform of, 258; serves at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- Bourgoz (Bourgogne), regiment of, i. 48
- Bourlamaque, the Sieur de, at the battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194; dangerously wounded at Ticonderoga, 194; reference to, 428, 503; copy of order relating to the scalping of women and children sent to, 472; biographical reference to, 504; appointed governor of Guadeloupe, 504; forces of, at Crown Point, 510, 511; reported to have retired to Isle aux Noix, ii. 46; reference to, 68; extract from report of, 192; claims to have rendered Isle aux Noix proof against attack, 193; reference to, 245; gives warning of the raid by Rogers, September, 1759, 286; visit of, to Jacques Cartier, 1760, 372; rumour of an expedition by, to Cap Rouge, 373; effects a crossing of the Cap Rouge River, 385; reference to, 387; reconnoitres the British position, April 27, 1760, 390; reported wounded, 409; wounded early in the engagement on April 28, 412; at Three Rivers, 481; at St. Francis in command of regulars, 490; arrives at Sorel with troops, 494; reference to, 499; with corps of observation near Varennes, 509; threatens to destroy Murray's forces if he attempts to unite with Haviland, 510; reported to be retiring before the approach of Haviland's troops, 511; advances under flag of truce to meet Murray regarding Captain Malone, 565; at Ile aux Noix, iii. 52, 313; letter from, 51, 59, 71, 333; mentioned, 205, 355; at Ste. Foy, 302; at Three Rivers, 315; at Sorel, 322; at Montreal, 330
- Bournier, Captain, sent to the British under flag of truce, i. 493; defeated by the advance guard of the British, 503
- Bouwmeester, note on, iii. 220
- Boyau, run out by the French near St. John's Gate, ii. 409; erected by the French before Quebec, 421
- Boyd, Captain, reference to, iii. 326
- Boyer, Antoine, jardinier, reference to, iii. 350
- Boyle, Captain, in command of the *Boreas* in 1758, i. 152
- Braddock, General, reference to, i. 210; reference to expedition of, 274; reference to defeat of, 418; papers of, fall into hands of French, ii. 49; one of the guns of, found at Beauport, 134
- Bradstreet, Colonel John, reference to, i. 191; biographical reference to, 264; reference to *An Impartial Account* of his expedition against Fort Frontenac, 264; captures Fort Frontenac, 264, 265; report of, on capture of Fort Frontenac, 265; opinion of Wolfe on, 266; whaleboats in charge of, 496; arrives at Fort Edward from Albany with supplies, 1759, iii. 32; ordered to Albany, 52; letter from, 55; receives surrender of Fort Frontenac, 149, 150
- Bragg's Regiment. *See* 28th Regiment
- Bragson, J., master of the *Good Intent* transport cutter, i. 359
- Brandy, twenty-two pipes of, destroyed by fire, ii. 20; distribution of, among subaltern officers in Quebec, 376; gill of, given to French soldiers who serve in trenches, 412; served out

- to the officers in the place of wine, 413; and other stores returned from the *Machaux* to British vessels, 491
- Bransac, Marie-Anne Migeon de, of the Nativity, Superior of the Ursuline Convent, Quebec, ii. 292
- Brassard, Charlotte, of St. Clare, reference to, ii. 293
- Marie-Anne, of St. Magdalen, reference to, ii. 293
- Bray, Captain, of the *Princess Amelia*, 1758, i. 152
- Vicar of, reference to, ii. 345
- Bread, restriction on price of, in camp before Louisburg, i. 241; scarcity of, in Canada, 441; price of, in 1759, ii. 19; price of, in Quebec, fixed by proclamation, 323
- Bréard, Controller of the Navy, a partner of Bigot's, ii. 144
- Breaux, de, a prisoner, iii. 253
- Brehm, Diedrick, to attend Colonel Haviland, i. 497
- Brest, reference to French fleet from, i. 328
- Brewer, David, ensign of Rangers in 1756, and captain in 1758; served with Rogers at Detroit, ii. 525; 526
- Briand, Jean Olivier, secretary of the Bishop of Quebec, ii. 152; appointed by Murray to take charge of the clergy, 464; appointed Bishop of Quebec in 1766, 464
- Bricklayers, arrival of, i. 483
- Bricks, clay suitable for, found in Nova Scotia, i. 84
- Bridges leading to Montreal repaired, ii. 522
- Brienne, M. le Chevalier de, colonel of the Regiment d'Artois, i. 258
- Brigade officers, position of, in camp at Louisbourg, i. 220
- Brigades, organisation of, in expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 212, 220
- Brigadiers, the, reject proposals of Wolfe to suggest methods of attack, ii. 47; address a communication to Wolfe requesting particulars of the place or places they are to attack on September 13, 48; reference to plan of, 55, 69
- Brigantine, constructed by the British, carrying eighteen guns and seventy men, ii. 194
- Briset, M., reference to, ii. 498
- Britain*, the, i. 22
- British Achilles*, author refers to Wolfe as, ii. 103
- British batteries, keep up a fire against the town on eve of battle, ii. 94; effect of, 133
- camp, situation of, after the battle of the Plains, ii. 106, 179
- colonies in America confined to the sea coast, ii. 191
- colours, two stands of, taken from regiments of Pepperel and Shirley, restored to Amherst, ii. 590; destroyed at Quebec during the siege in 1759, 590
- flag, hoisted in Quebec in 1629, ii. 125; hoisted on the *Lowestoffe*, 414
- fleet, reported to be nearing Quebec, ii. 415; in possession of the river, 429; course of, interrupted by a boom thrown across the river, 492
- guns damaged by the French, ii. 421
- gunners, note on, by Fortescue, ii. 133
- merchants said to be willing to accept French bills of exchange, ii. 461
- ship, welcome sight of, off the Point of Orleans, ii. 414; plan suggested by Captain Swanton to deceive the enemy, 426
- soldiers, assist Canadians in binding sheaves of corn, ii. 147; generosity of, in sharing their provisions with Canadians, 147; scalped beyond the walls, 427; attacked by the Indians in the Cherokee country, 616
- troops, retreat of, at battle of Ticonderoga, i. 195; formed upon the Heights of Abraham, ii. 96; disposition of, on the Plains, 98; employed in redoubting the camp and in bringing up cannon, 103; strength of the army at the battle of the Plains, 104; ordered to be very alert during the night, as French offer to capitulate if Quebec is not relieved in the morning, 121; determined to defend Quebec to the last extremity, 405; under arms day and night, 422; leave camps and return to their quarters, 435; strenuous



- labours of, during winter campaign, 445
- British vessel retaken by the French in the river Saguenay, ii. 458
- Broadly, Captain, commander of the *Otter* sloop, i. 21
- Broadstreet (Bradstreet), Colonel, reference to, i. 464
- Brochette, La*, iii. 52
- Brotherhood*, the, i. 22; transports troops to Fort Edward, 85
- Broughton, Charles, death of, ii. 374
- Brouillan, de, governor of Acadia, i. 44; becomes proprietor of *Isle aux Couchons*, 89
- Brown, Mr., reference to, iii. 198
- Lieutenant, present at the death of Wolfe, ii. 114
- "Brown Bess," name of army musket, i. 350
- Brune, La*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Buckle, Commander, officer of the *Namur*, 1758, i. 152
- Buckshot, habitual use of, by the enemy, i. 80
- Building, not to be burned without orders, i. 400
- Buisson, reference to, ii. 557
- Bulkley, Captain, reference to, i. 34
- Bull, Lieutenant-Governor, reference to, iii. 82
- Bunker's Hill, reference to battle of, i. 274; Major Durgey served with distinction in battle of, 490
- Bunt, the, note on, iii. 199
- Burbank, Captain, captured by the Indians, iii. 24
- Burd, Colonel James, in command of Pennsylvanian troops, ii. 198; biographical reference to, 199; colonel of the 2nd battalion of Pennsylvania, 199
- Burd, serves in Braddock's expedition, ii. 199; major of the Augusta expedition, 199; death of, 199
- Burford*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151
- Burial, method of, in winter, i. 291; flag of truce from Quebec to inform British that all men killed at Montmorency had been given decent burial, ii. 8; of bodies of soldiers who died in Quebec, 369
- grounds, military, in Quebec, ii. 369, 435
- Burt, F., master of the *Europa* transport cutter, i. 359
- Burton, Ralph, colonel, commanding 48th Regiment, 1758, reference to, i. 165; to command a brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 212; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; reference to, 219; to deliver provisions to regiments before Louisbourg, 221; reference to, 222; to command the grenadiers at Quebec, 380; joins Monckton's Brigade at Point Levis, 392; escorts General Wolfe to view the city of Quebec, 395; wounded at Montmorency, 454; reference to, ii. 70; Wolfe's letter to, 87; in command of reserve on Plains of Abraham, 99; reference to, by Wolfe, 114; appointment of, as lieutenant-governor of Quebec, 241; reference to appointment of, as lieutenant-governor of Quebec, 277; joins General Murray in signing bills for public loan, 299; at the battle of Ste. Foy, ii. 391, 392; makes frequent visits to the guards and working parties to encourage the men, 405; left in command at Quebec by Murray, 439; to command the right brigade in the expedition of Murray against Montreal, 463; note on, 464; passes the rapids of the Richelieu with eighty men, 472; in command of the first brigade, 501; to lead the right column in the march to Montreal, 518; reference to, 597, iii. 316, 331
- Burton's Redoubt, occupied by French, February 23, 1760, ii. 346; bombardment of, by French, i. 408; position of, 408; additional guns placed at, 435
- Bushby, Fred, dies from wounds from fireship, ii. 25
- Busie, M. de, commander of the *Two Brothers*, a ship captured by the French and recaptured by Swanton, ii. 431
- Butchers, in Quebec, required to take out licences, ii. 323
- Bute County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Buteau, Marie-Anne, of St. Agnes, reference to, ii. 292
- Butler, Lieutenant, of the Rangers,

- extract from letter of, i. 296; despatched from Quebec to General Amherst, ii. 316; failure of, to proceed to New York, 325; reference to, 332, 336
- Butler, John, Captain, reference to, iii. 191, 194, 211
- Butter, price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Byng, Admiral, warrant for execution of, signed by Boscawen, i. 150
- Major, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the 99th Regiment, i. xiv
- Byrd, William, member of the King's Council and colonel of the 2nd Virginia Regiment, ii. 198; biographical reference to, 198; in command of Virginia troops, 198
- Byron, Commodore, in command of vessels in Baie des Chaleurs, ii. 490; destroys settlement at Ristigouchi and captures large quantities of provisions, 491; dispatch of, regarding capture of French ships, 491; destroys twenty-two vessels belonging to the French, 492; reference to, iii. 320, 399; praised by Colville, 409
- CADARAQUI, Indian name of Frontenac. *See* Cataraqui and Frontenac, i. 264
- Cadet, Joseph Michel, biographical reference to, ii. 165; obtains a contract to supply all the military posts with provisions, 165; becomes involved in the schemes of Bigot, 165; imprisoned in the Bastille and ordered to restore six millions to the Treasury, 166; is released by the king and returns to Canada, 166; returns to France and purchases the Barony de la Touche d'Avrigny for 160,000 livres, 166; claims the title of baron, which is denied to him by the officials of Poitiers, 166; becomes the owner of the castle of La Barbelinière and the lands of Goustranville, 166; takes up his residence in rue Hazard, 166; becomes proprietor of the fief and seignior of Marigny-sous-Marmande, the château and lands of Mondon, Ponsay, Bouquilli, and Pruneaux, 166; pressed by his creditors, endeavours to raise money on his property, which is eventually sold to pay his debts, 166
- Cadet, Madame, reference to, ii. 15
- Cadet's Farm, reference to, ii. 171
- Cadillac, Antoine de la Motte, founder of Detroit, ii. 183
- Captain, reference to, iii. 70
- Cadwallader, King, reference to his victory over the Saxons, i. 140
- Calan, Sieur, reference to, iii. 182
- Calcraft, Captain, remarks of, on the advantage of the position chosen by Wolfe, ii. 141
- Caldwell, Henry, biographical reference to, i. 332; appointed Receiver-General for Lower Canada, 332; appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General in the expedition against Quebec, 332; assists in defence of Quebec against Montgomery, 332; (Calwale), mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 91
- Sir John, Receiver-General of Lower Canada, i. 332
- Calvaire, Le, captured and destroyed by British, March, 1760, ii. 361, 363; French re-establish post at, 364; reference to engagement at, 383; French strengthen their post at, 447
- Calvet, Pierre du, reference to the *Case* of, i. 289; conduct of, towards Cæsar McCormick, 289
- Calvin, name given to cattle to annoy British officers, i. 160
- Calwale, Captain. *See* Caldwell
- Cambis, M. de, colonel of the Regiment de Cambise, i. 258
- Cambise, Regiment de, surrender of, at Louisbourg, i. 257; history and uniform of, 258; regiment, at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- Cameron, Captain Alexander, reference to, ii. 73
- Charles, defends himself in a house against a large body of Canadians and Indians, ii. 34; a volunteer in light infantry, given a commission by Wolfe as ensign, 34, 35; one of the first men to gain the heights, 95
- Camp, arrangements for, at Louisbourg, i. 224, 225; regulations regarding care of, 435; directions for care of, 446; all regiments in camps ordered to go into Quebec, ii. 158

- Camp-colour-men, ordered to mark out a camp at Varennes, ii. 511
- Camp-equipage, supply of, to expedition against Quebec, i. 356
- Camp-fire, method of cooking at, i. 121
- Camp-kettles, supply of, to regiments in Quebec, ii. 359
- Campbell, Captain, in command of the *Nightingale* in 1758, i. 152, 354, 358
- Captain, of Royal Highlanders, appointed major for the campaign, i. 473; in command of a large detachment, seeks to draw the enemy into an engagement, 478; destroys works and huts of the enemy in the islands, 491; in command of the 17th Regiment, ii. 525, 526; major of the Grenadiers, 537; in command of Gage's regiment, 1759, iii. 37
- Canada, report that reduction of, is planned by New England troops, i. 145; distribution of troops to penetrate into, 1758, 165; James Murray appointed governor of, 330; Guy Carleton appointed governor of, 330, 331; etymology of the word, 387; steps taken for the reduction of, 512; population of, ii. 225, 226, 227; description of, by author, 607; author's estimate of population of, 612
- Canadians, disguise themselves as Indians during the war, i. 74; at the battle of Ticonderoga, 193, 194; reported discontent of, during siege of Quebec, 431; when discontented, threatened with Indians, 434; reported to be discontented during siege of Quebec, 434; threatened by Montcalm with the Indians, 441; reported to be willing to submit to the British, 441; attack a party of New Jersey regiment, 481; party of, dressed as Indians, killed and wounded at Château Richer, ii. 45; reported discontent of, 46; reported discouragement of, 92; reported to be anxious to capitulate, 116; found concealed in the bushes near the British camp, 117; body of, on the north side of St. Charles River, fire on the British, claiming that they were not included in the capitulation, 125; to retain their property, provided they lay down their arms, 128; not obliged to quit their houses, 129; surrender, and ask permission to reap their harvest, 134; surrendering in large numbers, 138; endeavour to exchange vegetables for biscuit and pork, 145; unenviable position of, after the fall of Quebec, 251; French circulate false intelligence to revive the spirits of, 283; in neighbourhood of Quebec, not to be molested by soldiers seeking wood, 308; good behaviour of, under Murray, 336; desert Quebec, 429; employed to level French works outside Quebec, 453; employed in cutting wood for the garrison, 458; reported to be anxious for peace, 473; willingly trade with British troops, 473; invite British to land at Three Rivers, promising not to molest them, 477; send two canoes with vegetables to the British as they pass Three Rivers, 478; ordered into town to act as scavengers, 458; well supplied with food in the vicinity of St. Ignace, 497; attack Rangers at Varennes, 510; surrender, being in terror of the Indians under Sir William Johnson, 511; placed under the protection of the British, 566
- Canajoharie, on the Mohawk River, iii. 25
- Canajorakies, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Canard River, reference to, i. 32
- Candiac, birthplace of Montcalm, ii. 257
- Candles, demanded by officers on guard at Annapolis, i. 99; removal of, from Quebec, forbidden, ii. 270
- Cannon, sealing of, at Fort Cumberland, i. 295; British, employed in bringing up guns for the new batteries, ii. 413; Murray secures thirty-four pieces of, 433
- Cannon shot, over one thousand shot from the enemy collected in vicinity of British batteries, ii. 30
- Cannon shot and mortars, the sum of 2*d.* for each ball collected allowed to soldiers, 2*s.* 6*d.* for each 10-inch shell, and 5*s.* for each 13-inch shell, ii. 30
- Canon, M., reference to, i. 362; com-



- mands French ships in the St. Lawrence, November, 1759, ii. 286
- Canseau, Straits of, reference to, i. 327; a detachment sent to, to cut off the retreat of the Acadians from Cape Breton, 1758, 170; reference to, iii. 346
- Canteen, method of carrying, by light infantry, i. 353
- Cap Rouge, General Wolfe reconnoitres, i. 432; brigadiers propose to make a descent between that place and the height of St. John, ii. 47; report that British intend to effect a landing in vicinity of, 57; French fleet at, October 24, 1759, 243; report of arrival of a French detachment at, January, 1760, 329; rumour of an expedition of Bourlamaque to, 373; British detachment marches to, April, 1760, 374; British light infantry take part at, April 18, 1760, 376, 377; skirmish near, April 19, 1760, 380; French cross river at, April 26, 1760, 385; British withdraw from, 386; French fleet in St. Lawrence falls down to, 390; French troops succeed in crossing river at, 432
- Cap Tourmente, Bougainville recommends erection of a battery at, i. 373; reference to, 372, 373, ii. 252
- Cape Assous (Cape Forchu), now Yarmouth, i. 55
- blockhouse, Annapolis, reference to, i. 88; attack expected in vicinity of, 141; fires observed from, in vicinity of Mayass Hill, 153
- Breton, reference to, i. 27; ii. 592; expedition to, abandoned, i. 44; note on the failure of expedition to, 63; surrender of, 252; French families in, surrender, 267
- Cameras, reference to, i. 372
- Canseau, reference to, ii. 592
- Catt, reference to, ii. 253
- Chignecto, or Checnecto, i. 56
- Diamond, reference to, ii. 57; boats carried to vicinity of, 94; ruinous condition of houses in vicinity of, 160; Quebec, guard at, November 5, 1759, 268; blockhouse erected near, 302; works at, directed against by the enemy, 404; party ordered to watch the movements of the enemy every night, 404; officers watch French vessels from citadel at, 414; French open a battery against, 419; works completed at, 421; palisades at, finished, 424
- Cape Dore, or d'Or, i. 56; mines of, 70
- Enragé, note on, i. 57
- Escondide, reference to, ii. 592
- Gaspé, reference to, ii. 253
- Goose, reference to, ii. 252
- Magdalene, note on, ii. 480; soundings taken at, 481
- Melenquin (Meringouin), i. 57
- Meringouin, i. 57
- Negro, i. 54; reference to, 326
- Noir, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 218; chain of posts at, iii. 2
- Orage. *See* Cape Enragé, i. 57
- Race, reference to, i. 359, 362
- Ray, capture of a French vessel near, i. 328
- Sable, reference to, i. 55; occupation of, by British, 263; success of British expedition against, 271; reference to, 326
- St. Mary, reference to, i. 326
- Whitehead, reference to, i. 327
- Capel, Captain Joseph, reference to, i. 429, 430
- Capillaire, reference to product of, ii. 614
- Capitulation of Louisbourg, articles of, i. 255
- of Montreal, note on, ii. 602
- of Quebec, articles of, signed, ii. 122, 126
- Capivi, balsam, reference to, ii. 497
- Caple, the, i. 22
- Capricieux, the, burning of, in Louisbourg harbour, i. 248; loss of, 259; destroyed by fire, iii. 16, 111
- Captain, the, commanded by Captain Amherst, i. 21; reference to, 36; damage sustained by, 101; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; in the expedition against Quebec, 357
- Captains' guards, reduction in, ii. 441
- Card money, table of issues, iii. 337. *See* Paper money
- Cardeneau, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 174
- Cardin, Captain, to command company of light infantry in expedition against Quebec, i. 334; ordered to land on island of Orleans, 376; re-

- ference to company under command of, ii. 14
- Carillon, victory of Montcalm at, i. 67; Rangers under Rogers reconnoitre the French position at, 157; reference to, 431, 432; large encampment reported at, 480; reference to encampment at, 485; French fall back within entrenchments at, 503; reference, ii. 68; built by the French in 1755, 182. *See also* Ticonderoga
- Carleton, Guy, lands at Ile aux Coudres, May 28, 1759, i. 306; biographical reference to, 330; serves in the siege of Louisbourg, 330; wounded at the Plains of Abraham, 330; defends Canada against the Americans, 330; appointed quartermaster-general in the expedition against Quebec, 330; appointed governor of Canada, 330, 331; Constitutional Act revised by, 331; created Baron Dorchester, 331; reference to, 379; occupies west end of island of Orleans, 393, 394; fortifies the island of Orleans, 395; commands detachment above Quebec, 431; lands above Quebec, 435; grenadiers of detachment of, return from above Quebec, 439; conduct of, towards General Wolfe, 456; accompanies General Wolfe to St. Joachim, ii. 24; in charge of the transports for conveying the troops from Montmorency to Point Levi, 56; reference to, in Wolfe's dispatch, 61; reference to, 64; accompanies General Wolfe, 84; reference to, 90; boats sent across the river to bring over division under, 96; captures Crown Point, 190; colonel, leaves Quebec for the recovery of his wounds, 243; causes a list to be made of the papers left in the country, 571
- Lady Maria, destroys the private papers of her husband, ii. 90
- Carolina, reference to, ii. 190
- Carpenter, Captain, of the *Baltimore*, i. 358
- Carpenters, company of, to serve in siege of Louisbourg, 1758, i. 165; loss of, at Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 288; ship, ill effects of loss of, at Quebec, 335; employed at Louisbourg, ninety-two die from smallpox, iii. 11
- Carr or Kerr, the sergeant of that name makes good his escape, and causes great annoyance to the British, ii. 51; takes refuge amongst the Acadians at Baie des Chaleurs, 52; two expeditions sent in search of him, 52
- Cartel of exchange of prisoners, Captain Abercromby visits Montreal in regard to, ii. 301; reference to, in the correspondence of Montcalm and De Ramezay, 109; full text of, iii. 258
- Carthagera, reference to war at, ii. 355
- Cartier, Jacques, reference to, i. 343; extract from account of voyages of, ii. 328; learns curative powers of spruce trees, 376
- Cartouch-box, method of carrying, by light infantry, i. 352
- Cartridges, directions to soldiers for making up, i. 208; men from infantry regiments to assist artillery in making, ii. 273; not to be used on regimental parades, 295
- Cascades, the, reference to, ii. 557
- Casco Bay, reference to, i. 273
- Casks, use of, filled with snow, in the defences of Quebec, ii. 318
- Casualties, at René Forêt, i. 127; loss sustained by the British before the lines of Ticonderoga, 195; British, in siege of Louisbourg, 254; French, in siege of Louisbourg, 255; eleven men from New Jersey regiment killed by Indians, 481; two men killed by comrades during a false alarm, 506; four men killed in the trenches at Ticonderoga, 507; return to be made of losses from beginning of campaign until the end of July, ii. 5; loss of the British in the expedition under Murray, 15; British, from beginning of campaign to September 1, 1759, 60; a list of the killed and wounded at the battle of the Plains ordered to be made, 107; list of British killed and wounded, September 13, 118; British, in the campaign of 1759, 227; French, in the campaign of 1759, 227; of British and French, at the battle of Ste. Foy and the siege of Quebec, 1760, 396, 397; return ordered of men killed on April 28, 401; reported loss of the French on April 28, 412; British



- loss during the siege did not exceed thirty killed and wounded, 433; in British camp between September 18, 1759, and April 24, 1760, 451; many soldiers and sailors drowned in venturing to fish in canoes, 508.  
*See Killed and Wounded*
- Catalogne, Louis François Gédéon de, note on, iii. 412
- Cataraqui, or Cadaraqui, French name for Frontenac (now Kingston), part of the French army at, i. 482; reference to, ii. 192, 531, 549, iii. 201  
 — river, reference to, ii. 192, 596
- Catawbas, note on, iii. 199
- Cathedral, Quebec, damage to, by British batteries, i. 423, 424; reference to, ii. 202
- Cat Island, British encamp at, ii. 555; reference to, 556
- Cattle, brought from Boston to Fort Cumberland, i. 75; to be sent from New England for garrison for the winter of 1758, 183; brought from Boston to provision garrison of Annapolis, 184; rangers to take charge of, for army before Quebec, 380; care of, in army before Quebec, 384; captured, to be delivered to the magazine, 400; light infantry bring, to camp before Quebec, 433, 435, 439; Col. Fraser's detachment bring in, to camp before Quebec, 440, 443; twenty head of, secured by Captain Goreham, ii. 38; black, carried off by French cavalry from General Hospital, Quebec, 241; French restore, to General Hospital, Quebec, 243; carried off by French from neighbourhood of Quebec, November, 1759, 270; quantity of, secured at St. Augustin, 445; excellence of Canadian breed of, 615
- Caunadroghas, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Cavaliers, British erect two, between Cape Diamond and St. Louis gate, ii. 405
- Cavalry, charge of, at Deschambault, ii. 15; equipped to act on foot or horseback, formed by Montcalm, 47; French, appear in neighbourhood of Quebec, November, 1759, 272
- Cayenquiliqua, Mohawk Indian, statement made by, ii. 29
- Cayugas, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536  
 — Tuscaroras and Mohawks, divisions of the Six Nations, ii. 537
- Cedar Falls, reference to, ii. 253
- Cedars, the, guard of 160 men at, ii. 556; prisoner taken by the British at the, 556; reference to, 611
- Célèbre, La*, of the French fleet, i. 47; burning of, in Louisbourg harbour, 248, 249; loss of, 259; reference to burning of, iii. 111
- Celeron, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 257
- Centurion*, the, commanded by Captain Mantell, i. 21; struck upon Turbetbank, 23; reference to, 36, 337; damage sustained by, 101; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; takes position near French works at Montmorency, 445; French fire on, 448; supports British attack at Montmorency, 449, 452; position of, during the attack at Montmorency, 456; Wolfe's opinion of fire of, during attack at Montmorency, 457; reference to, ii. 65  
 — and *Shrewsbury*, to take in Anstruther's out of *George* transport, ii. 86
- Cerry, Dailleboust, reference to, iii. 175
- Chads, Captain, of the *Vesuvius*, i. 358; in charge of the landing, Sept. 13, ii. 48; to conduct troops to landing-place, 80; receives instructions from Wolfe regarding landing of troops at the Foulon, 88  
 — Admiral Sir H., K.C.B., reference to, ii. 88
- Chalmuc Tartars, description of snow-shoes used by, ii. 315
- Chambers, E. T. D., indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii
- Chambly, Fort, reported to have been occupied by Sir William Johnson, March, 1760, ii. 358; rumours of burning of, 359; reported to have been burned by General Amherst, 366; reference to rumour of attack on, 372; rumour that Johnson is advancing to, 457; reference to, 515
- Chambon, de. *See Vergor*
- Champagne wine, gift of, from M. de Drucour to General Amherst, i. 230

- Champlain, Samuel, reference to, i. 284; founder of Quebec, grants lands to Abraham Martin, after whom the Plains were named, ii. 97; first residence of, at Quebec, 203; reference to death of, 203; refers to spruce tree, 376; names Ste. Helen's Island in honour of his wife, 510
- Chaplain of garrison of Annapolis volunteers to go on expedition to gather fruit, i. 103
- Chaplains, note on, ii. 28; British, duties of, in Quebec, 279
- Chapman, John, master of the *Diana*, extract from log of, ii. 473
- Charest, Sieur de, note on, i. 418
- Charlebourg, reference to, i. 378, ii. 171; Canadians retire to, ii. 429
- Charlefort, another name for Scots Fort, i. 138
- Charles's River, redoubt at, attacked by French, October 24, 1759, ii. 242; reference to, 245
- Charlestown, Montgomery marches to, ii. 520
- Charlevoix, reference to history of, i. 284; reference to, ii. 204, 226; plan by, iii. 151, 158
- Charming Molly*, the, arrives at Annapolis from Piscataway with provisions, i. 100; transport cutter, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, 359
- Charnay, Madame de, taken prisoner by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Charroy, note on, iii. 235
- Charts of the St. Lawrence, obtained by Admiral Durell, i. 328
- Château Richer, house of the Curé of, destroyed by light infantry, ii. 45
- St. Louis, reference to, ii. 32; British flag hoisted on, in the year 1629, 125; reference to foundation of, 203; account of, 204
- Chatham, Earl of, William Pitt, created, i. 299, 300
- Chaudière River, detachment of Rangers march to, i. 396; reference to, 404; General Wolfe reconnoitres, 432; reference to, ii. 72, 253
- Chaumillon, écrivain, a prisoner, reference to, iii. 251
- Chauvelin, Captain, the Chevalier de, killed at Louisbourg, note on, iii. 14
- Chauvreulx, Abbé, reference to, i. 32
- Chebucto harbour, reference to, i. 30, 46, 87, ii. 283; fleet anchored in, 31; advantages of, 52; origin of name, 309; reference to settlement at, 592
- Chedebois, iii. 389
- Cheese, price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Chenet's Mill, reference to, ii. 171
- Chenevert, Madame, house of, burned by British shells, i. 424
- Chennogoas, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536; probably Shenango, a village settled by Nanticokes, 537
- Chenussios, note on, iii. 193
- Chepordie Hill (Shepody), i. 57
- Cherokee Indians, inhabitants of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama, note on, ii. 520; besiege Fort Loudoun after departure of Montgomery and force it to surrender, 616
- Cheshire cheese, sent by Murray as a present to Lévis, ii. 409
- Chevalier, M., house of, in Quebec, burned by British shells, i. 424
- Chevre*, the, sunk in Louisbourg harbour, i. 259, iii. 11
- Chevreaux, Sieur, reference to, iii. 342
- Chezine*, the, frigate, arrival of, at Quebec, i. 362; reference to, ii. 138
- Chicqueto, or Fort Cumberland, ii. 592
- Chien D'Or (Golden Dog), the, occupied by Philibert, ii. 63, 207; description of, iii. 350
- Chigabentakdy River, reference to, i. 201
- Chignecto, Isthmus of, French claim was not ceded to British, i. 201
- Children employed at Isle aux Noix, ii. 193
- Chimneys, regulations regarding sweeping of, in Quebec, ii. 259; number of, used by regiments in Quebec, to be reported, 267; to be swept regularly, 408
- Chinese, value attached to ginseng plant by, ii. 182
- Chirping-glass, reference to, i. 94
- Chouagatchie, or Oswegatchie, note on, ii. 542
- Christie, Gabriel, major of the 44th Regiment, ii. 192; appointed quartermaster-general, 192; sent to Gage on arrival from England, iii. 51; returns from Crown Point, 199

- Christmas, observation of, i. 287; celebration of, in Quebec, 1759, ii. 312; description of a peculiar ceremony of the inhabitants of Quebec on the eve of, 312
- Churches, British troops ordered to spare, i. 438
- and convents to be guarded, ii. 131
- Cid, Le*, dedication of, to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, ii. 224
- Cider, price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Citadel, the, on Cape Diamond, ii. 32; Quebec, guard at, November 5, 1759, 268; description of, 205; reference to, 210; at Montreal, described, 605
- Hill, notice of alarm to be sent to officer at, ii. 406
- Civil jurisdiction, establishment of, in Quebec, ii. 270
- Civilians performing garrison duty at Annapolis Royal, i. 98
- Clare and Anselm. *See* Thomas
- Claret, price of, in 1759, ii. 19; from French stores, distributed to British officers in Quebec, 245
- Clark, —, forms a plan with Stobo to escape, ii. 50
- Claus, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 205
- Claverie, nominal proprietor of "La Friponne," ii. 145
- Cleanliness, observance of, required from soldiers in Quebec, ii. 354
- Cleland, Captain, of the *Scorpion*, i. 358
- Clement, interpreter, reference to, iii. 205, 213
- Clephane, Major, reference to, i. 225
- Clergé en Barbette, Le, reference to battery called, ii. 209
- Clergy blamed for the misfortunes of the Canadians, ii. 474
- Climate, variations of, in Nova Scotia, recorded by the author, i. 106; observations on during month of January, 1758, 132; healthiness of, 134; note by the author on his diary of, 167; of Annapolis and Fort Cumberland compared, 172; of Nova Scotia, remarks of author on, 179; of Nova Scotia, reference to, 180; unusual condition of, in month of June, 1758, 181; difference of, between Annapolis and Fort Cumberland, 284; character of, at Fort Cumberland, 293; of Nova Scotia, description of, 309; of Nova Scotia, observations of the author on, 320
- Clinton, Sir Henry, reference to, i. 331
- Clive, Captain, to proceed with the troops from Louisbourg to Platon Road, ii. 477
- Cloth, from the French stores, to be distributed among the British troops in Quebec, ii. 241, 245
- Clothing, stoppages in pay of soldiers to provide, i. 233; special articles of, to be provided to soldiers at Fort Cumberland, 285; prices charged the troops in Nova Scotia, compared with prices in Ireland, 137; character of, for British soldiers in Quebec, December, 1759, ii. 307; of British troops in Quebec, unusual appearance of, 309
- Clouthier, Marguerite, of St. Monica, reference to, ii. 292
- Coal, excellent quality of, i. 70
- mines, work at, i. 70
- pits, found in Nova Scotia, i. 312
- Coates, Admiral Thomas, biographical reference to, i. 150; intercepts a French man-of-war bound for Louisbourg, 150
- Coats, to be turned, when troops are working, i. 227, 229
- Cobb, Sylvanus, biographical reference to, i. 56; reference to, 281
- John Silvester, sailing orders of, May 13, 1759, i. 322
- Cocagne River, camp at, i. 61
- Cock, Lieutenant Francis, second lieutenant in the Marines, ii. 502
- Cockburne, Sergeant, receives reward for gallant conduct, i. 123
- Codfish, abundance of, in vicinity of Cape Sable, i. 55
- Cohorns, prepared by the British to oppose the Boyaux erected by the French, ii. 421
- Cold, suffering of British soldiers in Quebec from, ii. 297, 309; severity of, at Quebec, January, 1760, 332
- Cole, Edward, Lieutenant-Colonel, note on, iii. 228
- Collet, Canon, assists at the funeral of Montcalm, ii. 111
- Collins, Captain, commander of the *Terrible*, i. 21, 36, 152, 357



- Colony troops, French, detachment of, have a skirmish on south side of St. Lawrence, June 30, 1759, i. 386; detachment of, defend Point Lewis, 391; French, in expedition against Point Lewis, 419; lieutenant of, mortally wounded in engagement near Point Platon, ii. 472
- Colours, French, capture of, at Louisbourg, i. 253, 258; to be carried on the field by the regiments, 459; French claim to have destroyed them, ii. 590; French, rescued from fire at Ticonderoga by Gage's infantry, 1759, iii. 44
- Colville, Captain, Lord, commander of the *Northumberland*, i. 21; extract from journal of, 23; report of, on damage to British fleet off Louisbourg, 1757, 101; commander of the *Northumberland*, 1758, 152, 358; importance of early arrival of, at Quebec, 1760, ii. 336; schooner *Lawrence* got ready to meet, 373; Murray writes to, 378; fleet of, to rendezvous at Bic, 416; anchors with his squadron at Bic, 416; receives a letter from Murray regarding the situation in Quebec, 416; Commander-in-Chief of the North American Squadron, winters at Halifax, 416; fleet of, arrives at Quebec and is saluted by the garrison, 435; sends all the sick in the fleet to Point Levi Church, 456; sends prisoners, including a priest and a Jesuit, to Massachusetts Bay, 474; commends Captain Deane, 601; assists in the recovery of Newfoundland, 617; reference to, iii. 74, 94, 252, 254, 320, 325, 334; anchored at Quebec, 306; letter from, to Pitt, 410; note, extract from journal, 401; letter to, from Amherst, 410, 414; letter from, to Amherst, note on, 411
- Comeau, Pierre, founder of Comeau's Village, i. 126
- Comeau's Village, on the Annapolis River, i. 126
- Comette, La*, of the French fleet, i. 47; escapes from Louisbourg, 219; runs the blockade at Louisbourg, iii. 8
- Commandant of lower town to be appointed, ii. 169
- Commander-in-Chief, success of, i. 511
- Commanding officer, the, of expedition from Fort Annapolis, killed by the enemy, i. 122; effects of, secured by Sergeant Cockburne, 123; Annapolis, timely action of, prevents destruction of a detachment of 43rd Regiment, 148
- Commissary's office, Quebec, complaints regarding, November, 1759, ii. 281
- Commissions, commanding officers to send in ■ return of those vacant, ii. 137; vacant, filled by General Monckton, October, 1759, 227
- Communications from the enemy, at Louisbourg, regulations regarding receiving, i. 228
- Companies, three additional, to serve under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne, i. 163, 166; additional, to serve in siege of Louisbourg, 1758, 165
- Comparé, Françoise, of St. Francis Xavier, reference to, ii. 293
- Concord*, the, i. 22
- Confians, reference to the defeat of, ii. 416
- Congreve, Lieutenant, mentioned, iii. 399
- Connecticut, provincial troops from, to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, i. 166; number of men from regiment of, to be employed in batteau-service, 463; regiment, encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; marches to Seven-Mile Post, 473; four battalions of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484
- Conner, Lieut. Nathaniel, of the Royal Artillery, ii. 552
- Constant Jane*, the, i. 22
- Constitutional Act, preparation of, i. 331
- Conti, Prince de, reference to, ii. 461
- Contrecoeur, fleet comes to anchor at, ii. 504; note on, 504; mention of Murray's letter from, iii. 255
- Convalescents, to hold themselves in readiness to render assistance in the event of the enemy storming Quebec, ii. 404; to be employed in making sand bags for the artillery, 410

- Convents, orders for the sick to be removed from, ii. 400; overcrowded condition of, 400
- Convoy, sent with dispatches to Quebec to be forwarded to England, ii. 505
- Conway, Henry Seymour, Major-General, reference to, iii. 258; note on, 274
- Cook, Mr., opinion of, in regard to the attack at Montmorency, i. 457
- Captain, master of the *Pembroke*, ii. 93
- Copper mines, reference to, i. 56
- Corbière, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 241
- Corbin, Sieur, reference to, iii. 240
- Cork, generosity of inhabitants of, to troops, i. 18
- Cormorant*, the, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358
- Corn, price of, in Quebec, fixed by proclamation, ii. 322, 323
- Corneille dedicates *Le Cid* to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, ii. 224
- M., description of sea-cows by, i. 364
- Cornwal, Captain, commander of the *Grafton*, i. 21, 33, 36
- Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, founding of Halifax by, i. 309
- Coronation Day, observation of, in the garrison at Annapolis, i. 100, 271
- Correspondence. All letters and papers found on the field to be taken to headquarters, ii. 107
- Corry, Captain, reference to, ii. 115
- Corsa, in command of the New Yorkers in Amherst's army, ii. 527; note on, 528
- Cosby, Captain, of the 40th Regiment, Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis, i. 94
- Cosnan, Captain, grenadiers of, complimented for spirit shown against Indians, i. 425; appointed Town-Major of Quebec, ii. 143; reference to, 363
- Cosseau, Charles, reference to, iii. 174
- Côte Ste. Geneviève, Colonel Irving detached to protect force of, ii. 4
- Coteau du Lac, reference to, ii. 557
- Couagne, Monsieur de, reference to, iii. 191, 193, 203, 219, 229
- Coudres, Isle aux, Guy Carleton lands at, i. 306; occupation of, by Admiral Durell, 361; British midshipmen captured at, 368; description of, 369; reference to, 372; Bougainville recommends erection of a battery at, 373; surrender of prisoners taken at, demanded from French, 402; proposal to erect a fort on the island of, for winter-quarters of the British, ii. 22; destruction of settlements in the vicinity of, by Captain Goreham, 23; report of the construction of a fortress on the island of, by the British, 31; project of erecting a fortress at, abandoned, 40; troops from Louisbourg arrive at, 477
- Couillard, Mademoiselle, taken prisoner by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Coulon, reference to, ii. 183
- Council, members of, to be conveyed to France, ii. 576
- Military, at Annapolis, papers and books of Johnston and Davis examined by, i. 203
- Councils of War, frequency of, i. 39; on board the *Winchelsea*, 52; held by the French after the battle, ii. 110
- Countersign, method of receiving, i. 416
- Cournoyer, Thérèse Hertel de, reference to, ii. 119
- Courier, from the French at Beauport, with dispatch to Lévis, intercepted by the British, ii. 426
- Courteau, M., reference to, ii. 498
- Courtemanche, M. de, reference to, ii. 53
- Court-martial, proceedings of, i. 35; sentence of, in case of a deserter from the grenadiers, 129; holding of, at Quebec, October, 1759, ii. 238, 240; session of, in Quebec, November 16, 1759, 276; ordered to inquire into the cause of the loss of the *Lowestoffe*, 436
- Courval, le sieur, reference to, iii. 181
- Cousnoyer, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 187, 244
- Coventry, Lieutenant, Assistant Deputy Quartermaster-General, reference to, i. 463
- Covering parties, regulations regarding, i. 427



- Cowart, Captain, reference to, i. 448  
 Coypel, paintings by, in Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, ii. 224  
 Crafton, Lieutenant, serves under Rogers near Ticonderoga, i. 157  
 Cramahé, Hector Theophilus, biographical reference to, i. 346; appointed Deputy Judge-Advocate to the expedition against Quebec, 346; manifesto signed by, ii. 250; signature of, to proclamation, 299; member of the first Council at Quebec, 4  
 "Cranmer," name given to cattle to annoy British officers, i. 160  
 Creepers, or grapins, used by the troops to prevent slipping, i. 134; use of, by soldiers in Quebec, ii. 255, 259; provision for manufacture of, 295; issuance of, to the British soldiers in Quebec, 304, 305; use of, in Quebec, enjoined, 353  
 Crévécour, M. de, prisoner in the hands of the British, ii. 7  
 Crissey, M., purchases the seigniority of Nicolet, ii. 487  
 Crofton, Lieutenant, to be sent with dispatches to Amherst, ii. 14; note on, 384; of the rangers, brings in scalps of Indians, iii. 14  
 Croghan, Mr., reference to, iii. 199  
 Cromwell, Oliver, appointment of the Governor of Annapolis by, i. 44  
 Crosbie or Crosby, Charles, lieutenant-colonel of the 43rd Regiment, i. 17  
 Crosby, *read* Cosby, i. 94  
 Cross set up by Montcalm at the foot of the entrenchments at Ticonderoga, i. 195  
 Crown, French, value of, ii. 290  
 Crown Point, party of rangers from, i. 485; forces of Bourlamaque at, 511; reference to, ii. 68, 72; report that the French have abandoned their position at, 180; importance of the reduction of, 181; captured by Ethan Allen, 190; recaptured by Guy Carleton, 190; fort built by Amherst within two hundred yards of Fort Frederick, 190; becomes American territory under Treaty of 1783, 190; Amherst decides to complete the works at, before the winter, 197; General Amherst reported to have retired to, 244; reference to, 287; General Amherst's army reported to be in the neighbourhood of, December, 1759, 301; reference to, 528. *See also* Fort Frederick  
 Cruelties of Indians, question of responsibility for, ii. 247, 248  
 Cruickshanks, Captain, in command of an independent company, iii. 28  
*Cruiser*, the, loses mast and all her guns, i. 101  
 Cugnet, Francis, appointed Judge of Beauport and Charlesbourg, ii. 302  
 — Canon, assists at funeral of Montcalm, ii. 111  
 Cul-de-sac, houses in vicinity of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19  
 Culloden, reference to battle of, i. 221  
 Cumberland, William Augustus, Duke of, biographical reference to, i. 220; reference to standing orders of, 139, 220; order issued by, to the army in Flanders, revised, 139; reference to, ii. 260  
 — Elisha, name given to a child baptized at Fort Cumberland, i. 298  
 — basin, French pirates in, i. 305  
 — Fort, reference to, i. 43, 87, 134, 187; author's description of, 81; remarks by the author on the situation of, 82; frequent repairs made to, 82; marshes in vicinity of, reclaimed by the French, 84; wooden guns at, 85; means suggested for the protection of, 107; twelve hundred dollars received for subsistence of, 107; attack on the *Eagle* schooner at, 155; change in the garrison of, 161; detachment of Rangers at, 167; reference to, 168; climate at, compared with that at Annapolis, 172; author's opinion as to distance of, from Annapolis, 172; money for troops to be brought to, June, 1758, 176; deserters from French army surrender at, 1758, 180; cattle stolen from, by the French, 196; Rangers arrive at, with plunder from Acadian village, 1758, 198; design of French against, 263; surrender of a Frenchman at, 266; 43rd Regiment to meet at, 272; report that 43rd Regiment will winter at, 276; arrival of a company of 43rd Regiment at, 284; detail of garrison duty at, 285; skating is principal amusement at,

- 287; character of winter at, 287, 288; soldier killed near, 288; several soldiers from, killed or missing, 289; scalping of soldiers killed near, 290; method of obtaining firewood at, 291, 292; alarm-posts of garrison at, 292; celebration of St. Patrick's Day at, 294; opening of navigation at, 1759, 295, 296; French send flag of truce to, offering to exchange prisoners, 305; arrival of provincial troops at, 306; sailing of the 43rd Regiment from, 307, 323
- Cunasarages, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536; variant of Kannassarago, which means "white house," 537
- Cuninghame, James, aide-de-camp to General Abercromby, issues manifesto regarding the capitulation of Fort William Henry, i. 182
- Cuninghame, Robert, adjutant-general, i. 15; orders issued by, 17
- Cureux-de-St. Germain, Marie-Madeleine, of St. Agathe, reference to, ii. 293
- Marie, of St. Chrysostom, reference to, 293
- Currency, remarks on, i. 49; reference to relative values of different kinds of, 233; proclamation of Murray respecting, ii. 290
- Curry, Major, in command of the 2nd battalion, composed of detachments from the 28th and 58th Regiments, in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463; commanding the 2nd battalion of grenadiers, 502
- Custom House, Quebec, description of, ii. 208
- Cuthbert, Lieutenant, killed at the landing at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- D'ALBERGATTI, Marquis, refuses to surrender Fort Jacques Cartier to Fraser on demand, ii. 523; surrenders as the British prepare to storm the fort at Jacques Cartier, 523; in command of the fort at Jacques Cartier, 523
- Dalling, Major John, special command of, at Louisbourg, i. 229; note on, 229; sent against Mont Louis, 277; returns to Gaspé Bay, 277; to command light infantry in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; reference to, 347, 403, ii. 72; light infantry of, serve under Colonel Carleton, i. 380; light infantry of, bring in plunder, 411; posts a proclamation announcing a policy of devastation, 438; light infantry of, capture many prisoners near Quebec, 439; leads expedition to St. Henry, 440; light infantry of, escort Admiral Holmes to Goreham's Post, 442; given command of the light infantry in Quebec, ii. 337; drives French from Point Levi, February 13, 1760, 340; takes part in engagement at Point Levi, February 24, 1760, 347; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392
- Dalling redoubt, only one to be left standing, ii. 159
- Dalling's scouts, secure valuable plunder, ii. 10
- Dalquier, Lieutenant-Colonel, note on, iii. 303
- Dalton, Lieutenant, baggage of, iii. 420
- Daly, a deserter from Col. James' company, discovered at Miramichi, i. 199
- Dalyel, Captain, reference to, iii. 69
- Dandelions, salad made from, i. 159
- D'Angeac, Gabriel François, account of fight by, iii. 366; note on, 372; departure of, ordered, 392; abstract of officers under, 417
- Danks, Captain Benonie, biographical reference to, i. 196; heads a party of rangers in search of the enemy, 196; barbarous proceedings of, 197; death of, at Windsor, Nova Scotia, 197; secures nine prisoners and nineteen stands of arms, 198; reference to, 303; to be sent in advance to the St. Lawrence, 336; rangers of, skirmish with Indians at Montmorency, 411; reference to in Wolfe's despatch, ii. 62
- Danthonay, Colonel, reference to, i. 219, 252
- D'Anville, Duke, reference to death of, i. 32
- Darby [Derby], Major John, note on, i. 214; lieutenant-colonel of the 17th Regiment, ii. 526; reference to exploration by, iii. 50, 51
- Thos., peculiar sentence imposed on, ii. 40

- Darby, Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of the grenadiers and light infantry, ii. 525
- D'Arcy, Captain Peter, appointed aide-de-camp to General Amherst, i. 215 ; note on, 459
- Dargie's Mill, reference to, i. 116
- D'Aripe, Lieutenant, appointed Town-Adjutant of Quebec, ii. 143
- Darlington, Earl of, ii. 92
- Margaret, Countess of, reference to, ii. 92
- Dartmouth, detachment of 35th Regiment to occupy, i. 209
- Datra River, reference to, ii. 253
- Daubrepy, reference to, iii. 175, 177
- Daudin, Abbé, reference to, i. 32 ; letter from, iii. 343 ; mention of, 342
- D'Aulnay de Charnizay, death of, from exposure on a sandbar, i. 126
- Dauphin Royal, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Daurillant, reference to, iii. 175, 177
- Dauversière, Jerome Le Royer de la, obtains grant of land at Longue Pointe in 1640, ii. 521
- Davanne, Marie-Marguerite, of St. Louis Gonzague, reference to, ii. 293
- Davis, a British subject who, when a boy, was captured by the Indians and sold to the French, submits to the governor and is employed as domestic, ii. 441
- John, bricklayer and mason at Annapolis, i. 203 ; licence for retailing liquor cancelled, 203 ; arrest of, 203 ; further examination of, on charge of assisting the enemy, 261
- Lieut. Thomas, of the Royal Artillery, ii. 552
- Dawson, the Rev. Eli, thanksgiving sermon by, for the reduction of Quebec, ii. 229
- Dead-letter Office, opinion as to length of time letter should remain in, i. 171
- Dean County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Deane, Captain, of the *Lowestoffe*, i. 358 ; ordered to arrange the transports for the landing at Orleans, 375 ; arrives at Quebec in the *Lowestoffe*, ii. 414 ; salutes the garrison with 21 guns, to the great satisfaction of the British, 415 ; reference to, 417 ; captures a letter of marque laden with stores and provisions, 418 ; Murray refers to the valuable services rendered by, 438 ; runs his vessel aground, 438 ; sends flag of truce to French, requesting them to remove wounded from vessels which he intends to burn, 441 ; reports destruction of enemy's ships above the town, 436 ; honourably acquitted for the loss of the *Lowestoffe*, 453 ; passes the rapids of the Richelieu with transports, 472 ; threatens to hang any seaman guilty of violence or plundering on the island of St. Ignace, 496 ; joint letter of recommendation in favour of, from Amherst, Colville, and Murray, 602 ; reference to, iii. 251
- Debieg, Hugh, note on, i. 380 ; to serve with a detachment under Col. Carleton, 380 ; reference to, iii. 79 ; Engineer, mentioned, 399
- Defenseur, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- De Fere, Captain, reference to, iii. 195
- Defiance*, the, commanded by Captain Baird, i. 21 ; reference to, 36 ; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151
- Defilet, Cadet, reference to, iii. 188
- De Lac, captain in the regiment de la Reine, accompanies Bougainville to Montreal to treat with Amherst, ii. 559
- De Lancey, James, appointed captain of the 46th Regiment, ii. 537
- Lieutenant-Governor, reference to, iii. 66 ; Governor, reference to, 189, 190
- De Laune, William, i. 334, note ; to command company of light infantry in expedition against Quebec, 334 ; reference to company under command of, ii. 14 ; mentioned in Wolfe's will, 90 ; witness to General Wolfe's will, 91 ; to give the order for scaling the heights, 95
- Delawares, Indians, treaties of peace with, i. 108
- Delbousquet, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 350
- De Léry, Monsieur, prisoner in hands of British, ii. 7
- Delestrea, Vincent, petty officer of the *Dublin*, attempts to escape, ii. 32



- Delouche, Sieur, in command of the fire-ships at Quebec, i. 382
- De Monts, reference to fort built by, i. 86
- Denis, Charlotte, reference to, ii. 236
- Denny, William, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, iii. 20
- De Normandy, reference to, iii. 190
- "Denty Lion," reference to salad of, ii. 321
- Dequindre, Colonel, reference to, iii. 188
- De Ramezay, Jean Baptiste Nicolas Roch, reference to, ii. 31, 213; sends letter to Townshend, 109; asks Montcalm's advice regarding defence of town, 111; holds council of war at Quebec and decides to capitulate, 117; to endeavour to dispossess the British of their ground, 122; instructed by Vaudreuil to capitulate within forty-eight hours after the army had left Quebec, 122; advised that the British will disannul the capitulation and storm the town unless the French remain neutral, 125; biographical reference to, 126; serves as ensign for six years in the garrison at Montreal, 126; sent to Acadia to join the fleet under D'Anville, 126; sent to establish a post at Niagara, 126; appointed captain in command of a Hudson's Bay post at Nipigon, 126; receives the Grand Cross of St. Louis, 127; appointed Lieutenant of the King in Quebec, 127; demands the honours of war for the garrison, 127; returns to France, and is granted a pension of 800 livres, 127; requests permission to publish his memorandum regarding the surrender of Quebec, but is refused for reasons of State, 127; death of, at Cayenne, 127; signs articles of capitulation, 132; Lieutenant of the King, 168; purchase of Sorel by, 493; instructions from Vaudreuil, iii. 167; letters to (from Vaudreuil), 171; reference to, 174, 178; reference to, 185; expedition of, 342
- Claude, Governor of Montreal, ii. 126; reference to, 236
- Madame, General Wolfe writes to, i. 454; fulfilment of Wolfe's promise to, ii. 108; alleged to have circulated false reports, 367; letter alleged to have been written by Murray to, 368. *See* St Claude
- Derby, Major, position of, in landing at Louisbourg, i. 214. *See* Darby
- De Salaberry Street, Quebec, marks the line of the British at the Battle of the Plains, ii. 101
- Desandroüins, Captain, reference to, i. 69
- Deschambault, M., prisoner in hands of British, ii. 7
- expedition under Murray sent to destroy magazines and stores at, ii. 12; estimated value of the stores captured at, 15; reference to, in Wolfe's dispatch to Pitt, 64; detachment of the enemy encamped at, 469; French make a large fire at, which alarms the fleet, 469
- Desenclaves, Jean Baptiste Gay, Abbé, capture of, i. 275; reference to, iii. 341; letter from, 344
- Deserter, arrival of, with intelligence from Cape Breton, i. 59; information obtained from, regarding opinions of the French, 66; from the grenadiers returns to fort at Annapolis, 128; from grenadiers ordered to ride ■ wooden horse with broom in hand, 129; reform of, 129; soldier reported missing from the fort at Annapolis, 154; negro servant who escaped from Fort Annapolis causes alarm, 180; from British camp, killed on French ship at Louisbourg, 252; French, joins English before Quebec, 405; from 48th Regiment, escapes to Quebec, 412; from 15th Regiment, escapes to Quebec, 415; French, reports failure of design against Point Lévis, 424; French, gives information to British before Quebec, 428; French, gives information to British before Quebec, 431; French, information obtained from, 432; British, information given by, to the Marquis de Montcalm, 433; soldier of Fitch's Regiment pardoned by the Commander-in-Chief, 470; from French side gives information regarding movements of Lévis, ii. 7; from Warburton's Regiment, 9; surrender to one of the frigates at Coudre, 9; from French camps surrender to

- British, 20; from French camp at Montmorency surrender to British, 55; from French camp surrenders to the British, 91; from Royal Americans found wounded on the battlefield, is tried by court-martial and shot, 103; reports that Lévis intends to retake Quebec, 143; from the 17th Regiment, wearing a French uniform, captured at Crown Point and hanged immediately, 180; British, trial of, at Quebec, October 19, 1759, 238; British, condemned to death, 240; British, execution of, at Quebec, 244; British, at Quebec, pardoned, 294; French, gives information regarding the French army, January, 1760, 330; from Webb's Regiment, reported by Murray, 404; surrenders to British at St. Ignace, 494; begs to be taken on board British barge, 500
- Deserters**, two men of the 28th Regiment escape to Baye Verde, but one returns, i. 75; from French army, come to Fort Cumberland, 1758, 180; from French, join British before Louisbourg, 246; from British, to French at Louisbourg, 248; British, scalped by Indians near Quebec, 429; order issued to the effect that no mercy will be shown to, 460; order relating to, to be read to the provincial troops, 463; from the French camp surrender to the British, ii. 16; two French regulars surrender to British, 59; from the French report that Canadians are surrendering in large numbers, 125; sent by General Monckton on board the *Admiral*, 157; report on the movements of the French at Isle au Noix, 192; from French, arrive at Quebec, October 13, 1759, 238; British, supply worthless information, 239; French, supply trustworthy information to British, 239; Murray offers reward for apprehension of, 273, 274; British, capture of, at Quebec, November, 1759, 277; rewards for apprehension of, 280; French, arrive at Quebec, November, 1759, 286; French, join British at Quebec, February, 24-25, 1760, 347, 348; French, bring information to Quebec, March, 1760, 357; French, join British at Quebec, March, 1760, 358; French, bring news to Quebec, April, 1760, 379; two men who went over to the enemy during the previous campaign, return to British camp, 411; arrive from the French and give information as to the movements of Lévis, 429; information given to the British by, 430; men who went over to the French sent to Louisiana by Lévis, 457; report that all British deserters in hands of the French have been sent to Louisiana, 507; from the 43rd Regiment and Royal Americans are treated as spies by the French and killed, 509; from French grenadiers surrender to the British, 512
- Desertion in Quebec**, November 1759, cause of, ii. 273; execution of a French inhabitant of Quebec for enticement of soldiers to, 276, 277; severe sentences for, in Quebec, November 1759, 278; arrests on suspicion of attempting to cause, in Quebec, 324; executions ordered by Amherst, iii. 22
- Désery, M.**, house of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19
- Desgouttes, Marquis**, Commander of French squadron at Louisbourg, 1758, i. 219; reference to, 246, 249, 252
- Deshaix, Ensign**, a prisoner, reference to, iii. 251
- Des Herbiere, Monsieur**, reference to, iii. 111
- Desire**, the, transport of the fleet conveying the 43rd Regiment to Louisbourg, i. 326
- Des Ligneris, François Marie Le Marchand, Sieur**, ii. 182; serves in Acadia under De Ramezay, 183; takes part in an expedition against the Fox Indians, 183; serves as an adjutant under Coulon, 183; taken prisoner by Johnson, 183; takes part in the battle of Monongahela, and after the death of Beaujeu appointed second in command, 183; cadet, reference to, iii. 188; commandant, reference to, 188
- Despatches sent to England with an account of the surrender of Quebec**, ii. 138



- Desponligney, Chevalier, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 188
- Detachments of army, how made, i. 335
- Detroit, reference to, ii. 183; surrenders to the British, 183; importance of, 183; French troops at, to be treated the same as in Montreal, 568
- Deux Ponts, Prince, reference to, ii. 461
- De Vannes. *See* Du Vivier.
- Devastation, orders for, of country around Quebec, i. 438; comments of the author on policy of, 443
- De Villiers, Chevalier, reference to, iii. 188
- Devins, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- Devonshire*, the, discovered at sea without her masts, i. 101; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; to join the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 179; sails for Gaspé, 275; at Gaspé Bay, 277; sails for the St. Lawrence, May 5, 1759, 306; in the expedition against Quebec, 357
- De Witt, Lieut. Peter, of Royal Americans, mortally wounded at Montmorency, ii. 43
- D'Hers, Sieur, adjutant of La Reine, wounded, ii. 414
- Diademe, La*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Diamond Island, party of officers surprised at, i. 478
- Diana*, the, frigate, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; capture of, 259; frigate, reference to, 327; frigate, in the expedition against Quebec, 358; frigate, runs aground near Quebec, 429; reference to, 431; attacked by French floating-batteries, 431; gets afloat, 434; arrival of, ii. 425; reference to, 430, 481; of Murray's fleet in the expedition against Montreal, 468; French prisoners put on board the, 472; quotation from the log of, 472; to accompany the transports as far as Three Rivers, 473; deserters and spy on board the, 476; with Colonel Burton's division, joins the main army, 479; reference to, iii. 98, 251, 312, 314, 324
- Dice, condemned soldiers throw, for life, ii. 310
- Dickson, Robert, and others, proprietors of Hog Island in 1794, i. 89  
— *see* Dixon
- Dieskau, Baron de, advice of, on the subject of scalping, i. 74; reference to, iii. 159
- Dinwiddie, Governor, appoints Robert Stobo captain of a regiment of provincials, ii. 49
- Discipline, new system of, introduced by Amherst, i. 348; regulations for maintenance of, 400; military regulations regarding, in Quebec, November 1759, ii. 260; severity of, in British army at Quebec, 281, 282; orders for strict observance of, in the garrison of Quebec, 296; severity of, in the British army in Quebec, 1759, 307
- Disposition for opposing the descent of the British, ii. 169
- Divine Service, held in Fort Annapolis every Sunday, i. 131; hours of, for different regiments, ii. 26; provision for the performance of, in Quebec, 277, 279; provision for, in the garrison of Quebec, 285
- Dixon, Lieutenant, of the rangers, taken prisoner at Fort Cumberland, i. 199; of the rangers, confined at Miramichi, 199; reference to, iii. 74
- Doak, Captain, of the *Lizard*, i. 358
- Dobson, Henry, biographical reference to, i. 209; appointed major of brigade in Louisbourg expedition, 1758, 209, 346
- Dock guard, Quebec, detail of, November 5, 1759, ii. 268
- Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Extract from, i. 296
- Dog, deserts the French camp and joins the British, i. 161
- Dogs, use of, for draught purposes, in Quebec, ii. 319; varieties of, in Canada, 319; use of, in Siberia, for drawing, 320
- Dollar, the, value of, i. 49; value of, note by Professor Shortt, 72; official value of, ii. 290
- Dolphin*, the, schooner, employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164
- Doms, Chevalier, reference to, iii. 175, 177

- Donaldson, John, Colonel, death of, i. 193
- Donat de la Garde, Sieur, mentioned, iii. 363
- Dorchester, Lord, reference to, ii. 90, 206. *See* Carleton, Guy
- Doreil, M., Commissary, reference to, ii. 298
- Dorsetshire*, the, reference to, ii. 490, iii. 401
- Dosquet, Pierre, Bishop of Quebec, ii. 75
- Douglas, Captain, of the *Alcide*, takes a French prize, i. 328, 358
- Captain, of the *Rodney*, i. 358
- Dr., reference to History of, i. 388; extract from History of, ii. 226
- Douville, La Motte, Major, reference to, iii. 188
- Downing, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 74
- Dragon*, the, i. 22
- Drill, military, at Annapolis, 1758, i. 181, 182; new system of, introduced by Amherst, 348; troops practised in, at Louisbourg, 353
- Drucour, M. de, Governor of *Ile Royale*, reference to, i. 218; orders retention of French fleet at Louisbourg, 219; reference to *Journal* of, 219; sends gift of champagne wine to General Amherst, 230; opinion of, regarding conduct of Captain de Vauquelin at Louisbourg, 248; residence of, in Louisbourg, 249; prior to capitulation of Louisbourg, 252; reference to *Journal* of, 252, 253; articles of capitulation between, and Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, 255; reference to *Journal* of, 255; biographical reference to, 256; letter from, iii. 13; reference to, 113, 114, 117
- Madame de, reference to, iii. 117
- Drummers, instructions to, in case of alarm, ii. 405
- Drums on board ship to beat morning and evening, ii. 490
- Drunkenness amongst the soldiery, orders issued in regard to, ii. 18; prevalence of, in the garrison of Quebec, 273, 275; provision for punishment of, amongst soldiers, 274, 275; soldiers give way to, 401
- Dublin*, the, joins the fleet against Louisbourg, May 28, 1758, i. 179; joins the expedition against Louisbourg, 213; in the expedition against Quebec, 357
- Du Bois de la Multierre, M., loses his life on a fire-ship at Quebec, i. 382
- Dubreuil, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 174
- Duc de Bourgogne, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Duchat, attends council of war, ii. 110
- Duchesnay, Madame, taken prisoner by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Duck decoy redoubt, reference to, ii. 169
- Ducks, large numbers of, at Fort Cumberland, i. 296
- Duclos, Captain, of the *Chezine* frigate, i. 362
- à la Garde, reference to, iii. 188
- Dufour, Ensign, killed, iii. 251
- Dufrost, M., curé of Point Lévis, taken prisoner by British, i. 440
- Duke*, the, reference to, ii. 480; Murray proceeds on board to reconnoitre the village of Varennes, 507
- Duke of Cumberland's bastion, orders relating to posts at, i. 131
- Duke of Cumberland*, brigantine, reference to, iii. 64
- Dumas, Sieur, biographical reference to, i. 418; attends council of war, ii. 110; in command of a French detachment near Quebec, February 1760, 339; re-establishes French post at Le Calvaire, 364; detachment under, retires, 365; warning sent to, regarding conduct of the Indians, 475; said to be entrenched at Batré, 499; reference to, iii. 182, 311, 312, 328
- Dunbar, Bazel, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 74; note on, 227; death of, 232
- Dunbar, William, appointed captain-lieutenant, i. 304
- Dundonald, party of troops under the command of, surprised by the enemy, iii. 13; killed at Louisbourg, 13
- Dunn, Lieutenant, to command five boats in the third brigade, ii. 502
- Thomas, appointed member of the first council at Quebec, ii. 4

- Duparquet, attends council of war, ii. 110
- Duprat's volunteers at battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194
- Dupuy, Intendant, reference to, ii. 216
- Du Quesne, Fort, army intended to serve against, 1758, i. 163, 166; advance of Brigadier Forbes against, 186; capture of Fort Frontenac facilitates operations against, 265; report of reverse to expedition against, 270; success of expedition against, 274; abandoned by French and occupied by British, 297; re-named Pittsburg, 297, 299; reported atrocities of French at, 300, 301; the Sieur Dumas commands at, 418; Robert Stobo taken as a prisoner to, ii. 49; plan of, made by Robert Stobo, falls into the hands of the French, 49; Des Lignerles appointed commandant of, 183; expedition against in 1758, 520; reference to, 595
- Durell, Commodore, arrives at New York, 1758, i. 150; biographical reference to, 150; sent to Cape Breton in 1745, 150; in command of the *Princess Amelia* at Halifax in 1758, 150; succeeds Lord Colville in command of North America station in 1766, 151; blockades the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1759, 151; death of, at Halifax, 1766, 151; commander of the *Royal William*, 1758, 152; sails to blockade the St. Lawrence, 306; blockades the St. Lawrence, 327; obtains charts of the St. Lawrence from a French prize, 328; squadron under, captures two prizes, 351; reference to, 357; capture of French prizes by, 361; occupation of island of Coudre by, 361; deception practised by squadron under, 362; midshipman from ship of, captured by French, 368; return of men captured from fleet of, demanded from French, 402; reference to the ships which escaped the vigilance of, ii. 168; French ships escape vigilance of, 289; commodore, examines the Louisbourg coast, iii. 3
- Durgey, John, or Durkee, biographical reference to, i. 490; reference to the detachment under, 490; supports claim of Connecticut, 490; serves with distinction at Bunker's Hill, 490; captured and imprisoned by the forces of Pennsylvania, 490
- Dusablay, Madame, reference to, ii. 498
- Duserre, Sieur, reference to, iii. 182
- Dutch settlers, to assist Boishébert in surprising Halifax, i. 268
- Duverney, Sieur, note on, iii. 304
- Du Vivier, Monsieur, iii. 341, 346
- François Dupont, Chevalier de Vannes, note on, iii. 373; Chevalier de Vannes, reference to, 396
- Joseph Dupont, Chevalier, note on, iii. 369; reference to note on, 375; death of, 390
- Madame, reference to, iii. 150
- Dyson, John, prominent citizen of Annapolis, i. 121; recommends forcing the pass at René Forêt River, 123; attempts to force pass at René Forêt River, 123; advises British to secure Burnaby's Mills, 125; accompanies expedition to Saw Mill Creek, 183; reference to, 262; polite relations of officers with, 282
- EACHET, Jean, reference to, iii. 172
- Eagle*, the, damage sustained by, i. 101; the, from Boston stranded in vicinity of Ile Haute, 154; detachment sent in quest of, 158; believed to be in the hands of the enemy, 160; captured by French, 269
- Earl of Macclesfield*, the, i. 22
- Earthenware, clay suitable for, found in Nova Scotia, i. 84
- Easson, John, biographical reference to, i. 116; taken prisoner to Quebec, and released after the capitulation in 1759, 116; obtains grant of the lands of Nicolas Gautier, 116; establishes mill on Lequille River, 116; master carpenter at Fort Annapolis, taken prisoner, 116; two hundred dollars offered for the return of, 130; notice of reward for return of Mr. Easson, issued on 6th of December, not discovered by the French until 19th of March, 142; reference to, 153; confined at Miramichi, 199; taken prisoner and dragged nine miles through the woods, 199
- Easson House, reference to, i. 116
- Easter Day, due observance of, by the garrison at Annapolis, i. 144



Ecarlatines, India Company to retain what they have in store at Montreal, ii. 578

*Echo*, *L'*, captured by British when attempting to escape from Louisbourg, i. 219, 259; frigate, in the expedition against Quebec, 358; convoys provision ships for the British army before Quebec, 420; bound for Quebec, captured by the British, iii. 8; capture of, reference to, 103

Ecrivains du Roi, note on, ii. 570

Ecureuils, les, reference to, ii. 279

*Eden and Mary* transport, under Captain Longdill, takes part in the expedition against Deschambault, ii. 13; to carry reinforcements for General Murray, 27; with the light infantry under convoy of *Hunter* sloop, to proceed to Pointe aux Trembles, 80

Edgecombe, Captain, of the *Lancaster*, 1758, i. 152

Edward, Fort, New York, reference to, i. 68, 464; manifesto of General Abercromby dated at, 181; letter from, July 11, 1758, 185; wounded from Ticonderoga sent to, 192; stockaded fort constructed near, 465; Amherst's army marches from, 477; cattle to be driven into, 485; restoration of, by Lieut.-Colonel Eyre, 491; Colonel Haldimand in command of, in 1757-59, 493

— Nova Scotia, reference to, i. 44, 49, 57, 145, 266, 321, ii. 592; detachment of 43rd Regiment sent from, to escort engineer to Halifax, i. 148; engineer from, conducted to Halifax by Royal Americans, 153; skirmish near, 1758, 169; to be garrisoned by detachment of Highlanders, 208; design of French against, 263; detachment of 35th Regiment garrisons, 279; company of 43rd Regiment comes to Fort Cumberland from, 284; the *Monckton* schooner pursued by French to, 303; burning of barracks at, 304; provincial troops to be stationed at, 306

*Edward*, the, for Connecticut, employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, i. 115

Eels, instructions of Vaudreuil to

priest regarding supply of, for winter use, ii. 57; sale of, at Quebec, October 28, 1759, 244

Egg Island, British fleet wrecked at, in 1711, ii. 203

Eglington, Earl of. See *Montgomerie* — county, proposed creation of, ii. 253

Egmont county, proposed creation of, ii. 253

Eighteenth Light Dragoons, now Seventeenth Lancers, i. 223; raised by Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, 223

Eightieth Regiment, light infantry (Gage's), with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; strength of, 474; boats for, 489; reference to, 490, 491, 496, 500; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510; five companies of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484, 527; complement of boats for, 537; encamped at Albany, iii. 22

Elibank, Alexander, fourth Lord, reference to, ii. 395

— county, proposed creation of, ii. 253

*Elizabeth*, the, sloop, i. 22; employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, 164

Elliot, Robert, Major, of 43rd Regiment, comes to Annapolis to take command there, May 12, 1758, i. 168; reference to, 272, 284, 422, 451; attempts to pass the town with 200 men, but is driven back by the batteries, ii. 13; unable to join the squadron under Holmes, 33; sent with a detachment of 500 men to take possession of the French camp, 126; returns from an expedition on the north shore, 134; at Ristigouche, iii. 388; receives capitulation, 393; anxiety felt for, 416; account of shipwreck of, 417; letter from (to Amherst), 417

— county, proposed creation of, ii. 253

Ellis, Governor, iii. 28

Elphinstone, Captain, of the *Eurus*, i. 358

Embarkation, difficulties of, on Lake George, i. 501; returns, iii. 91

Emerson, Rev. Joseph, extract from diary kept by, at siege of Louisbourg, 1745, i. 173

- Emoine, L'*, of the French fleet, i. 47  
*Employment*, transport, reference to, ii. 81  
*Empress of Russia*, reference to, ii. 461  
*Encampment*, order of, for expedition against Quebec, i. 334; at Orleans, 376  
*Endeavour*, the, arrives at Annapolis with ordnance stores from Boston, i. 156; sent in quest of the *Eagle* schooner stranded off Ile Haute, 158; narrow escape of, 160; unsuccessful cruise of, in search of the *Eagle*, 160; employed as transport in relieving 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, 164; captured by a privateer manned by Indians, 203  
*Engineer*, appointment of officer to serve as, i. 215; reports on the defective state of the walls, ii. 421; parish priest acts as an, 499  
*Engineers*, extraordinary precautions taken to ensure safety of, i. 153; French, history of, 257; detachments of soldiers assigned to assist, before Quebec, 397, 404; diligence of, in building fort, 486  
*English harbour*, reference to, ii. 252  
*En Potence*, explanation of term by author, ii. 175  
*Enterprise*, the, man-of-war, reference to, i. 86; convoys troops to Halifax, 98  
*Entick, John*, *General History of the Late War*, reference to, i. 21  
*Entrenchments*, description of French, at Ticonderoga, i. 191; directions for work on, before Louisbourg, 225, 226, 231, 234, 238; directions regarding, 335, 383  
*Entreprenant*, the, burning of, in Louisbourg harbour, i. 248, 249; loss of, 259; destroyed by fire, iii. 16; reference to, 111  
*Epaulement*, definition of, i. 426  
*Equipment of troops*, officers to see to, i. 207  
 — military, details of, for a detachment on special service at Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 284, 285  
*Erie, Lake*, reference to, ii. 190  
*Errata*. See i. 513  
*Esplanade, Quebec*, reference to, ii. 202  
*Essex*, the, i. 22  
*Esturgeon, L'*, ■ vessel, reference to, iii. 52  
*Etchemin*, parish of, ii. 76  
 — River, reference to, i. 397, 404, 424, 434; rendered impassable by floods, ii. 13, 33; forded by British troops, 75; engagement at, February 24, 1760, 347  
*Etchoé*, town of, destroyed by Montgomery, ii. 520  
*Etonnant, L'*, of the French fleet, i. 47  
*Europa*, the, transport cutter, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 359  
*Eurus*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; of Lord Colville's fleet, ii. 416; takes charge of the *Two Brothers*, a British ship, recaptured by Swanton, 431; one of the ships of Lord Colville's fleet, 431; sent to protect the merchant ships, 456; reference to, 490  
*Evans, Commander*, of the *Royal William*, 1758, i. 152  
*Eveillé, L'*, of the French fleet, i. 47  
*Evening gun*, to be fired at sunset, i. 230; firing of, at Quebec, 403  
*Everet, Captain*, of the *Stirling Castle*, i. 358  
*Evermann, B. W.*, reference to list of fishes by, ii. 328  
*Everson, George*, peculiar sentence imposed on, ii. 40  
*Ewen, Samuel*, a soldier of Talbot's company, returns to Fort Cumberland, i. 198  
*Exchange*, the, i. 22  
*Exeter*, the, reference to, i. 337  
*Experiment*, the, for New York, employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, i. 115  
*Explosion*, accidental, in Quebec, October 21, 1759, ii. 239  
*Extravagance amongst officers*, orders issued by Earl of Loudoun in relation to, i. 139  
*Eyre, Lieut.-Colonel*, in command of artificers at Fort Edward, i. 491; to act as chief engineer, 500; instructed to repair the fort at Ticonderoga, 511; lieutenant-colonel of the 95th Regiment, ii. 182; note on, 543; to trace out the ground for a new fort at Ticonderoga, iii. 48; reference to, 64, 70, 88



- FAGGOT, Fort, detachment sent to cut firewood at, i. 98; wood from, conveyed to the fort at Annapolis, 109
- Fair, or carnival, held by the Indians at Montreal, ii. 604
- Fair American*, the, i. 22; transport, reference to, 356
- Fairfax, William Henry, Ensign, death of, ii. 242
- Falkingham, Captain, reference to, i. 36
- Falls of Montmorency, reference to, ii. 42
- Falquier, attends council of war, ii. 110
- Fame*, the, reference to, ii. 490, 492; iii. 81, 400
- Farquhar (Farquar), Major William, note on, i. 214; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; reference to, 229; in command of the 44th Regiment at Niagara, ii. 186; takes possession of one of the gates, iii. 18; death of, 70; reference to, 115, 194
- William, Lieutenant, note on, ii. 384
- Fascinés, orders for making, before Louisbourg, i. 236, 241; use of, before Louisbourg, 238; gabions, and hurdles, preparation of, before Louisbourg, 245; regulations regarding parties sent to cut, 425
- Feguery, a prisoner, reference to, iii. 253
- Felix, Captain, note by author, ii. 6
- Fenton, Lieutenant, of the Royals, dies of wounds, iii. 9
- Mr., reference to, iii. 227
- Ferend, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- Fergusson, Captain, of the *Prince of Orange*, 1758, i. 152
- Ferret*, the, i. 36; fears entertained for the loss of, 101
- Festivals, due observance of, by the troops, i. 141
- Feu de joie*, preparation of, at Annapolis, to celebrate the capture of Louisbourg, i. 260
- Fever, death of a sergeant from, at Annapolis, i. 103; numerous deaths from, 65; means for preserving soldiers from, 211
- Fidèle*, the, sunk in Louisbourg harbour, i. 259; iii. 11
- Fidélité, La*, departure from Bordeaux, iii. 361
- Fiedmont, M., opposes the capitulation, ii. 117
- Field, surgeon's mate, reference to, ii. 365
- Fifer of the 35th Regiment who had been made prisoner by the Indians in 1757, found on the island of St. Ignace, ii. 495; to join the drummer, 490; unable to speak his mother tongue, 495
- Fifteenth Regiment (Amherst's), to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165; reference to, 205; takes part in expedition to river St. Lawrence, 1758, 263; in garrison at Halifax, 263; sails for Gaspé, August 29, 1758, 275; sails for Miramichi, September 12, 1758, 276; in the expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to, 354; deserter from, escapes to Quebec, 415; grenadiers of, on British ships above Quebec, 431; complimented by Wolfe, ii. 4; repasses the town in flat-bottomed boats, 52; in second line on Plains of Abraham, 98; clothing for, at Louisbourg, 159; alarm-post of, in Quebec, 256; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392
- Fiftieth Regiment, raised in America and enrolled as part of the Royal army, ii. 591
- Fifty-eighth Regiment (Anstruther's), to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 165; reference to, 205; in garrison at Halifax, 263; takes part in expedition to river St. Lawrence, 1758, 263; sails for Gaspé, August 29, 1758, 275; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to, 354; ordered to march from camp on Orleans, 386; position of, for defence of Montmorency, 430; movement to be executed by, at British attack on Montmorency, 447, 448; reference to, ii. 22; clothing for, ready to be delivered at Louisbourg, 159; alarm-post of, in Quebec, 257; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392
- Fifty-fifth Regiment (Oughton's), ordered to embark for foreign service, i. 17; to serve under General

- Abercromby on the lakes, 162, 165 ; with General Amherst, 1759, 458 ; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466 ; ordered to march to Seven-Mile Post, 470 ; takes up position near Seven-Mile Post, 473 ; strength of, 474 ; ordered to relieve Colonel Whiting's provincials at Three-Mile Post from Fort Edward, 480 ; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510 ; with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484 ; batteaus delivered to, i. 489 ; forms a part of Amherst's army, ii. 527
- Fifty-first Regiment, raised in America and enrolled as part of the Royal army, ii. 591
- Fifty-sixth Regiment, complement of boats for, ii. 537
- Filtner, Zachariah, Provost Marshal of Quebec, ii. 408
- Fire, 167 houses destroyed by, ii. 20 ; regulations in case of outbreak of, in Quebec, 256
- Fires, detachment sent out from Annapolis to light fires in different places to detract attention from party escorting engineer, i. 153 ; use of, as signals, 336, 340 ; regulations regarding, during the French régime, ii. 407
- Firefly, description of, i. 318
- Firelock, allowance for, when captured from enemy, i. 240
- Firelocks, troops exercised in the use of, i. 478 ; light infantry in Quebec to be equipped with, ii. 337
- Fire-raft, French send, against British fleet in St. Lawrence, i. 445
- Fire-ship sent by the French to destroy the British ships, ii. 24
- Fire-ships, attempt to destroy British fleet before Quebec by means of, i. 381, 382, 385 ; construction of, 382 ; reference to the fiasco of, ii. 142
- Firewood, soldiers paid at rate of two shillings per cord for cutting, i. 98 ; difficulty of obtaining, at Annapolis, 1758, 169, 173 ; supplied to Annapolis from Boston, 181 ; work of providing, at Annapolis, 282 ; method of obtaining, at Fort Cumberland, 291, 292 ; large quantity of, corded on the beach, ii. 161 ; scarcity of, in Quebec, 254 ; regulations regarding use of, in Quebec, 258 ; parishes in the neighbourhood of Quebec ordered to supply, 269 ; scarcity of, in Quebec, December, 1759, 294 ; supply of, from the island of Orleans to Quebec, 291 ; allowance of, to the British troops in Quebec, 291 ; inadequate supply of, in Quebec, 291 ; orders for conveying of, from Ste. Foy to Quebec, 295 ; allowance for bringing in of, 295 ; orders forbidding destruction of property in Quebec in order to obtain, 297 ; difficulties in bringing in, to Quebec, 299 ; allowance for bringing, to Quebec, 300 ; arms to be carried by soldiers while obtaining, 302, 303 ; covering party provided for men collecting, 304, 306 ; rate of pay to soldiers for bringing in, 307 ; magazine of, created on the Heights of Abraham, 317 ; regulations in regard to the obtaining of, at Quebec, 317 ; regulations regarding distribution of, among regiments in Quebec, 321, 325 ; French detach Indians to annoy parties collecting, 326 ; alleged reasons for non-disturbance of British parties collecting, 329 ; officers' servants at Quebec ordered to assist in bringing in, 334 ; French intention to attack men collecting, 372 ; distributed to the troops, 446
- Firing, advantage of firing *à ricochet*, ii. 430
- First, or Royal, Regiment of Foot, ordered to prepare for foreign service, i. 16 ; to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 162, 165 ; reference to, 205 ; goes to Boston, 1758, 263 ; with General Amherst, 1759, 458 ; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466 ; under orders to march, 471 ; marches to Seven-Mile Post, 473 ; strength of, in June, 1759, 474 ; to be drawn up on all services two deep, 487 ; batteaus delivered to, 489 ; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510
- Fish, abundance of, at Annapolis, i. 181, 182 ; captured from French at Louisbourg, 233 ; capture of, near Louisbourg, 245 ; abundance of, in Gaspé, 275, 277, 278 ; quantities of, taken at Fort Cumberland, 305 ; varieties of, found in the waters of Nova Scotia, 319 ; method of catch-

- ing, at Quebec, in the winter, ii. 311, 326; varieties of, in Canada, 327, 328
- Fish ponds, attempt of townsmen to rob, causes alarm, i. 130
- Fishburne*, the, i. 22
- Fisheries of Canada, reference to, ii. 614
- Fishing tackle, supply of, for expedition against Louisbourg, i. 212; issued to troops in expedition against Quebec, 346, 351, 356
- Fitch, Colonel, in command of the Connecticuts in Amherst's army, ii. 528; reference to, iii. 75
- Fitch's Regiment with Amherst, 1759, i. 458; order relating to, i. 465; strength of, in June, 1759, 474; batteaus delivered to, 489; orders for, 497; reference to, 500
- Fitzgerald, one of the first men to gain the heights, ii. 95
- Flag gun, to be left on the grand parade, ii. 124
- Flag of France, ceremony of lowering the, ii. 125
- Flag of truce, party of the enemy approach the British near Mayass Hill regarding Mr. Eason, i. 142; hoisted at Mayass Hill by the French, 145; French near Annapolis warned not to use, for trifling errands, 148; reference to abuse of, 153; French send, to Fort Cumberland, 305; sign of, 398; sent to Quebec in regard to Acadian women captured by British, 401, 402; sent to Quebec, 436; bearer of, treated with rigour by French, 438; French, to British army before Quebec, 438; from Quebec to the British army, 443, 444; sent by the French to Seven-Mile Post, 471; orders issued regarding the proper protection of, 472; from the French, ii. 7; advantages taken of, by the French, 17; from the French returning the reward sent by Wolfe to the soldiers who rescued Ochterloney, 20; from Quebec, reporting death of Captain Ochterloney, and returning his effects, 44; from the French, requesting permission to bury their dead, 114; from the French, 134; Bougainville visits Quebec under protection of, regarding exchange of prisoners, 160; frequent passing of, for necessities for officers who are prisoners, 401; from the French, requesting refreshments for the officers who are prisoners, 408; sent to the French with accounts of the defeat of Conflans and Thurot, 416; sent to M. Dumas at Deschambault, regarding Indians, 475; from Louisbourg to Sir Charles Hardy, iii. 12
- Flags, use of, to indicate positions of commanding officers, i. 213, 214
- Flat-bottomed boats, distribution of troops in, ii. 77; distribution of, to embark troops, 86; sent to Quebec to escort the troops from Louisbourg, 480
- Flat Point, the, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 218
- Flax, cultivation of, ii. 610
- Fléchier, funeral oration of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon delivered by, ii. 224
- Fleet, departure of, for America, i. 23; damage to, 24; duration of voyage of, 30; for expedition against Quebec, list of ships in, 357; reference to the activity of, ii. 132; French, in the St. Lawrence, proposes to repass Quebec, October, 1759, 228; British, departure of, from Quebec, October, 1759, 233; British, leaves Quebec, October, 1759, 238
- Fletcher, Lieutenant-Colonel, position of, in landing at Louisbourg, i. 214, 216; note on, 263; lands at Annapolis, 279; reference to, 430; appointed to 1st battalion of Grenadiers, and to command the Grenadiers of the army, ii. 501; lieutenant-colonel of the 35th Regiment, 501; reference to, iii. 53, 57, 59, 74
- Fleur de Lys*, *Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Flints, three to be supplied to each soldier, i. 209; distribution of, to soldiers, 335; three, per man, to be provided for the garrison of Quebec, ii. 257
- Floating batteries, French, attack Point Lévis, i. 392, 393; French, alarm British at Point Lévis, 395; French, fire on British sounding boats, 396; French, exchange shots with British frigates at Quebec, 403; French, exchange shots with British frigates, 408; construction of, by British, before Quebec, 413;



- French, attack the *Diana* frigate, 431; French, injured by fire of British batteries before Quebec, 431; employed by the French to oppose the passage of the ships, ii. 14; attacked by the British, 32; captured by the British, 79; pursue British boats, 84; British, sent to clear the river, 84; reference to the work of, 132; construction of, at Quebec, April, 1760, 376; cannonade the French batteries at Deschambault, 470; annoyed by French guns at Deschambault, 472
- Floating ice renders navigation difficult, i. 134
- stages made by the British ordered to be destroyed, ii. 35; description of, i. 426
- Flour, price of, in Quebec, fixed by proclamation, ii. 322, 323; French unable to obtain supply of, since paper money is discredited, 485
- Fochine, La*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Fogs, prevalence of, in Nova Scotia, i. 310; causes of, in Nova Scotia, 320; reference to, ii. 610
- Foligné, reference to *Journal* of, i. 382
- Fonbonne, M. de, reference to, ii. 31
- Fontaine d'Abraham, ii. 97
- Food, character of, at the General Hospital, Quebec, ii. 235, 237
- Forage money, issue of, to troops, i. 38
- Forbes, Captain, reference to, iii. 197
- Colonel John, i. 21, note; army to serve under, against Fort Du Quesne and the Ohio country, 1758, 163; advance of, against Fort Du Quesne, 186; report of reverse to, 270; defeats the French at Loyal Hanning, 274; report of, on occupation of Fort Du Quesne, 297; occupies Fort Du Quesne, 297; renames Fort Du Quesne Pittsburg, 299; returns to Philadelphia, 299; reference to, ii. 183, 595
- Forbes's Regiment. *See* Seventeenth Regiment
- Forêt, or Forest, René, a native of Port Royal, who gave his name to a stream known as René Forêt's River, i. 122
- Forge, use of, for repairing arms, i. 237
- Formel, Monsieur, iii. 174
- Formidable, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Forrester, Captain, of the 85th Regiment, promoted to the rank of major, i. xv.
- Forster, Colonel William, reference to, i. 165, 499, iii. 420; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, i. 214; in command of the Royal, New Jersey, and Connecticut troops, 473; lieutenant-colonel of the Royals, ii. 529; in command of the Royal Jersey Regiment, 1759, iii. 33
- Fort French, on St. John's River, occupied by British, i. 263
- Annapolis, Beauséjour, Carillon, Chambly, Cumberland, Du Quesne, Edward (New York), Edward (Nova Scotia), Fagot, Frederick (New Brunswick), Frederick (New York), Frontenac, Gaspereau, George, Halifax, Herkimer, Lawrence, Lévis, Ligonier, Loudoun, Lunenburg, Machault, Miller, Oswego, Sackville, St. Louis, Ticonderoga, William Henry. *See* under Annapolis, &c.
- major at Annapolis, under a flag of truce, confirms the offer of two hundred dollars for the return of Mr. Eason, i. 142
- Fortescue, the Hon. J. W., reference to *History of the Seventeenth Lanciers* by, i. 223
- Fortier, Angelique, wife of Joseph Cadet, ii. 165
- Fortieth Regiment (Hopson's), to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165; reference to, 205; in garrison at Louisbourg, 263; grenadier company of, to serve against Quebec, 333
- Fortifications, damaged by heavy rains, i. 75; French active in advancing their works, ii. 401; Montreal, description of, 605
- Fortified house, in lower town, destroyed by fire, ii. 404, 407
- Forts, chain of, between Beauséjour and Baye Verde, i. 84
- Fortune, La*, chaloupe, reference to, iii. 391
- Fortye, Lieutenant, commands the schooner *Lawrence*, ii. 378, 379; note on, 379; arrives with the *Lawrence* in company of the *Vanguard* and *Diana*, 425

Forty-eighth Regiment (Webb's), to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165; reference to, 205, ii. 160; goes to Boston, 1758, i. 263; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to, 354; detachment of, to join the *Bedford* man-of-war, 354; escorts General Wolfe to view city of Quebec, 395; occupies position between Point Lévis and Pointe aux Pères, 401; redoubt erected by, 403; deserter from, escapes to Quebec, 404, 412; grenadiers of, on British ships above Quebec, 431; movements of, during the British attack on Montmorency, 451; alarm-post of, in Quebec, ii. 257; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392

Forty-fifth Regiment (Warburton's), to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165; reference to, 205; in garrison at Louisbourg, 263; grenadier company of, to serve against Quebec, 333; grenadiers of, complimented for spirit shown against Indians, 425

Forty-fourth Regiment (Abercromby's), to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, i. 162, 165; reference to, 480; with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484; in Amherst's army, 527; with a detachment of Gage's infantry detached to Presqu' Isle, 534; complement of boats for, 537

Forty-second Regiment (Royal Highlanders), to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, in 1758, i. 162, 165; additional companies of, to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, 165; with General Amherst, 1759, 458; permitted to carry swords, 460; ordered to escort artillery on the road to Schenectady, 462; to march to Halfmoon, 464; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; to practise firing near the Royal Blockhouse at Fort Edward, 467; strength of, in June, 1759, 474; batteaus delivered to, 489; reference to, ii. 181; lieutenant and twenty men of, made prisoners through the action of Major Reid, 195; first and second battalions with Amherst in expedition against

Montreal, 484, 527; complement of boats for, 537; encamped above the town of Albany, 1759, iii. 23

Forty-seventh Regiment (Lascelles'), to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165; reference to, 205, 209, 454; before Louisbourg, 239, 241; goes to Boston, 1758, 263; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to, 354; orders regarding, 387, 397, 404, 406, 421, 436, 437; position of, for defence of Montmorency, 430, 446; takes up position at L'Ange Gardien, ii. 12; position of, on the Plains of Abraham, ii. 81, 83, 86, 98; movements of, before Quebec, September 1759, 173-176; alarm-post of, in Quebec, 257; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392, 433

Forty-sixth Regiment (Thomas Murray's), ordered to prepare for foreign service, i. 16; to occupy Fort Cumberland, 49; to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 162, 165; reference to, 480; with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484; complement of boats for, 537; joins the army, 537

Forty-third Regiment (Kennedy's), quartered at Cork, i. 15; ordered to prepare for foreign service, 16; to garrison Annapolis, 49; location of camp of, 64; reference to, 72; ordered to leave Fort Cumberland, 78; sails from Fort Cumberland for Annapolis, 81; six companies of, embark for Annapolis Royal, 85; in garrison at Annapolis, 98; death of Captain Pigou, in command of a detachment of, 128; officers of, declare that they cannot subsist without king's provisions, 139; accoutrements belonging to, seen in possession of the enemy, 143; narrow escape of a detachment of, at Fort Annapolis, 148; dis-appointment of, 162; to serve under General Monckton in Nova Scotia, 1758, 163, 165; detachment of, sent up the Petitcordiac River, 197; proposed relief of, September, 1758, 266; proposed application of, to be put on active service, 272; to winter at Fort Cumberland, 276; detachment of, leaves Annapolis for Fort Cum-



- berland, 281 ; company of, removes from Fort Edward to Fort Cumberland, 284 ; asks to be assigned to active service, 284 ; expects to see active service, 1759, 299 ; ordered to join the expedition to Quebec, 303 ; to form a company of light infantry, 303 ; musketry exercise of, 301, 304, 306 ; embarks at Fort Cumberland for Louisbourg, 307 ; character of service of, in Nova Scotia, 308 ; description of voyage of, from Fort Cumberland to Louisbourg, 323 ; soldiers of, rejoice at opportunity of active service, 323 ; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334 ; arrives at Louisbourg, 327 ; French fusils supplied to officers of, 350 ; detachment of, to join the *Prince Frederic* man-of-war, 354 ; tools supplied to, 354 ; officer of, pardoned by General Wolfe, 385 ; inspection of, by Brigadier-General Monckton, 422 ; two soldiers of, accidentally wounded, ii. 5 ; under Major Elliott, 13 ; ordered to join Brigadier Murray, 27 ; marches to Goreham's Post, to embark in boats to assist General Murray, 31 ; unable to reach the squadron under Holmes, 33 ; removed from frigate, 83 ; an officer and thirty men of, accompany General Wolfe, 84 ; officer of, sent ashore at St. Nicholas in search of fresh provisions, 89 ; position of, on the Plains of Abraham, 98 ; reference to, by author, 101 ; clothing for, ready to be delivered at Louisbourg, 159 ; miserable quarters of, 160 ; alarm-post of, in Quebec, 257 ; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392, 394 ; lieutenant of, severely scorched, 409 ; narrow escape of officers of, while eating a dish of peas porridge, 419 ; detachment of, left on Ile de Raisins to guard fascines, 512
- Foucamps, Pierre Chevrier de, obtains grant of land, in 1640, ii. 521
- Foucault, Seigneur of, purchased by Henry Caldwell, i. 332
- Foulon, midshipman with despatches passes batteries at, ii. 34 ; place indicated by Wolfe for the landing, September 13, 48 ; chosen by Wolfe as place of landing, 82 ; Wolfe returns from reconnaissance of, 85 ; British make a descent at, 94 ; time of the landing of the British at, 99 ; road leading from to the camp, made by the British, 113 ; work of the French at, 177 ; French fleet at, April 28, 1760, 391, 398 ; French frigate at, 410 ; strong guard placed at, to take charge of stores found in enemy's camp, 436
- Foulon, L'Anse au, reference to, iii. 245, 301
- Fouqueux*, the, reference to, i. 277
- Four-gun battery, opposite the river Etchemin, ii. 75
- - Mile Post, Royal Artillery and Rangers at, i. 469 ; Royal Highland and other regiments encamped at, 1759, iii. 31
- Fowey*, the, sails from Quebec, October 26, 1759, ii. 243 ; reference to, iii. 78
- Fowke, Captain, commander of the *Bedford*, i. 21, 36 ; reference to, 152, 275, 358
- Fox, description of, in Nova Scotia, i. 313
- Foy*, the, man-of-war, arrives at Quebec, ii. 71
- Francis, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 190, 195, 198
- Francois, servant of General Wolfe, ii. 91, 116
- Franquet, French engineer at Louisbourg, reference to, i. 219 ; reports on condition of fortifications at Louisbourg, 252
- Fraser, Captain, Light Infantry company of, to join Major Dalling's corps, i. 347
- Malcolm, reference to *Journal* of, i. 440, ii. 286, 309
- Colonel Simon, commanding 63rd (later 78th) Regiment, 1758, reference to, i. 165 ; under orders to prepare for marching, 437 ; detachment of Highlanders under, marches from British camp before Quebec, 439 ; wounded near Beaumont, 440, 443 ; leads a British detachment down the St. Lawrence from Point Lévis, 440, 443 ; wounded, ii. 4, 70 ; orders the Highlanders who were charged with theft to be punished, 159 ; soldiers of regiment of, contribute largely to a public loan, 298, 299 ; efforts of, to provide clothing

- for his men, 309; takes part in engagement at Point Lévis, February 24, 1760, 347; appointed to command in Quebec, April 27, 1760, 388; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392; to command the garrison at Quebec, 439; to form a detachment from the troops under his command to reduce the fortress at Jacques Cartier, 503; sails from Quebec to reduce the fortress of Jacques Cartier, 522; returns to Quebec after obtaining the reduction of Fort Jacques Cartier, 523; biographical note on, iii. 142; letter to (from Murray), 252; reference to, 325, 326, 334
- Fraser, Mr., surgeon of the 3rd Battalion in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- Fraser's Highlanders. *See* Seventy-eighth Regiment
- Frazier, Lieutenant, of Highland regiment, dies of wounds, iii. 9
- Frederic*, the, damage sustained by, i. 101
- Frederick, Fort, Major Morris in command of, 211; description of, 268; reference to, 271; detachment of 35th Regiment garrisons, 279; provincial troops to be stationed at, 306
- or Crown Point, blown up by Bourlamaque, ii. 190; built by the French on west side of Lake Champlain in 1731, 190; so named by Monckton, 594; reference to, 596. *See also* Crown Point
- Frederick the Great, reference to, i. 350
- Fredericton. *See* St. Ann's
- Freemason lodge at Annapolis, the first established in Nova Scotia, i. 183; popularity of, 183
- Freemasons, lodges of, in Quebec, celebrate the festival of St. John the Evangelist, ii. 313
- Fremont, reference to, iii. 174
- French near Annapolis warned not to appear on trifling errands under flag of truce, i. 148; disclaim responsibility for actions of Indians, 148; send officer with proposals to capitulate, ii. 121; continue to fire into the British camp, 121; offer to capitulate if town is not relieved next evening, 121; entitled by the capitulation to the protection of the British, 123; send an officer to Canadians to command them to desist from acts of hostility, 126; think that there is little danger of British passing the town, 170; launch a new vessel of sixteen guns on the lake, 194; reported attempt to storm the town by, 413; send a schooner past the town to load a mortar at Beauport, 420; loss sustained by during naval engagement, 427; treatment of the British by, 428
- French arms, severe punishment to be meted out to those who attempt to dispose of, ii. 138
- army, history and uniforms of certain regiments of, i. 257; state of, on September 13, ii. 105; retreats to Jacques Cartier, 110; reported to be in great distress for want of provisions, 411; strength of, at siege of Quebec in 1760, 445; strength of, between Three Rivers and Quebec, 476; main body of, between Three Rivers and Montreal, 476; regulars, strength of given as 4011 in 1760, 589; return of the strength of, at the capitulation of Montreal, 589
- batteries keep up a fire against the British, ii. 94
- boat destroyed by a gun shot, ii. 41
- camp, alarm is caused by movements of Holmes and Murray in upper river, ii. 30; centre of, to be at Beauport, 169
- and Canadians, to become British subjects, ii. 583
- cavalry, makes an attack upon British position at Sillery, ii. 99
- fleet, author's remarks on the damage suffered by, ii. 402
- frigates, two vessels and several transports reached the Saguenay, ii. 136
- galiots sent up the river Sorel, ii. 501
- Grenadiers surprise a party of the British, ii. 427
- gunner hanged for robbery, ii. 85
- gunnery not appreciated by the author, ii. 133
- guns reported to be unserviceable, ii. 404

- French irregulars capture two trading vessels from New England, 1758, i. 187; capture a sloop at Grindstone Island, 302, 306
- language, names of sergeants able to speak, to be reported, ii. 302
- Light Cavalry, in blue uniforms faced with scarlet, and officers in white, discovered by the British on the north shore, ii. 486
- Militia, large numbers of, said to have deserted, ii. 506
- mutton, soldiers provided with, at Annapolis, i. 122
- officer arrested for refusing to wait upon the general, ii. 157
- officers at Niagara to quit the fort without being subject to acts of reprisal, ii. 189; who were prisoners embark on board a cartel ship, 462; allowed to appoint attorneys to act for them in the administration of their effects, 585
- prisoners captured at Point Platon and taken on board the *Diana*, ii. 472
- provision boat captured by the sailors near Deschambault, ii. 472
- redoubt, at the river St. Charles, occupied by the British, ii. 138
- sailor hanged for robbery, ii. 85
- schooner taken by the *Eurus* to be employed in the service of the garrison, ii. 457
- ship of war, bound for Louisbourg, intercepted by Admiral Coates, i. 150
- ships, which escaped the British fleet, save the colony from starvation, ii. 160; inhabitants report that if the ships had not arrived the colony would have surrendered, 161; precautions to be taken to prevent landing of, 456
- shot not adaptable to British guns, ii. 422
- sloop passes the batteries of the town undiscovered, ii. 409; repasses the town and arrives at the Foulon, 414
- troops, irregulars, party of, capture and burn a British sloop near Fort Cumberland, i. 107; charged with violating terms of capitulation of Fort William Henry, 181; irregulars, barbarity of, to soldiers killed near Fort Cumberland, 290; at Fort Du Quesne, report of atrocities committed by, 300, 301; at Quebec, practise movements for defence of their lines, 401; practice of shouting disapproved by the author, ii. 79; advance of, at Battle of the Plains, 101; in retreat at Battle of the Plains, 101; reported reference of, to the affair of Fort William Henry, 103; report of, to have fired slugs of lead and iron from their small arms, 113; embark for France, 148; embarked for Europe, 179; healthy condition of, 445; willing to subsist upon vegetables, 462; detachment of, on north shore follow Murray's movements, 485; to be embarked for France, 567; to embark for France within fifteen days of the capitulation, 586
- French women and children taken at Niagara to be sent to Montreal, ii. 188
- Fresh Water Cove, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 213, 215
- Freshes, the. *See* Godet's Village, i. 120
- Frichet, Sieur, captured by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Friendship*, the, i. 22
- Frigate arrives at Quebec with despatches from England, ii. 505
- Frigates, to royal vessels to be unrigged and grounded at entrance to the St. Charles, ii. 168; sent to the rapids of the Richelieu, 168
- Fripon, name given to a dog which deserted the French camp, i. 161
- Friponne, La, name applied to the storehouse of Bigot, ii. 144
- Frizer, of the Royal Americans, reference to, i. 413, 427
- Fronsac, La*, attempt made by the British for the destruction of, ii. 12
- Frontenac, Fort, called by Indians Cadaraqui, i. 264; description of, 264; extract from letter of a British officer at, 264; report of Colonel Bradstreet on capture of, 265; reference to, ii. 192
- Park, reference to, ii. 125
- Frost bites, treatment prescribed for, ii. 295; suffering of British troops in Quebec from, 304; large number



- of British soldiers in Quebec suffer from, 307; Captain Leslie's detachment of soldiers suffer from, 311; suffering of British troops in Quebec from, 309
- Fruit trees, abundance of, in Acadian settlements, i. 86; varieties of, in Canada, ii. 614
- Fruits, varieties of, found in Nova Scotia, i. 311, 312
- Fry, Joseph, arrival of, at Fort Cumberland, i. 306; note on, 306; reference to, iii. 398
- Funda, Gelles, Captain, note on, iii. 200; reference to, 195, 199, 205, 224, 228
- Funeral expenses, order from the Earl of Loudoun that officers be buried with as little expense as possible, i. 139
- Fur trade in the hands of the French, ii. 191; reference to, 548, 593; Indians assemble at Tadousac to exchange furs for supplies, 604
- Furs, French wish to obtain tobacco and brandy in exchange for, i. 147; valuable stores of, captured at Fort Frontenac, 265; merchants in Quebec purchase, at Montreal, ii. 298
- Furnace Bomb*, the, commanded by Captain Phillips, i. 21; convoy for transports, 37
- Fusil, description of, i. 350
- Fusils, those taken from the French to be given to British officers who have lost their own, ii. 157
- GABARUS BAY, reference to, i. 177; arrival of British fleet in, 1758, 184; arrival of expedition against Louisbourg in, 213
- Gable, Benjamin, hangman of Quebec, ii. 408
- Gage, Thomas, biographical reference to, i. 274; serves with Braddock in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 274; appointed Governor of Massachusetts Bay, 274; Lieutenant-Governor of Montreal, 274; appointed Brigadier-General, 274; reference to, 464; to be left at Albany to look after provisions and stores, 466; arrives at Seven-Mile Post, 473; takes post at Lake George, 477; holds consultation with commanding officer regarding the payment of troops, 482; ordered to proceed to Oswego, 510; in command of the army under Sir William Johnson, ii. 191; instructed to proceed by way of Lake Ontario up the Cataraqui and take La Gallette, 192; sends despatch to Amherst regarding the post at La Gallette, 194; light infantry of, cover the landing of the rangers, 195; reported to be moving towards Isle aux Noix, January, 1760, 332; reference to troops under command of, 539; reference to, 548; commended by Amherst, 601; reference to, iii. 32, 51, 55, 61, 68, 74, 78, 82, 86, 87, 94, 196, 198, 210, 217, 220, 221, 223, 226
- Gage's Regiment. *See* Eighteenth Regiment
- Gagnon, Abbé C. O., ii. 152
- Ernest, report of, on the church and convent of the Récollets at Quebec, ii. 204; reference to *Chansons Populaires du Canada* by, 313
- Gaillard, Marie-Claire, of St. Thomas, reference to, ii. 293
- Marie Louise, of the Blessed Virgin, reference to, ii. 292
- Galiots, flying Dutch colours, discovered on the St. Lawrence, ii. 468; French, chase British sounding boats, August, 1760, 488
- Gall, Captain de la, offers to resign in favour of Captain Knox, i. xiv; death of, xiv
- Gallissonnière, de la, reference to, i. 60
- Gallop Islands, Indians land at, ii. 543
- Galway, 43rd Regiment at, i. 15
- Gamache, the Marquis de, son of, offers his fortune to the Jesuits, ii. 205
- Gambier, Captain, in command of *Burford*, in 1758, i. 152
- Game, officers from fort at Annapolis shoot partridges and squirrels, i. 109; abundance of, found at Bear Island, 283; plentiful supply of, in Canada, ii. 615
- Gamelin, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 188
- Ganataragoin, enemy unmask a battery at, ii. 545
- Ganong, Professor, indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii; reference to, 308

- Ganughsharagey, reference to, iii. 221
- Garden, proposal to cultivate one to provide supplies for sick and wounded, i. 35; formation for convenience of new fort, 492
- Gardiner, Richard, reference to, i. 362; note by, 372; edits the journal of a French officer on board the *Chezine*, ii. 138
- Garnier, Lieutenant William, commands a transport-cat in attack at Montmorency, i. 449
- Garrison, to have the honours of war, ii. 123; of Quebec, confidence restored in, 405
- duty at Fort Cumberland, detail of, i. 285; in remote forts, disagreeable character of, 272
- Garrisons, remarks by the author on the custom of supplying lights in, i. 99
- Garth, Captain, note on, iii. 51
- Gaspé Bay, reference to, i. 263, 360; destruction of French settlements at, 274, 275; successful expedition of General Wolfe to, 274, 275; British occupy, 275; destruction of French settlement at, 275, 276; description of settlement at, 275, 277; British leave, September 27, 1758, 277; expedition against Quebec to rendezvous at, 343; arrival of a French frigate in, November, 1759, ii. 283; French ship frozen up in, 373; reference to French frigate wintering at, 387; French ship captured in the bay and sent to Halifax, 418; reference to, 594
- Gaspereau, Fort, reference to, i. 66, 288; built by the French in 1751, 83; church and chapel constructed by the French at this place, 84; capture of, by Monckton, 164
- Gaspesia, reference to the work of Father Le Clercq on, i. 90
- Gate's Hill. *See* Mayass Hill
- Gates, order issued for all the gates to be closed on the night of the 29th, ii. 160
- of Quebec, to be taken possession of by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, ii. 124; Montreal, reference to, 604
- Gaudet, Placide, indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii; Acadian genealogist of the Public Archives of Canada, 120
- Gautier, reference to, iii. 174
- Gazettes of New York, brought to Quebec by a French officer, ii. 318
- General, remarks on the duties of, i. 512
- General Hospital, to be constructed for the army, i. 500; Wolfe promises to protect community, ii. 20; a detachment of 200 men sent to, by Townshend, 108; author in error in referring to, 108; table kept at, for convalescent officers at the expense of the king, 108; order issued forbidding any soldier to go near the hospital, 120; no soldier allowed to enter without a pass, 148; overcrowded condition of, 158; reinforcement sent to, Oct. 2, 1759, 227; Murray undertakes to supply wood for, 269
- Louisbourg, location for, during the siege, i. 35
- Quebec, Captain Ochterloney at, i. 454; description of, ii. 212; history of, 212; British orders for protection of, 233; Monckton advances money to nuns of, 234; French officers at, converse in French and Latin, 235; character of meals served at, 235; cattle of, carried off by French cavalry, 241; cattle stolen from, returned by French, 243; reference to, 245; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268; reference to, 297; clothing to be given men sent to, 304
- General officers reconnoitre the coast from the *Hunter* sloop, ii. 80
- General Wall*, packet, iii. 80
- Gens de bois*, reference to, i. 100, 133; French irregulars in Nova Scotia, 260
- Gentleman's Magazine*, reference to, i. 458
- Gentlemen cadets, serve as volunteers in expedition, i. 117
- George II., celebration of birthday of, i. 106; celebration at Annapolis of birthday of, 1758, 273; celebration of anniversary of accession, 181; coronation day honoured by the garrison, 271, ii. 459
- George, Fort, construction of, by Colo-



- nel Montresor, i. 510; reference to, ii. 103
- George's Island, note on, i. 32; fascines landed at, 43; batteries at, 51
- George* transport, the, to take on board 200 of Anstruther's and 100 Highlanders, ii. 83; 150 Highlanders to be transferred from, 87
- Germain, Père, leads Indians to Canada, i. 280; to work with Boishébert, ii. 57
- Germans, number of, desert from French at Louisbourg, i. 246
- Gibbon, Robert, master of the *Success* sloop, i. 323
- Gibraltar's Prize*, the, unfit for service, i. 37
- Gibson, James, extract from letter of, to Governor Lawrence, i. 368, 440, 454; comment of, on the tactics of Wolfe, ii. 9
- Gifts, exchange of, between rival commanders at Louisbourg, i. 230
- Gilbert, Sieur, mentioned, iii. 364
- Ginger, use of, as a corrective in scorbutic cases, ii. 352; soldiers in Quebec required to use, 354
- Ginseng plant, discovery of, by the Jesuit Lafitau, ii. 181; search for, carried on to the detriment of trade and agriculture, 182; rapid increase in price of, 182
- Giraudais, François Chenard, *Journal*, iii. 361; at Bay de Chaleur, 368; reference to, 391
- Gladwin, Henry, appointed major for the campaign, i. 473; biographical reference to, 474; in command of Gage's light infantry, 474; in command of a detachment in search of the enemy, 491; holds Detroit against the attacks of Pontiac, ii. 183; in command of a company of grenadiers, 1759, iii. 38; reference to, 65
- Glorieux, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Goat Island, formerly *Bien Courville*, reference to, i. 86, 135, 283
- Goddard, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 82
- Godet, or Gaudet, Pierre, founder of Godet's village, biographical reference to, i. 120; situated fourteen miles from Fort Annapolis, 120
- Godfrey river, reference to, ii. 253
- Godwin, John, biographical reference to, ii. 296; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 392
- Goffe, John, appointed captain in 1746, major in 1756, commander of the New Hampshire Regiment, 1760, ii. 525, 526
- Golden Dog, text of inscription of, ii. 207; description of house of, 207
- Goldsmith, Captain Edward, mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 91
- Goldthrap, Mr., agent-victualler in expedition against Louisbourg, i. 228
- Good Intent*, the, transport cutter, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 359
- Good-will*, the, transport, reference to, i. 340; description of, 349; escapes wreck in St. Lawrence, 371
- Goosetrey, Captain, in command of the *Lightning*, fireship, in 1758, i. 152
- Gordon, Captain, of the *Devonshire*, 1758, i. 152; reference to, 275, 357
- Major Archibald, of the 27th Regiment, ii. 525, 526
- [—], reference to *Journal* kept by, i. 178; extract from *Journal* kept by, 246, 258
- Goreham, Joseph, ordered to Louisbourg to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy, i. 32; biographical reference to, 32; expedition under, to St. Paul's Bay, ii. 17; destroys settlement in the vicinity of Isle aux Coudres, 23; reports that he had taken number of prisoners and scalped a few Indians, 26; turns out the inhabitants and burns village of St. Paul's Bay, 38; account of the expedition of, 37; takes sixty Canadians prisoners, 136; returns to Quebec with a quantity of cattle and plunder after having destroyed more than eleven hundred houses, 136; reference to, iii. 344
- Goreham's Post, establishment of, i. 434; Admiral Holmes marches to, 442; Royal Americans and light infantry marched to, ii. 11; 43rd Regiment returns from, 33; attacked by French floating battery, 41; reference to, 73, 75; Wolfe returns to, 85
- Rangers, reference to, i. 197; to be sent in advance to the St. Lawrence, 336, 337; defeat Indians at Point Lévis, 395

- Gosport*, the, captures French schooner off Banks of Newfoundland, i. 42
- Goutins, Sieur de, note on, ii. 570
- Government of Quebec, ii. 169; strength of militia of, in 1760, 589
- of Montreal, ii. 169; strength of militia of, in 1760, 589
- of Three Rivers, ii. 169; boundaries of, 482; strength of militia of, in 1760, 589
- Governor's garden, Annapolis, reference to, i. 88
- guard, Quebec, detail of, November 5, 1759, ii. 268
- house, damaged by British batteries, ii. 32
- Grackle, purple, or blackbird, description of, i. 315
- Grafton*, the, commanded by Commodore Holmes, i. 21; reference to, 33, 36; discovered at sea without masts, 101
- Graham, the Rev. Hugh, extract from a letter of, relating to Captain Danks, i. 196
- Major, in command of the Second Battalion of the Royal Highland Regiment, 1759, ii. 180, iii. 48; reference to, 198, 217, 219, 226
- Gramond, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 391
- Gramont*, sloop, the Fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, i. 152; reference to, iii. 98
- Grampuses, seen by Fleet during voyage, i. 26
- Granada*, bomb-ketch, arrival of, i. 33; unfit for service, 37
- Granby, Marquis of, forms a society for the encouragement of British troops, ii. 535
- Grand Battery at Louisbourg, destruction of, i. 244; reference to, 251
- Quebec, two sentinels hanged on a gibbet in the lower town, ii. 56; reference to, 205; works at, in satisfactory condition, 421
- Grande Allée, Quebec, ii. 100; reference to, 317
- Grand Maison, paid the sum of twenty-three pounds for his journey in search of Carr the deserter, ii. 52
- Manaan Island, rendezvous of Indians at, i. 325
- Passage, reference to, i. 326
- Grand Prée, reference to, i. 32; deportation of Acadians from, 115
- Rivière, description of, i. 278; destruction of, 278
- vicars, to administer the diocese, ii. 579
- Grandville, Maillet de, reference to, iii. 118
- Grani, M., commander of the *Fronsac*, ii. 17
- Grant, Allan, Lieutenant, note on, ii. 384
- Captain, reference to, iii. 65
- Francis, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 42nd Regiment, i. 469; with the army at Fort Edward (New York), 469; reference to, 474; Highlanders from post of, arrive at Lake George, 477; reference to, in orders, 486; reference to, ii. 540; sent to South Carolina, and compels the Cherokees to submit, 616
- Lieut., of Montgomery's Highlanders, in command of the new sloop of 16 guns, ii. 195; endeavours to save stranded vessel, 196; commands merchants' company of volunteers, 389; reference to, iii. 64, 69, 72, 74
- Major, reported wounded, i. 270; Major of the 77th Foot, note on, ii. 519; in command of four companies of the 77th Regiment in the expedition against the Cherokees, 519; reference to, iii. 73, 77, 228
- Gray, James, to attend Colonel Rugles, i. 497
- Great Rock Guard, Point Lévis, position of, i. 397; description of, 423
- Green boughs, to be worn by Amherst's light troops to distinguish them from the enemy, ii. 519
- Green Hill, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 230, 234, 238, 240, 241; advanced redoubt thrown up at, iii. 8; 300 pioneers sent to, 10
- Island, reference to, i. 55
- River, reference to, ii. 253
- P., master of the *Prosperity*, transport cutter, i. 359
- Greenville County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Greenwood, Captain, of the *Zephyr*, i. 358
- Grellaux, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 174

- Grenadiers killed within range of Fort Annapolis, i. 116; return of a deserter from the, 128; deserter from, ordered to ride a wooden horse with broom in hand, 129; French, great assistance given by, at the battle of Ticonderoga, 194; certain companies of, to carry swords into the field, 208; companies of, in expedition against Louisbourg, to be completed, 208; detachment of, to attack Light House Point, Louisbourg, 222; orders for disposition of, in landing at Louisbourg, 213, 214, 215, 216; position of, in camp before Louisbourg, 238; directions to, for services before Louisbourg, 239; of Louisbourg, employed in expedition against Light House Point, 244; three companies of, from garrison of Louisbourg, to serve against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to, 354; embark for Quebec, 355; to serve under Colonel Carleton, 380; ordered to cross the River St. Lawrence near Quebec, July 15, 1759, 421, 424; position of, for defence of Montmorency, 430; detachment of, on British ships above Quebec, 431; posted at Island of Orleans, 434; of Col. Carleton's detachment, return from above Quebec, 439; unsuccessful attack by, at Montmorency, 452; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; boats allowed to, 489; company of, ordered out at night in search of the enemy, 491; reference to, in orders, 500; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510; unsoldierlike proceedings of, referred to in orders, 1st August, 1759, ii. 3; who served at Montmorency to rejoin their regiments, 5; six companies of, instructed in new manœuvres, 10; arrive at Point Levi from Montmorency, 57; blunders of, at Montmorency, referred to by Wolfe in dispatch, 66; coats made use of by Wolfe in reconnoitring the north shore, 84; companies of, in Quebec, to be completed, 358; organisation of, among French marine troops, ii. 377; five companies of, reviewed, 459; battalion of, landed at Point Platon, 472; deserter from the British, 475; with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, 484; under Colonel Massey, complement of boats for, 537
- Grenville, William, Constitutional Act prepared by, i. 331
- Grey's *Elegy*, reference to copy of, ii. 92
- Grindstone Island, French capture a sloop at, i. 302; evidences of French in neighbourhood of, 303
- Grondines, British ships at anchor off, ii. 472; eastern boundary of government of Three Rivers, 482
- Grotet, Bernard. *See* note, i. 121
- Grouse, found in Nova Scotia, i. 315
- Grow, Captain, of a schooner from Old York, captured by the French, i. 269
- Guadeloupe, Bourlamaque appointed Governor of, i. 504; reference to, ii. 283
- Guard, method of mounting, on transports, i. 49
- Guards, regulations regarding, in Quebec, November 1759, ii. 260, 268; orders for the visiting of, 296; detail of, in Quebec, December 1759, 309, 310
- Guenet. *See* St. Ignace
- Guerin, Marie Anne, widow of Philibert, ii. 63
- Guides, French prisoners used as, i. 268
- Guienne, Regiment of, at the battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194, 195; note on the uniform of, ii. 6; to take up position on the left of camp, 31; posted at St. John's Gate, 95; ordered to the Foulon by Montcalm, September 12, 113; reference to, 175; heavy losses of, 430
- Guignolle, La*, description of custom of, ii. 313
- Guinea, official value of, ii. 290
- Guist, Mr., reference to, iii. 228
- Gulf of Mexico, reference to, ii. 592
- Gulliver's Hole, mines at, i. 56
- Gun, method of distinguishing flash of, i. 408
- Guns, difficulty in mounting, owing to scarcity of materials, ii. 404; those bearing on the enemy's works ordered to be chalked, 421
- Gunners, French pay tribute to the excellent service of the British, ii. 412
- Gut of Annapolis, i. 56



- Guy Fawkes' Day, celebration of, i. 273
- Gwillim, Thomas, major of brigade in the expedition against Quebec, i. 330, 333; note on, 331
- HAIR, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 195, 205, 210, 218, 224
- Haldimand, Sir Frederick, biographical reference to, i. 493; wounded at Ticonderoga, 493; appointed brigadier, 494; defeats large body of Indians under La Corne, 494; chief in command at New York, 494; appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Canada, 494; promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, 494; death of, at Yverdun in 1791, 494; voluminous correspondence of, 494; Colonel, in command at Oswego, 510; temporary citadel erected by, ii. 119; Colonel, in command of the first battalion of Royal Highlanders, 538; reference to, 548; sent to take possession of one of the gates of Montreal, 564; demands the colours of the French regiments, and is informed that they have been destroyed, 590; instructed to build a fort at Oswego, 1759, iii. 38; reference to, 86, 88, 93, 189, 191, 193, 197, 217, 219, 226
- House, Quebec, construction of, ii. 204
- Hale, John, biographical reference to, i. 222; commanding 47th Regiment, 1758, reference to, 165; special command of, at Louisbourg, 222; sent home with despatches announcing victory at Quebec, 1759, 223; raises the 18th Light Dragoons, 223; commands grenadiers in expedition against Light House Point, Louisbourg, 244; advances platoons against the enemy on Plains of Abraham, ii. 99
- Halfmoon, a post on the west side of the Hudson between Albany and Fort Lidius, i. 464; battery on the Hudson, iii. 24; post, Montgomery's Regiment encamped at, 28
- Half-way Brook, orders for Prideaux's regiment to advance to, i. 470; post to be erected at, 1759, iii. 31; wag-gons and stores sent to, 1759, 32; Lyman's Regiment encamped at, 1759, 37
- Halibut, large size of, i. 326
- Halifax, arrival of fleet at, i. 23; foundation of, 24; description of, by author, 50; report of embargo laid on port of, 145; reference to post-office at, 171; preparation of a military hospital at, 210; expedition against Louisbourg sails from, 1758, 213; reference to, 245, 308; design of French against, 263; British regiments in garrison at, 1758, 263; discovery of plot for capture of, 268; provincial regiment to be stationed at, 306, 308; founding of, by Lord Cornwallis, 309; detachment of artillery to be sent to, 352; French prize brought to, 357; arrival of express from Quebec at, ii. 358; reference to settlement at, 592; report of destruction of, by French, 1759, 283
- Halifax*, sloop, attempts to raise this vessel, which was sunk at the close of the campaign of 1758, i. 479; masted and repaired, 489; to bring up rear of boats on the lake, 497; signals to be made from, 498
- , frigate, reference to, iii. 98
- Hallifax county, proposed creation of, ii. 252
- Hamilton, Major Frederick, note on, i. 214; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; Major, of the 1st Regiment, note on, ii. 519; Major, in command of the Royals in the expedition against the Cherokees, 519; Major, in command of Forbes's Regiment at Scotcook, iii. 23; sends report of the death of Lieutenant Watts, 25
- Captain, of the *Squirrel*, i. 358; reference to, iii. 165
- Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 50, 59, 73
- Hancy, Mr., reference to, iii. 226
- Handfield, Lieutenant, of 40th Regiment, member of Executive Council of Annapolis, i. 94; commanding 40th Regiment, 1758, reference to, 165; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; biographical reference to, 214; reference to, 222
- Thomas, reference to, i. 214
- Handkerson, Captain, of the *Rich-*

- mond*, i. 358; reference to, 361, 401
- Hangar*, use of term, ii. 231
- Hangman's Redoubt, reference to, ii. 245; works of the British at, 401; works executed in vicinity of, 411; 150 pieces of cannon set up in the vicinity of, 420
- Hanover, abandonment of, by Duke of Cumberland, i. 221
- Hanway, Jonas, reference to, ii. 535
- Hardwick, Dominie, reference to, iii. 224
- Hardy, Admiral Charles, biographical reference to, i. 28; arrival of, at Halifax, 1758, 150; commander of the *Namur*, 1758, 152; capture of prizes off Louisbourg by, 1758, 173; reference to, 231, 248, 250; expedition of, to River St. Lawrence, 1758, 263; sails for Gaspé, 275; sails from Gaspé Bay, 277; returns to Gaspé Bay, 277; failure of, to intercept French fleet, 368; fleet of, blown off to sea, iii. 7; reference to, 103, 104, 106
- Major, commands detachment of 62nd Regiment before Quebec, i. 406; reference to, 407, 434
- Hare, description of, i. 312
- Hariot*, the, packet, to be employed for intelligence, i. 37
- Harris, Colonel, in command of the Rhode Island Regiment, ii. 525, 526
- Job, master of the *Lawrence*, transport cutter, i. 359
- Harrison, Ensign, of Forbes's Regiment, killed at Ticonderoga, i. 510
- Hartwell, Captain, of the *Neptune*, i. 357
- Manuscript, extract from, i. 453
- Harvest, necessity of gathering in the, ii. 10; Canadians reported to be reaping pease and barley, 41; scantiness of, in 1757 and 1758, 160
- Harvey, Captain, appointed Major of Brigade, i. 459
- Hasquesashnagh, Johnson and his Indians retire to village of, ii. 556
- Haussonville, Count de, ii. 617
- Hauteclouque, Count Gustave de, reference to *Le Maréchal de Lévis, Gouverneur Général de l'Artois*, by, ii. 301
- Havana, Colonel Carleton wounded at, i. 330
- Haviland, Colonel, reference to, i. 157; in command at Fort Edward, 157; in command of the grenadier and light infantry companies, 473; commands a large detachment which seeks to draw the enemy into an engagement, 478; to be informed of the detail of the guards, 486; in command of grenadiers, rangers, and light infantry, 497, 508; party of rangers to be detached to, ii. 488; reference to the army of, 504; reduces Fort Chambly, 515; arrives at Longueuil, 515; captain of the 27th Regiment in 1745, 527; served with Abercromby at Ticonderoga with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, 527; appointed Lieutenant-General in 1772, 527; death of, 527; reference to, 529, 600; receives notice of the capitulation of Montreal, 565; reference to, iii. 82, 94, 330, 331, 333
- Havre le Tems. See Letang Harbour
- Hawke*, the, commanded by Captain La Forey, i. 21; convoy for transports, 37; arrives from Halifax and Boston, as convoy to transports, 162; arrives at Fort Annapolis, 167; to convey troops from Louisbourg to Platon Road to join Murray, ii. 477
- Hawkes, Major, reference to, iii. 74
- Hawkins's *Picture of Quebec*, extract from, ii. 207
- Hawthorn-tree, description of, ii. 314; budding of, at Quebec, December 1759, 314
- Hay, Lieutenant, appointed major of the first brigade in Murray's expedition against Montreal, ii. 464; of the 7th Regiment of Foot, 464
- Lord Charles, criticises the action of the Commander-in-Chief, i. 40; in command of third brigade, 40; biographical reference to, 40; reference to, 151
- Hazen, Moses, biographical reference to, i. 296; assists General Montgomery in 1775, 296; ravages of, on the St. John's River, 297; rangers of, to guard cattle of British army before Quebec, 384; rangers of, to guard cattle, 387; reference to, 407, 448; rangers of, to instruct light infantry in the use of snow-shoes,



- ii. 312; recovers plunder from French near Quebec, February, 1760, 339; takes part in engagement at Point Levi, February 24, 1760, 347; has engagement with French near Lorette, March, 1760, 370; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392
- Health of troops, recommendation for preservation of, i. 211
- Hebecourt, Captain d', in command of 400 men at Ticonderoga, i. 508
- Monsieur d', reference to, iii. 52
- Hébert, Louis, an early settler at Port Royal, after whom the River Hébert or Bear river was named, i. 144; early settler at Quebec, ii. 205
- Hector, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Heights of Abraham, ii. 97
- Helena*, the, for Boston, employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, i. 115
- Henderson, James, present at the death of Wolfe, ii. 114; ensign in the 28th Regiment, 116; quotation from letter of, 116
- Hennepin, Louis, reference to, i. 387; extract from history of Canada by, ii. 329
- Henri IV of France, reference to, ii. 103, 222
- Heon, Joseph, paid the sum of one pound in connection with Carr the deserter, ii. 52
- Herbin, M., in command of the brigade of the Island of Montreal, ii. 167; commands French post at Le Calvaire, 361; note on, 361; report of arrest of, 365; commands in a skirmish at Cap Rouge, 380; rumour of dismissal of, from French service, 383
- Herkimer, Fort, on the Mohawk River, iii. 25
- Heron*, the, i. 22
- Heros, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Heronville, Chevalier de, Colonel of the Regiment de Bourgoyne, i. 258
- Hertel or Hartel, Lieutenant, ii. 472; body of, sent under flag of truce to Deschambault, 473; reference to, iii. 311
- Françoise de, of St. Exupere, reference to, ii. 292
- Hervey, the Hon. William, reference to, i. 331; biographical reference to, ii. 187; in the 44th Regiment of Foot, 187; serves with his regiment in America with rank of major, 187; remains in Montreal after the capitulation, 187; valuable journals of, 187; extract from journal of, 557; captain of the 44th Regiment, 557
- Hibernian Society, reference to the work of, i. 18
- High Island. *See* Ile Haute
- Highlanders, reinforcement of, i. 73; killed by sentinel in mistake, 74; party of, take post at Dartmouth, 75; 78th Regiment, to serve under General Amherst against Louisbourg, 162, 165; 77th Regiment, to serve under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne, 163, 166; detachment of, to join rangers in Louisbourg expedition, 207, 208; detachment of, to garrison Fort Edward (Nova Scotia), 1758, 208; to exchange arms with light infantry, 209; to receive seventy rounds of ammunition per man, 209; orders for disposition of, in landing at Louisbourg, 213, 214, 215; reference to, 238; help to repulse sortie from Louisbourg, 246; French fear of, 267; body of, under orders to prepare to march, July 23, 1759, 437; carry plunder past Quebec under cover of a white flag, 440; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510; who served at Montmorency to return to their camp, ii. 5; party of, sent out to distress the country, 28; position of, on Plains of Abraham, 98; pursue the French to the gates of the town and the River St. Charles, 101; contribute largely to a public loan, 298, 299; sufferings of, in Quebec, from the cold, 309; assistance given by, to the nuns in Quebec, 322; soldier of, killed by lighting, 462
- Highland regiments, change in numbering of, i. 164; at Montmorency complimented by Wolfe, ii. 4. *See also* 77th and 78th Regiment.
- Hill, failure of expedition of, against Quebec, ii. 203
- Colonel, reference to, ii. 211
- Captain, letter from, iii. 397
- Hillsborough, engagement at, i. 61

- Hillsborough county, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Hind*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, i. 152; at anchor off Annapolis river, June 9, 1758, 176; to join the fleet at Louisbourg, 1758, 176; in the expedition against Quebec, 358
- Historical MSS. Commission, reference to 11th Report of, i. 328
- Hobart, Mr., reference to, ii. 138
- Hog Island, note on, i. 88
- blockhouse, reference to, i. 88, 128; alarm at, 129; activity of the enemy in vicinity of, 159
- Holborne, Admiral Francis, biographical reference to, note on, i. 19; commander of the *Newark*, 21; orders of, 36, 37; reference to, 73; damage sustained by the fleet under, 100; reference to, ii. 593, iii. 102
- Holderness, Earl, dispatch of Wolfe to, ii. 82
- Holland, Samuel, member of the first council at Quebec, ii. 4
- Captain, at the battle of Ste. Foy, ii. 391
- Hollander, armed deserter from French regulars surrenders to British at Fort Cumberland, i. 180
- Hollar, Ensign, reference to, iii. 74
- Holmes, Rear-Admiral Charles, biographical reference to, note on, i. 20; reference to, 33, 36, 357; fleet under, sails from Spithead, February 14, 1759, 292; takes command of the fleet above Quebec, 442; sends advice of the movements of the enemy, ii. 7; to make a diversion above the town, 9; quantity of explosives prepared for, 21; sends dispatch to Wolfe, 34; difficulties of, in upper river, 46; quotation from letter of, 47; instructed to destroy French shipping in upper river, 68; reference to, 75; squadron of, at anchor off Cape Rouge, 78; refers to the last words of Wolfe, 116; makes an effort to destroy *The Chezine*, 139; movement of ships made by, 173; letter to [from Murray], iii. 165
- James, Captain, appointed major for the campaign, i. 473; in command of light troops, 475
- Hoop Island, reference to, i. 158
- Hopewell Success*, the, i. 22
- Hopkins, Sergeant, reference to, iii. 56, 57
- Hopson, Major-General Peregrine Thomas, biographical reference to, note on, i. 20; in command of the embarkation, 21; reference to, note on, 23, 151; in command of First Brigade, 40; reference to order of, 167; reference to, ii. 594
- Hopson*, the, for South Carolina, employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, i. 115
- Horn, method of carrying, by light infantry, i. 352
- Horseflesh supplied to troops in 1759, ii. 18
- Horses, a number of, captured by the British at Mayass Hill, returned on demand to the inhabitants, i. 102; order issued for all horses driven in by troops to be conveyed to the Island of Orleans, ii. 8
- Hospital, barracks at Halifax converted into, i. 210; navy, before Louisbourg, 240; church of St. Joseph converted into, 407; position of, on Island of Orleans, 408; women left at Albany may be employed in, 460; Ursuline Convent, Quebec, prepared for use as, ii. 230
- Hospitals, guards to be placed at, ii. 158; Quebec, regulations for supply of provisions to, 322; women to replace men attending sick in, 365; a commissary to be left in charge of, after the departure of the French, 576
- Hospital ship, to receive sick men during expedition up the St. Lawrence, i. 352; for the French to be provided by the British, ii. 576
- Hostilities, cessation of, on the arrival of Amherst at Montreal, ii. 559
- Hotel Dieu, dilapidated state of, after the siege of Quebec, ii. 158; convent, Quebec, reference to, 202; founding of, 223; description of, 224; history of, 224; destruction of property of, 362; alleged reason for destruction of property of, 363
- Houdin, Michael, chaplain of the 48th Regiment, ii. 28
- House of Commons, thanks Admiral Saunders for his services, i. 337
- Houses of Assembly, Nova Scotia, constitution of, i. 309

- How, Edward, captain of Militia and High Sheriff, i. 94
- George Augustus, Viscount, note on, i. 21; reference to, 40; commanding 58th Regiment, 1758, reference to, 165; biographical reference to, 185; death of, 185, 186, 190; military reforms effected by, 185; burial of, in Albany, 186; estimate of Mante as to effects of loss of, 186; reference by Wolfe to, 266
- Richard, Earl, Admiral of the Fleet, reference to, i. 185
- William, Viscount, general of the army, reference to, i. 185; note on, ii. 464
- Colonel, to command the light infantry at Quebec, i. 380; light infantry of, to guard the line of march on the Island of Orleans, 384; ordered to cover the march of Townshend's brigade, 386, 387; to provide light infantry to cover working parties, 425; reference to, 430, 446; light infantry of, have engagement with Indians, 442; ordered to lead a feint movement against the French at Montmorency, 447; encounter with Indians, ii. 35; reference to, 73; sent by Wolfe to silence battery at Samos, 75; mentioned in Wolfe's will, 90; calls for volunteers, 95; excellent conduct of the light infantry under, 96; light infantry under, to join their regiments, 137; to command the left brigade in Murray's expedition against Montreal, 464; lands his troops to refresh themselves, 474; to lead the left column in the march to Montreal, 518; reference to, iii. 311, 312, 317, 328
- Hudson River, Haviland's corps passes up, ii. 530
- Hughes, Captain, of the *Somerset*, i. 152, 358
- "Huguenots," origin of term, ii. 230; of Quebec, attend British thanksgiving service, 230
- Humming-bird, description of, i. 317
- Hundred Associates, company of the, cedes land at Quebec to the Ursulines, ii. 223
- Hungarian irregulars, reference to, i. 109
- Hunter*, the, i. 36; of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, 152; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; takes part in the expedition against Deschambault, ii. 13; to carry reinforcement for General Murray, 27; attempts to pass the town, 27; passes the town, 52; accidents to, in passing the town, 53; to accompany flat-bottomed boats, 78; to take 120 Highlanders, 87; of Lord Colville's fleet, 416; salutes Lord Colville, 435; sent in quest of the *Lowestoffe*, 436; brings twenty thousand pounds for the relief of the garrison of Quebec, 441
- Huron, Lake, reference to, ii. 190
- Hurons, not to be molested in returning to their settlements at Lorette, ii. 517; form of certificate granted to, by Murray, 517
- Hussey, position of, in landing at Louisbourg, i. 214; biographical reference to, 214; to assist in commanding the light infantry at Quebec, 380; reference to, 447, ii. 78; commanding the 47th Regiment in Quebec, 257; detachment under, occupies churches of Lorette and Ste. Foy, 275; extract from letter of Brigadier-General Murray to, November 22, 1759, 278; orders to, for defence of Lorette, 279
- Huston, Mr., pays out £250 for scalps, i. 197
- Hutchings, Ensign, reference to, iii. 63
- ILE. *See* Isle
- Ilot St. Jean. *See* Bic
- Impartial Account of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet's Expedition to Fort Frontenac, An*, reference to, i. 264
- Ince, Charles, note on, i. 281
- India Company, to retain ecarlatines and castors which they have in store in Montreal, ii. 578
- Indian chief, body of, found near Louisbourg, i. 244
- chiefs, remarks attributed to, ii. 28
- corn, abundance of, at Cape Magdalene, ii. 480
- grammar, extracts from, ii. 232
- settlement, on St. John's River, reference to, i. 262
- Indians, scalping by, i. 39; conduct of,



at Fort William Henry, 70 ; note on, 74 ; dread of, by British soldiers, 74 ; voracity of, 74 ; not desired by either English or French army, 74 ; attack inhabitants of Penobscot under mask of friendship, 75 ; midnight attack on the rangers by, 80 ; method of warfare, 80 ; desire for revenge, 81 ; bravery of, 81 ; hatred of the English, 81 ; Clare and Anselm Thomas, of the Micmac tribe, prisoners at Annapolis, 89 ; note on the custom of, when attacked, 92 ; treaties of peace concluded with, by Governor Morris, 107 ; French offer to exchange four prisoners for the two, Clare and Anselm Thomas, 145 ; French disclaim responsibility for actions of, 148 ; ambush laid for, by rangers, 157 ; under Sir William Johnson to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 162 ; skirmishes with, at Louisbourg, 185 ; small number of, with the French at the battle of Ticonderoga, 193 ; bounty on scalps, 197 ; forming crew of a privateer capture the *Endeavour* schooner, 203 ; of Cape Sable, expedition against, 263 ; at St. John's River, diverted from intention of making peace with English, 280 ; attacks on New England by, 282 ; threaten to retake Louisbourg, 282 ; French at Fort Du Quesne abandoned by, 297 ; tomahawk and scalp prisoners at Fort Du Quesne, 300, 301 ; capture a ship in Letang Harbour, 324 ; rendezvous of, at Grand Manaan Island, 325 ; small number of, with French at Point Lévis, 391 ; party of, attack British at Point Lévis, 394 ; reported on Island of Orleans, 407 ; skirmish with, at Montmorency, 411 ; General Wolfe admires tactics of, 411 ; detachment of, appear near Point Lévis, 425 ; caution to be observed in pursuit of, 425 ; party of, take prisoners at Montmorency, 426 ; Canadians disguise themselves as, 429 ; body of, oppose Colonel Carleton above Quebec, 436 ; party of, resist British at Pointe aux Trembles, 439 ; party of, attack British near Montmorency, 442 ; scalp wounded after attack at

Montmorency, 453 ; body of, with General Amherst, 1759, 458 ; reported to be in vicinity of Fort Edward, 477 ; party detached by Brigadier Prideaux convey information to General Amherst, 480 ; band of one thousand under Sir William Johnson march from Fort Stanwix, 480 ; several men from the New Jersey Regiment killed and scalped by, 481 ; reviewed by Brigadier Gage, 481 ; persistence of, 484 ; success of, under Sir William Johnson, 484 ; attempt to destroy British boats, 485 ; order issued forbidding them to leave camp, 486 ; appearance of, in vicinity of British batteries, ii. 18 ; capture of a drunken, 21 ; attack a party of wood-cutters and cause a panic among the men, 26 ; party of, cross over to St. Nicholas in hope of taking prisoners, 84 ; fired on at St. Nicholas, 89 ; reported to have robbed a storehouse and decamped, 116 ; party of, believed to have carried off British soldiers near Quebec, October 1759, 238 ; evidences of, in neighbourhood of Quebec, October 24, 1759, 243 ; question of responsibility for cruelties of, 247, 248 ; threaten to stone Vaudreuil, 286 ; reported to be in the neighbourhood of Quebec, December, 1759, 304, 306 ; party of, pursue Lieutenant Butler on his way to New York, 325 ; of Nova Scotia reported to have made peace with Governor Lawrence, 353 ; report of threats of, to abandon the French, 357 ; corps of, under Johnson, said to have occupied Fort Chambly, 358 ; of Nova Scotia, make peace with Governor, 366 ; inform Jacques Cartier of curative powers of spruce tree, 376 ; French find it difficult to withhold liquor from them, 412 ; brutality of, 428 ; surprised by the British at Ste. Foy, 432 ; disorders committed by, in camp, 434 ; body of, pursued to the forests at Ste. Foy, 458 ; cause annoyance to the British at Deschambault, 475 ; body of, prepared to attack landing of boats, 484 ; seven hundred and six, under Sir William Johnson in the

- expedition against Montreal, 484; reported to have abandoned the French, 506; eight sachems of different nations surrender to Murray, 516; in command of Sir William Johnson in Amherst's army, 528; riotous conduct of, 533; land on the Gallop Islands, 543; disappointed in their plunder at Fort Lévis, desert Sir William Johnson, 555; Amherst refuses to send them back to their homes, 569; party of, scalp British soldiers below Sir William Johnson's post, iii. 30; two men escape from custody of, 1759, 35; scalp six men of the New Jersey Regiment, 1759, 36
- Inflexible, L', of the French fleet, i. 47*
- Inglis, Rev. Dr. Charles, attainted for treason by State of New York, i. 211
- Inhabitants entering the town, to be searched, ii. 144
- Inniskilling Regiment, strength of, in June, 1759, i. 474; detachment of, ordered out in boats to search for the enemy, 491; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510
- Insects, description of certain, in Nova Scotia, i. 318
- Instructions, secret, extract from, i. 25
- Intendant's palace, British batteries directed against, ii. 22; condition of, 156; reference to, 202, 206, 257; difficulty in preventing spread of fire to, 404; narrow escape of, during conflagration, 407
- magazine, quantity of fire-arms and general wares found in, ii. 144
- Interments, not made during the winter in Quebec, ii. 306, 314; of bodies of soldiers who died in Quebec, ordered, 369
- Intrenchments, special allowance to officers for work on, i. 64; orders given for all the enemy's works to be levelled, ii. 435
- Intrenching tools, quantities brought up to the heights after the battle, ii. 103
- Invalids, not to be taken on expedition against Quebec, i. 335; to be sent to England, 354; return of, ordered to be made, ii. 143; returned to England, 179
- Invincible, the, commanded by Captain Bentley, i. 21; reference to, 36;*
- damage sustained by, 101; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; signals to be made from, 498
- Ireland, report of conquest of, by French, ii. 360
- Irish weavers, proposed settlement of, on Annapolis River, i. 274
- Irishmen, soldiers advanced one shilling each on St. Patrick's Day, i. 142
- Iron, valued at two dollars and fifty cents. per hundredweight, found at St. Maurice, ii. 482
- Iroquois, reference to, i. 264; various branches of, ii. 536
- country, reference to, ii. 190
- Irvine, Captain, leads expedition against Pas Beau and Grand Rivière, i. 276
- Irving, Major P. Æ., at the head of Amherst's Regiment, ii. 4; biographical reference to, 4; appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 15th Regiment, 4; captain of 15th Regiment, 4; appointed major of the 15th Regiment, 4; appointed Deputy Quarter-Master-General by Murray, 4; takes part in the expedition under Saunders and Wolfe and is wounded at Montmorency, 4; on the left of the line at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, 4; appointed President of the Council and Administrator, 4; appointed member of the first Council of Quebec, 4; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Montreal, 4; dismissed from office by Carleton, 4; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey by Amherst, 4; death of, in 1796, 4; wounded, 70; to act as Quarter-Master-General at Quebec, 243; reference to, 271, 369, 380; in command of the 1st Battalion composed of detachments from the 15th and 48th Regiments in the expedition against Montreal, 463; commanding the 1st Battalion of Grenadiers, 502; reference to, iii. 307
- Isambert, Sieur de, reference to, ii. 31
- Island battery, at Louisbourg, reference to, i. 244; silenced by Brigadier Wolfe, 245; reference to, 252, 259, 350
- of Montreal, French forced to abandon all their posts on the island



- except that at Ste. Helen's Island, ii. 510
- Island of Orleans, described by author, ii. 608
- Islands of the St. Lawrence described, ii. 607
- Isle au Castor, note on, ii. 498
- au Lievre, reference to, i. 372
- aux-Cochons, reference to, i. 88 ; De Brouillan proprietor of, 89
- au Coudre. *See* Coudres
- -aux-Harengs, note on, iii. 368
- aux Noix, reference to, ii. 68, 245, 507, 509, 529, 600 ; report on the strength of the French at, 192 ; strength of the French army at, 193 ; report of movement of British against, January, 1760, 332 ; regarded by French as impregnable, 335 ; fortified by the French, 439 ; Canadians and Indians posted at, 476 ; surrenders to the British, 514 ; French troops reported to be encamped at, 1759, iii. 45
- -aux-Oiseaux, mentioned, iii. 362 ; note on, 367
- aux Rats, reference to, i. 372
- aux Raquettes, reference to, i. 32
- Belegarde, reference to, ii. 507
- Claudiane (Bear Island), reference to, i. 86
- de Raisins, boats of the fleet detached to, for fascines, ii. 511 ; name given by the author to an island S.S.E. of Ste. Thérèse, probably Ile Belegarde, 511 ; reference to, 514
- du Pas, reference to, ii. 494 ; conceded in 1672 to M. du Pas, 498 ; reference to, 498
- Galot, Canadians and Indians posted at, ii. 476 ; reference to, 542 ; fort at, erected by the French, 553
- Gros Bois, reference to, ii. 507 ; now an amusement park, 513
- Haute, i. 56 ; *Eagle* schooner stranded in vicinity of, 154 ; detachment sent to, in search of the *Eagle* schooner, 158
- Jesus, reference to, ii. 253 ; fortified by the French, 500 ; granted to the Jesuits in 1636, 500 ; well cultivated, 611
- la Magdelaine, batteries at, ii. 545

- Isle Madame, General Wolfe at, i. 370 ; reference to, 372, 373, ii. 37 ; a detachment of 500 men to be sent to, 145 ; wood-cutting parties at, reinforced by 300 men, 157
- Perrot, reference to, ii. 253 ; or Perro, granted to Sieur Perrot in 1672, 515 ; army reaches the island after considerable loss, 557
- Rouge, reference to, i. 372
- Royale, one of the Gallop Islands, note on, ii. 506 ; Canadians and Indians posted at, 476 ; large number of Canadians and Indians assembled at, 506 ; advanced post at, 540 ; engineers detached to reconnoitre coasts of, 542 ; Captain Loring endeavours to find a channel to, 550 ; reference to the reduction of, 591 ; opposition of the French at, 601
- Vertu, reference to, i. 372
- Isles Percées, Boucherville, note on, ii. 513
- Isserat, d', Captain, brings letters from Montcalm to Amherst, iii. 58
- JACK-CARTEY. *See* Jacques Cartier, ii. 473
- Jacks, use of, as signals, i. 339, 341, 342
- Jacob, Captain, detached on a scout with party of Indians, 484 ; report of the party under, 485 ; reference to, 486, iii. 50 ; report of the fate of party under, i. 488 ; report of his capture, 488 ; prisoner in the hands of the French, 493 ; reported in the vicinity of Lake George with a party of Indians, 1759, iii. 36 ; taken prisoner to Montreal, 1759, 39
- Jacobs, Captain, in command of the *Kennington* in 1758, i. 152 ; conduct of, in Gaspé, 277, 278
- Jacques Cartier, extract from account of voyages of, ii. 328 ; learns curative power of spruce tree, 376
- Jacques Cartier, reference to, ii. 72, 279 ; French headquarters at, October, 1759, 231 ; French reported to have brought artillery to, January, 1760, 326 ; description of French fortress at, 333 ; French forces at, December, 1759, 335 ; report that French army had arrived at, February, 1760, 351 ; French detachment at, March, 1760, 358 ; Bourlamaque visits, 372 ; Murray informs Amherst that the

- French are at, 437; Colonel Fraser to proceed to reduce the fortress of, 503; inhabitants allowed to return to their homes after taking the usual oath, 523; troops in the garrison of, to be treated the same as in Montreal, 567; construction of fort at, iii. 354
- James I gives Sir William Alexander a grant of Nova Scotia, i. 308
- James, Lieutenant-Colonel Demetrius, of the 43rd Regiment, in command of front lines at Fort Cumberland, note on, i. 77; orders issued by, for the garrison at Annapolis, 87; invites the French at Annapolis to surrender, and promises generous treatment, 147; manifesto addressed to, regarding capitulation of Fort William Henry, 182; sends detachment from Fort Cumberland in search of the enemy, 1758, 196; orders the arrest of Johnston and Davis, 203; desertion of a servant of, 269; receives stolen money, 270; reference to, 272, 284, 303, 422; action of, in recognition of St. Patrick's Day, 294; reference to, in connection with the attack at Montmorency, 450, 451; accompanies the body of Wolfe to the ship, ii. 134; causes a large booth to be erected for the use of the wounded, 136; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 392, 394
- Jarvis, Captain, of the *Porcupine*, i. 358; reference to, 405; Wolfe entrusts miniature of Miss Lowther to, ii. 90
- Jeffery, chart by, iii. 158
- Jehannes, Pierre, reference to, iii. 174
- Jenkins, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 74
- Jenny*, transport, reference to, ii. 502
- Jeremy, island of, reference to, ii. 252
- Jersey Blues, commanded by Colonel Schuyler, ii. 538
- Provincial Regiment, strength of, in June, 1759, i. 474
- Jeryan, Mary-Dorothy, of St. Joseph, reference to, ii. 293
- Jesuit missionary, taken prisoner above Quebec, i. 439; report of concealment of powder by a, in Quebec, ii. 274; to be transmitted to Great Britain, 474
- Jesuits, of St. Francis Xavier, mass to be said in the church of, ii. 156; threatened with expulsion from Quebec, 242; ordered to depart from Quebec, 243; permission given to, to depart from Quebec, 244; Murray reported to have upbraided past conduct of, 274; brought in as prisoners to Quebec, 457; article referring to in capitulation of Montreal refused, 580; reference to, 603
- Jesuits' College, Quebec, damage to, by British batteries, i. 423; reference to, ii. 202, 257; account of, 205; use of, by British, for storing provisions, 244; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268; storage of provisions in, 332, 334; used as a magazine, 423; French direct their guns against, 423
- Joannès, M., present at the council of war, ii. 117; reference to, iii. 175, 178
- Jocelyne, Captain, killed, iii. 56
- Joggen, the, note on, i. 57; reference to, 65, 70, 296
- Johannes, half, value of, ii. 290
- John and Samuel*, the, i. 22
- Johnson, Captain, of Rogers' Rangers, ii. 525; reference to, iii. 51, 54
- Colonel, of the New York Regiment, killed at Niagara, ii. 185; burial of, iii. 189
- Noah, ensign in Rogers' Rangers, killed at Isle aux Noix, ii. 526
- Samuel, note on, ii. 72
- Sir William, reference to, i. 176; to command a corps of Indians in the expedition against Niagara, 458; in command of a large band of Indians, 480; success of Indians under, 484; in command of eight hundred Indians, 488; in command of provincials and Indians at Niagara, ii. 46; prisoners taken by, 183; biographical reference to, 185; made Superintendent of the Six Nation Indians, 186; settles on a tract of land in the Mohawk Valley, 186; defeats the Baron Dieskau at Lake George, receives a grant of five thousand pounds, and is created a baronet, 186; leads the Indians against Montreal under Amherst, 186; succeeds Prideaux as Commander-in-Chief, 186; builds a stone mansion in the town of Amsterdam,

- 186; appointed Commander-in-Chief of the provincial forces against Crown Point, 186; death of, 186; influence of, with the Indians, 187; reported to be moving towards Isle aux Noix, January, 1760, 332; reported to have occupied Fort Chambly, 358; report that he is approaching with Indians causes alarm amongst the Canadians, 512; Indians desert him at Fort Lévis, 555; commended by Amherst, 601; assures Amherst of the fidelity of the Indians, iii. 21; reference to, 57, 76, 81, 85, 87, 92, 94, 331; diary of, 187
- Johnson, Quarter-Master-Sergeant, quotation from, ii. 106; criticises the action of General Murray, 452. See *Quartermaster-Sergeant*
- Johnson's Point, reference to the army at, ii. 556
- Johnston, Captain Thomas, in command of the island of St. John, i. 420; death of, iii. 81
- Chevalier, quotation from, i. 246; reference to *Dialogue in Hades* by, 373, ii. 287
- William, biographical reference to, i. 202; escapes deportation, 202; commandant of French irregulars in Nova Scotia, 202; obtains grant of land at St. Mary's Bay, 202; employed as scout, 203; John Davis's account of his relations with, 261; a proscribed rebel, in command of deserters in hands of the French, ii. 507
- Johnston's Mill, reference to, i. 202
- Joly family, taken prisoners by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Joncaire, Chabert, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 187, 244
- Joseen's Village, founded by Jacques Léger, i. 118
- Jotriél, M., commands French detachment at Beaumont, March, 1760, ii. 355; reference to, 358
- Journal of a French officer, extract from, quoted by author, ii. 443
- Journal of the Particular Transactions during the Siege of Quebec*, reference to, i. 413, 440
- *tenue à l'armée que commandait Montcalm*, reference to, i. 424
- Judge-Advocate, duties of, i. 346
- Jung, Sieur, reference to, iii. 383, 391
- Juno*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, i. 152; assists in capture of French frigate *L'Echo*, 219; capture of *L'Echo* by, 259; sails for Gaspé, 275; sails to Miramichi, 276; reference to, iii. 103
- Justonne, Lieutenant, of the Regiment of Languedoc, dangerously wounded, ii. 420
- KALM, Peter, description by, of the Falls of Montmorency, ii. 43
- Kamouraska, Stobo arrives there in an open boat, ii. 50
- Kanon, Jacques, memorandum, iii. 357
- Karaghyianaghqui, reference to, iii. 205
- Karraghiagygo, reference to, iii. 221
- Kearnon, Owen, private, reprieved on charge of desertion, ii. 278
- Kendall, W. C., reference to list of fishes by, ii. 328
- Kennebec River, reference to, ii. 72, 358
- Kennedy, Major-General James, orders to, i. 15 and note; reference to, 16
- Captain, reference to, iii. 50, 51, 59, 73
- Kennedy's Regiment. See Forty-third Regiment
- Kenney, J. F., indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii
- Kennington*, the, convoy for transport, i. 37; of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, 152; sails for Gaspé, 275; sent to Pas Beau and Grand Rivière, 276
- Kennington Cove, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 233, 234, 245
- Kerallain, M. Rénee de, indebtedness of the editor to, ii. 166; reference to, iii. 233
- Kettles, Wolfe has not means to buy, ii. 253
- Keys of the Fort of Quebec to be delivered to the commanding officer of the British, ii. 124
- of the ports to be given to General Townshend, ii. 124
- Killed and wounded, alphabetical list of. See also Casualties
- Allen, Richard, Captain, iii. 122
- Allen, Richard, Lieutenant, iii. 127
- Archbold, George, Lieutenant, iii. 129



Killed and wounded—*continued*

Archbold, Thomas, Captain, iii. 137  
 Armstrong, Captain-Lieutenant, iii. 134  
 Armstrong, Thomas, Ensign, iii. 122  
 Ashe, Dudley, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Auge, iii. 147  
 Baillie, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Baillie, Charles, Captain, iii. 120  
 Barbutt, Horace Pearce, Ensign, iii. 135  
 Barbutt, Theodore, Captain-Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Barker, Samuel, Ensign, iii. 132, 136  
 Barot, Capitaine, iii. 148  
 Barré, Isaac, Adjutant-General, iii. 123  
 Bassett, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 137  
 Bastide, John Henry, Colonel, iii. 121  
 Beall, Levin, Ensign, iii. 136  
 Beauchamp, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Beauclair, Capitaine, iii. 144  
 Beausadet, Sous-Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Bell, Thomas, Captain, iii. 123  
 Bellot, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Benzell, Adolphus, Lieutenant, iii. 134  
 Blakeney, Theophilus, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Blénard, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Boischatel, Aide-Major, iii. 148  
 Bonnevieille, iii. 145  
 Boucherville, de, Ensigne, iii. 146  
 Bourlamaque, Brigadier, iii. 144  
 Bradstreet, Samuel, Lieutenant, iii. 131  
 Brigstock, Robert, Captain, iii. 125  
 Brown, Arthur, Captain, iii. 122  
 Brown, Francis, Lieutenant, iii. 136  
 Brown, Lieutenant (probably Thomas), iii. 122  
 Brown, Thomas, or William, Lieutenant, iii. 137  
 Burton, Ralph, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 123  
 Butler, Piers, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Byrd, George, Captain, iii. 125  
 Calder, James, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Cambray, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Cameron, Alexander, Captain, iii. 142  
 Cameron, Charles, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Cameron, Duncan, Ensign, iii. 141  
 Cameron, Hugh, Captain, iii. 125

Killed and wounded—*continued*

Campbell, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 122, 131, 141  
 Campbell, Archibald, Lieutenant, iii. 131, 140  
 Campbell, Colin, Lieutenant, iii. 120  
 Campbell, James, Lieutenant, iii. 139  
 Campbell, James, Ensign, iii. 138  
 Campbell, John, Captain, iii. 139  
 Capel, Joseph, Captain-Lieutenant, iii. 136  
 Carery, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Carleton, Guy, Quarter-Master-General, iii. 123  
 Cathcart, Andrew, Lieutenant, iii. 135  
 Ceruthers, Francis, Ensign, iii. 121  
 Charteris, Henry, Captain, iii. 139  
 Chassignolet, iii. 145  
 Chevalier, iii. 147  
 Chisholme, John, Ensign, iii. 140  
 Clements, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 128, 137  
 Cock, Benjamin, Second-Lieutenant, iii. 141  
 Cockburn, Sir James, Captain, iii. 138  
 Cockburn, William, Captain-Lieutenant, iii. 135  
 Cockburne, John, Lieutenant, iii. 122, 127  
 Coespel, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Collingwood, Gilfrid, Lieutenant, iii. 131  
 Conway, Archibald, Ensign, iii. 138  
 Cooper, William, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Corbières, Lieutenant, iii. 147  
 Cory, Ralph, Captain, iii. 124  
 Cosnan, John, Captain, iii. 126  
 Crow, Richard, Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Cuthbert, John, Lieutenant, iii. 120  
 D'Aillebout, Sous-Lieutenant, iii. 147  
 d'Alayrac, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Dalling, John, Major, iii. 136  
 Dallet, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 D'Alquier, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 146  
 Danks, Benoni, Captain, iii. 134  
 Darseins, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Davers, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Davidson, John, Lieutenant, iii. 141  
 d'Ernanger, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 d'Herz, Aide-Major, iii. 148  
 D'Hugues, Capitaine, iii. 147  
 de Blot, Capitaine, iii. 145

Killed and wounded—*continued*

De Bonne, Capitaine, iii. 148  
 De Cary, iii. 147  
 de Rivière, Julien, iii. 147  
 De Rouin, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 De Witt, Peter, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Deguinier, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Denty, Thomas, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Desnos, Chevalier, lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Destore, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Douglas, John, Lieutenant, iii. 131  
 Du Buisson, Capitaine, iii. 147  
 du Carny, Lieutenant, iii. 148  
 Dufai, Enseigne, iii. 144  
 Du Guermé, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Dundonald, William, Earl of, captain, iii. 120  
 Dunlop, Samuel, Ensign, iii. 132  
 Duparquet, Capitaine, iii. 144  
 Duprat, Capitaine, iii. 144  
 Ecuyier, Simeon, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Edgworth, Essex, Ensign, iii. 132  
 Edmestone, William, Captain, iii. 125  
 Elphinstone, John, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Evans, William, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Ewer, Garnet, Lieutenant, iii. 128, 137  
 Faesch, George, Lieutenant, iii. 139  
 Faesch, Rodolp, Captain, iii. 139  
 Fahie, Richard, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Fairfax, William Henry, Ensign, iii. 132  
 Faunce, Thomas, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Fay, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Fenton, James, Lieutenant, iii. 120  
 Field, James, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Fitzsimons, Francis, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Fletcher, George, Captain, iii. 124  
 Fraser, Alexander, junior, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Fraser, Alexander, senior, Lieutenant, iii. 131, 140  
 Fraser, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Fraser, Alexander, Captain, iii. 140  
 Fraser, Malcolm, Ensign, iii. 133, 141  
 Fraser, Malcolm, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Fraser, Simon, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 123, 139  
 Fraser, Simon, senior, Captain, iii. 125

Killed and wounded—*continued*

Fraser, Simon, junior, Captain, iii. 126  
 Fraser, Simon, junior, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Fraser, Simon, senior, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Fraser, Lieutenant (probably Simon), iii. 121  
 Forbes, Donald, Lieutenant, iii. 139  
 Forbes, Lewis, Lieutenant, iii. 139  
 Forcet, iii. 144  
 Forster, John, Lieutenant, iii. 137  
 Gardiner, Luke, Captain, iii. 124  
 Gardiner, Samuel, Captain, iii. 124  
 Gaudet, iii. 147  
 German [or Jermyn], John, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Gibson, Thomas, Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Gilmer, Richard, Ensign, iii. 136  
 Goodwin, John, Major, iii. 141  
 Gordon, Cosmo, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Gore, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Grance, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Grandidier, Thomas, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Grandjean, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Grant, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 139  
 Grant, John, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Gregorson, Alexander, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Gregorson, Alexander, Ensign, iii. 141  
 Green, William, Captain, iii. 134  
 Guinet, John Price, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Hamilton, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 121, 136  
 Hamilton, Otto, Captain, iii. 126  
 Hamilton, William, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Hamilton, William, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Handfield, Thomas, Ensign, iii. 138  
 Hart, Lieutenant, iii. 120  
 Hathorn, John, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Hayes, Horace, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Hazen, Captain, iii. 142  
 Heathcote, Thomas, Second Lieutenant, iii. 141  
 Henning, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Herbin, Enseigne, iii. 147  
 Herbin, Lieutenant, iii. 148  
 Hiché, Enseigne, iii. 147



Killed and wounded—*continued*

Hill, James, Ensign, iii. 139  
 Hollandt, Samuel Jan., Captain, iii. 125  
 Hopkins, Thomas, Lieutenant, iii. 122  
 How, James, Lieutenant, iii. 120  
 Howarth, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Hussey, John, Major, 137  
 Ince, Charles, Captain, iii. 124, 137  
 Irtubis, iii. 147  
 Irving, Paulus Æmilius, Major, iii. 123  
 Irving, William, Lieutenant, iii. 135  
 Jacob, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Jeffries, James, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Johnson, Samuel, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Johnson, William, Ensign, iii. 138  
 Jones, Humphry, Lieutenant, iii. 131  
 Jones, Lewis, Ensign, iii. 132  
 Jones, William, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Jourdain, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Kemptie, David, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Kennedy, Walter, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 La Corne, Chevalier de, Commandant de bataillon, iii. 147  
 La Justonne, Lieutenant, iii. 148  
 La Marlière, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 La Noix de Noyelle, Lieutenant, iii. 147  
 La Pelouze, Aide-Major, iii. 145  
 La Perrière, Chevalier de, Enseigne, iii. 147  
 La Promenade, iii. 147  
 Lanaudière, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Laronde, Capitaine, iii. 147  
 Lassus, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Laubanie, Chevalier de, iii. 144  
 Laudance, iii. 146  
 Launay, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Le Borgne, Capitaine, iii. 147  
 Leclerc, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Lefebvre, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Lefèvre, iii. 147  
 Lefèvre, Pierre, iii. 147  
 Leland, John, Captain, iii. 125  
 Léonard, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Leslie, James, Lieutenant, iii. 126  
 Lily, Moses, Ensign, iii. 122  
 Lockhart, John, Lieutenant, iii. 135  
 Loftus, Arthur, Captain, iii. 124  
 Loumier, Capitaine, iii. 147  
 Lysaght, Cornelius, Ensign, iii. 137

Killed and wounded—*continued*

Lysaght, Nicholas, Lieutenant, iii. 137  
 Mackay, George, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Mackay, John, Ensign, iii. 139  
 Mackellar, Patrick, Major, iii. 141  
 Mackenzie, James, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Maitland, the Honourable Richard, Captain, iii. 123  
 Maitland, David, Captain, iii. 137  
 Makilwain, John, Ensign, iii. 142  
 Malartie, Aide-Major, iii. 146  
 Mason, William, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Matheson, Kenneth, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Maturin, Gabriel, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Maugé de Sauniers, iii. 147  
 Maunsell, John, Captain, iii. 124  
 Maw, Crank, Ensign, iii. 137  
 Maxwell, John, senior, Lieutenant, iii. 126, 135  
 Maxwell, John, junior, Lieutenant, iii. 126, 135  
 Mazeray, Capitaine, iii. 148  
 McAllister, Archibald, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 McBean, Donald, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 McDonald, Charles, Captain-Lieutenant, iii. 141  
 McDonald, Donald, Ensign, iii. 139  
 McDonald, Ronald, Lieutenant, iii. 131  
 McDonell, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 McDonell, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 131  
 McDonell, Hector, Lieutenant, iii. 131, 140  
 McDonell, John, Lieutenant, iii. 122  
 McDonell, John, Captain, iii. 126  
 McDonnell, Donald, Captain, iii. 122, 140  
 McDonnell, Hector, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 McLeod, Alexander, Captain, iii. 140  
 McNeil, Donald, Lieutenant, iii. 141  
 McNeil, Roderick, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 McPherson, John, Captain, iii. 125  
 Meech, Lieutenant, iii. 134  
 Meley, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Mélonèze, Capitaine, iii. 148  
 Mélonèze, N. de, Lieutenant, iii. 148

Killed and wounded—*continued*

Ménard, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Ménars, iii. 147  
 Menzies, Robert, Ensign, iii. 141  
 Méritent, Capitaine, iii. 144  
 Mézières, Capitaine, iii. 147  
 Milbank, Alcomb, Captain, iii. 124  
 Mills, Thomas, Ensign, iii. 136  
 Mitchelson, James, Captain, iii. 124, 136  
 Monckton, Robert, Brigadier-General, iii. 123  
 Moneypenny, Joseph, Ensign, iii. 121, 135  
 Monredon, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Monroe, Henry, Ensign, iii. 141  
 Montagnet, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Montgomery, George, Ensign, iii. 136  
 Montreuil, Capitaine, iii. 144  
 Moore, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Morambert, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Mountain, George, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Mukins, Francis, Lieutenant, iii. 121, 126, 135  
 Murray, John, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Nairn, John, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Neveu, iii. 147  
 Nevin, Hugh, Lieutenant, iii. 132  
 Nicholson, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 120  
 Nicholson, William, Ensign, iii. 138  
 Nugent, Walter, Ensign, iii. 132  
 Nuttall, John, Captain, iii. 125  
 Ochterloney, David, Captain, iii. 125  
 Palmarole, Capitaine, iii. 144  
 Paonnet, Sous-Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Peach, Joseph, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Pélissier, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Percival, Joshua, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Peyton, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Phibbs, William, Lieutenant, iii. 136  
 Pinckney, Thomas, Ensign, iii. 139  
 Pinhorne, John, Lieutenant, iii. 132  
 Pinsan, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Pradel, Lieutenant, iii. 148  
 Premillac, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Pressac, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Prevost, Augustine, Major, iii. 124  
 Prévot de Sicors, iii. 147  
 Raimond, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Réaume, Commandant le bataillon de Montréal, iii. 147  
 Rigby, Ensign, iii. 132

Killed and wounded—*continued*

Robertson, William, Ensign, iii. 141  
 Roe, Godfrey, Ensign, iii. 120  
 Ross, Arthur, Lieutenant, iii. 140  
 Ross, Robert, Lieutenant, iii. 126  
 Ross, Thomas, Captain, iii. 125  
 Royce, Vere, Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Rutherford, Samuel, Lieutenant, iii. 126  
 Ruxton, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Rycout, Paul, Captain-Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Sabrevoix, Lieutenant, iii. 147  
 Saint-Leu, Commandant les sauvages, iii. 147  
 Saint-Martin, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Saint-Martin, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Savournin, Chevalier de, Lieutenant, iii. 144  
 Scott, Alexander John, Second Lieutenant, iii. 141  
 Ségla, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Sennetterre, Lieutenant, iii. 145  
 Seymour, William Edward, Lieutenant, iii. 128  
 Shaw, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Sheppard, John, Ensign, iii. 136  
 Sheriff, William, Lieutenant, iii. 137  
 Sigoin, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Skene, William, Lieutenant, iii. 127  
 Skey, Boughey, Captain, iii. 137  
 Smelt, Thomas, Captain, iii. 124  
 Smith, Edward, Captain, iii. 122  
 Smyth, Hervey, Captain, iii. 123  
 Soloignac, Lieutenant, iii. 146  
 Spann, Thomas, Captain, iii. 124, 136  
 Spital, John, Captain, iii. 123  
 Steel, William Snow, Ensign, iii. 133, 138  
 Stephens, Lieutenant, iii. 134  
 Stephens, Alexander, Lieutenant, iii. 139  
 Stewart, David, Ensign, iii. 139  
 Stratford, Henry, Lieutenant, iii. 137  
 Stuart, Charles, Ensign, iii. 141  
 Tassell, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 136  
 Tew, Francis, Lieutenant, iii. 121  
 Tolabelle, iii. 146  
 Tottenham, Nicholas, Ensign, iii. 133  
 Trécesson, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 145  
 Trémoy, Capitaine, iii. 145

Killed and wounded—*continued*

- Trévis, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 146  
 Ustick, William, Ensign, iii. 138  
 Valentin, Aide-Major, iii. 145  
 Varennes, Lieutenant, iii. 147  
 Vassal, Capitaine, iii. 146  
 Vassan, Commandant de bataillon, iii. 147  
 Vaudaran, Lieutenant en Second, iii. 145  
 Villemont, Capitaine, iii. 145  
 Walsh, Hunt, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 136  
 Waterhouse, Stephen, Lieutenant, iii. 138  
 Waterson, Henry, Ensign, iii. 121  
 Webb, Thomas, Lieutenant, iii. 129  
 Williamson, Adam, Captain, iii. 134  
 Willington, Charles, Lieutenant, iii. 130  
 Winter, Thomas, Lieutenant, iii. 135  
 Wolfe, Major-General, iii. 123  
 Worth, Edmond, Ensign, iii. 132  
 Young, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii. 139  
 Killick, Thomas, master of the transport *Good-will*, i. 340; opinion of, in the River St. Lawrence, 367; skilful navigation of St. Lawrence by, 373  
 King, "little English," Mohawk chiefs say French king will pinch him, ii. 29  
 — Edward Park, reference to, ii. 507  
*King George*, the, British vessel captured by the French and retaken by Captain Swanton, ii. 431  
 King George's bastion, situation of, i. 88; orders relating to posts at, 131  
 King's Bastion, Louisbourg, reference to, i. 249  
 — birthday, celebration of, i. 106; celebration of, at Annapolis, 1758, 273  
 — Chapel, Louisbourg, reference to, i. 32  
 — Commissioners, the, on board the *Employment* transport, ii. 81  
 — Coronation, celebration of, at Quebec, i. 271  
 — county, proposed creation of, ii. 253  
 — farms, Mal Bay, reference to, ii. 610  
 — ships, frequently arrive at Quebec, ii. 457

- King's storehouse at Lachine, reference to, ii. 558  
 Kingsale, appearance of the fleet off, i. 19, 23  
*Kingston*, the, commanded by Captain Parry, i. 21; reference to, 36; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; reference to, iii. 98  
 Kirby, William, reference to, ii. 207  
 Kirke, brothers, reference to, i. 43  
 — David, obtains the surrender of Quebec in 1629, ii. 125, 203  
 Kloster-Seven, reference to convention of, i. 221, 301  
 Knapsack, method of carrying, by light infantry, i. 352  
 Knight, Henry, appointed ensign, i. 304  
 Knights-Hospitallers, reference to house of, at Quebec, ii. 202, 603  
 Knives, scarcity of, at the General Hospital, Quebec, ii. 236  
 Knox, John, author of the present *Journal*, son of John Knox of Sligo, i. xiii; married Jane Carre of Cork in 1751, xiii; presented by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland with an Ensigncy in the 43rd Regiment of Foot, xiii; serves in the war of 1748, xiii; upholder of the House of Hanover, xiii; accompanies the expedition to Louisbourg in 1757, xiv; appointed captain of an Independent Company of Foot, afterwards the 99th Regiment, xiv; hopes to succeed Major Byng, but is disappointed, xiv; purchases a lieutenancy in the 43rd Regiment, xiv; serves in America until after the capitulation of Montreal, xiv; obtains command of a company of invalids at Berwick, xv; regiment of, quartered at Midhurst, xv; is informed that promotion is for officers who belong to active corps, xvi; relations of, with officers in barrack not cordial, xvi; charges made against, xvii; death of, xvii; affairs of, to be inquired into by Reviewing General, xvii; value of his *Journal*, xviii; accuracy of *Journal* on the whole to be commended, xix; general orders not found elsewhere published by author, xix; overestimates the services of Amherst, xix; pleased with the entertainment

- afforded by the Mayor and Magistrates of Cork, xx; sparing of criticism, xxi; remains for nearly two years in Nova Scotia, xxi; arrives at Louisbourg, xxii; gives an account of the reception of the news of the fall of Louisbourg, xxii; spends a second winter at Annapolis and Fort Cumberland, xxii; furnishes excellent account of the battle of the Plains, xxiii; acknowledges the sources of information for preparation of *Journals*, 7; list of subscribers to *Journals* of, 9; orders issued to, 17; commands excursion from Annapolis to gather wood, 259, 260; narrow escape of, at Montmorency, ii. 43; returns to Point Levi, 44; obtains permission to return to England, 606
- Knox, Jane, wife of John Knox, i. xiii; memorial of, xiii; Government refuses the appeal of, xviii
- John, Collector of Excise, Dublin, furnishes the author with valuable information relating to the Montreal campaign, i. 7 and *note*
- Kuskouchagon, reference to, iii. 241
- LAAS, M. de, note on, ii. 559; note on, iii. 304
- Labarre, Isabella, reference to, i. 122
- La Bonne, de, Chevalier, reference to, iii. 257
- Laboret, Sieur, reference to, iii. 342
- Labrador, reference to the fisheries at, ii. 614
- La Bras, de, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 52
- Labroquerie, Captain, of *P'Outawa*, formerly captain of *P'Huron*, ii. 541; reference to, iii. 87
- La Casse, Sieur, captured by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- La Chauvignery, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- La Chevrotière, M., prisoner in hands of British, ii. 7
- Lachine, arrival of Amherst's army at, ii. 558
- La Corne, Chevalier de, severely wounded in an attack on Haldimand, i. 495; cruelty of, 495; vessels of, disabled, 499; commander of a battalion of Troupes de la Marine, ii. 556; death of, on board the *Auguste*, 556; attacks Colonel Haldimand at Oswego, 1759, iii. 38; reference to, 92
- La Cuisse, batteries at, ii. 545
- La Ferté, Jacques, reference to, ii. 478
- Lafleur, French deserter, serves as guide to British, ii. 360
- Laforce, Sieur, journal of, iii. 233
- La Forey, Captain, commander of the *Hawke*, i. 21; in command of the *Hunter* sloop in 1758, 152; assists in capture of French ships in Louisbourg harbour, 250, 251; leads expedition against French ships in Louisbourg harbour, 259; captain of the *Echo*, 358; reference to, iii. 112
- La Gallette or Oswegatchie, a post on the St. Lawrence opposite Oswegatchie, ii. 192; difficulties experienced by Gage at, 194; vessels sent to find a passage to, 538; falls into the hands of the British, 542; reference to, 549, 596; abandoned by the French, 553. *See* Oswegatchie
- Lagere, Marie-Catherine, of St. Gabriel, reference to, ii. 293
- La Glacière, works directed against by the enemy, ii. 404; works erected against by the French, 421; counter-guard of, destroyed by the French, 423
- Lagos, Cape, news of British victory off, reaches Canada, ii. 308
- La Goudalie, Sieur, reference to, iii. 342
- La Grange, Geneviève de, of St. Louis, reference to, ii. 292
- La Have Island, reference to, i. 53
- La Houllière, commander of French troops at Louisbourg, 1758, i. 219; opinion of, regarding conduct of Captain de Vauquelin at Louisbourg, 248; reference to, 252
- Laine, Sieur, captured by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- La Jonquière, reference to, i. 61
- Lake Champlain, boats of the enemy on, i. 504; party sent to make diversion on, 505; party of light troops proceed in boats to destroy works thrown up by the enemy to obstruct navigation, 507; artillery stores and provisions conveyed to the shores of, 510; batteaus on, ii. 180; pre-



- parations made for an expedition at, 192; report of disaster to Amherst's fleet on, 272; Amherst's army at, moving on to Montreal, 485; reference to, 493; Indian allies on, 593
- Lake Erie, Indian allies on, ii. 593
- George, retreat of British from Ticonderoga to, i. 192; reference to, 264; scouts sent to, by Colonel Grant, 471; Amherst's army takes post at, 477; precautions taken by Amherst at, 477; condition of the fort at, 508, 510; reference to, ii. 493
- Huron, reference to, ii. 568
- Memphremagog, Major Rogers retreats from St. Francis by way of, ii. 287
- Oneida, reference to, ii. 530
- Ontario, reference to, i. 264; forts of the French on, reported to be in want of provisions, 482; reference to, ii. 190; Amherst's army at, moving on to Montreal, 485; engagement on, 541; reference to navigation on, 548; Indian allies on, 593
- St. Francis, detachments of the army sent to, ii. 556
- St. Peter, islands at the opening of, entrenched by Lévis, ii. 485
- St. Sacrament, reference to, i. 503
- La Miletère, Sieur de, note on, iii. 297
- La Moele, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- La Motte, Vice-Admiral Emmanuel-Auguste de Cahideuc, Count du Bois de, in command of the French fleet, i. 47
- Lamps, to be set up in the streets of Quebec, ii. 267; erection of, in the streets of Quebec, 306; provision for lighting of, in Quebec, 308
- Lanaudière, Jacques Thomas Tarieu de, seigneur of the river Ste. Anne, ii. 479
- Lancaster, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; sails for Gaspè, 275
- Lancy, Captain de, to act as Major, ii. 537
- Land grants, proposed application for, on Annapolis River, i. 273, 274
- Landing orders, for troops in expedition against Louisbourg, i. 177, 213, 216, 217; to British Army at Island of Orleans, 375
- Landing signals, in the expedition up the St. Lawrence, 1759, i. 345
- Languages, embarrassment caused by, ii. 302
- Languedoc, Regiment of, at battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194; note on the uniform of regiment of, ii. 6; detachment of, at Deschambault, 15; grenadiers of, take post in Quebec, 31; reference to, 175; soldiers desert from, 358
- Langy, J. B., in command of Indians at Crown Point, iii. 23
- La Noue, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- Lantagnac, Angélique de, of St. Mary, reference to, ii. 293
- Geneviève de, of St. Henry, reference to, 293
- La Palm, Madame, tragedy in the house of, ii. 63
- La Pause, M. de, French Quartermaster-General, reference to, ii. 377; reconnoitres the British position near Quebec, 383; reference to, 385; ordered to hasten the French advance, April 27, 1760, 390; Assistant Quartermaster, sent by Lévis to Montreal on the subject of the capitulation of Montreal, 561; note on, 561
- La Peltrie, Madame de, coming of, to Canada, ii. 223
- Lapland, reference to, ii. 295
- La Potrie, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 257
- La Prairie, reference to, ii. 512
- La Puant River, westerly arm of river Beçancour so named, ii. 481, 480
- Larcher, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 174
- La Reine, the regiment of, at the Battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194; at Carillon, 504; note on the regiment of, 504; report of destruction of, ii. 359
- La Roche. *See* Vernys.
- La Rochebeaucourt, de, reference to, iii. 182
- Lartigue, Sieur, reference to, iii. 361, 385, 390, 391
- Lascelles' Regiment. *See* Forty-seventh Regiment
- Lassale, J., reference to, iii. 174



- La Salle, M. de., reference to, i. 264  
 La Sarre, regiment of, at battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194; note on the uniform of regiment of, ii. 6; reference to, 175; conduct of, referred to by the author, 427; regiment of, sent to St. Augustin, 433  
 L'Assomption, note on the parish of, ii. 505  
 Latin, use of, by French officers at the General Hospital, Quebec, ii. 235  
 La Touche, Étienne Pezard de, seignior of Point Champlain, ii. 479  
*Laurel*, transport, with Royal Americans under convoy of *Hunter* sloop to proceed to Point aux Trembles, ii. 80; to take 400 Royal Americans, 87  
 Laurent, Island of Orleans, manifesto of General Wolfe signed at, i. 389  
 Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, Prime Minister of Canada, 1896-1911. *See* note on René Forêt River, i. 122  
 Lauzon, seigneurie of, acquired by General Murray, i. 332; purchased by Henry Caldwell, 332; parish of, ii. 76  
 Laval, Mgr. de, reference to, ii. 216; gives the Island of Jesus to the seminary of Quebec, 500  
 La Vallière, Louis Le Neuf, Sieur de, note on, iii. 368  
 Laverdy, Sieur de, awarded a quantity of Bigot's plate, ii. 145  
 Lawrence, Charles, biographical reference to, i. 40; in command of Reserve, 40; arrives at Annapolis with troops from Fort Cumberland, 1757, 100; sails for Halifax under convoy of the *Success*, 101; appointed brigadier in the expedition against Louisbourg, 150, 206; recommendation of, for preservation of health of troops, 211; reference to, 70, 212, 220, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 255; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214, 216; intended to lead an expedition to St. John's River, 1757, 262; commands at Halifax, 1758, 263; proposed application to, for grants of land, 273; publishes proclamation for settlement of Nova Scotia, 275; Indians of Nova Scotia reported to have made peace with, ii. 354; reconnoitres the shores of Louisbourg, iii. 2; in command of centre division at Louisbourg, 4; reference to, 98, 110, 325  
*Lawrence*, the, transport cutter, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 359; ordered to be got ready for sea, ii. 373; leaves Quebec April 21, 1760, 378, 379; sails from the Island of Orleans April 23, 1760, 382; meets the *Vanguard* and *Diana* at Bic, 425  
 Lawrence's Battalion. *See* Sixtieth Regiment (Third Battalion)  
 — Fort, built by Lawrence in 1750, i. 83  
 Leap, the, ii. 42  
 Leather, removal of, from Quebec forbidden, ii. 270  
 Le Beu, Captain, reference to, iii. 51  
 Le Blanc, of Miramichi, causes annoyance to the British, ii. 492  
 Le Bruya, Mademoiselle, captured by British, i. 402  
 Ledinghem, Countess of, ii. 561  
 Lee, Captain, reference to, iii. 72, 223  
 Lée, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 174  
 Leeks, note by the author on the wearing of, as a badge of honour, i. 140  
 Lefebvre, Marie C., of St. Geneviève, reference to, ii. 293  
 Lefrançois, Brother Luke, reference to paintings of, ii. 204  
 Léger, Jacques, a drummer in the French army, commonly known as Rosette, i. 118  
 Legge, Captain, of the *Trident*, i. 358  
 Leggers. *See* Leggins  
 Leggins, description of, i. 285; soldiers to be provided with, 285; worn by rangers, 307; of light infantry, description of, 353  
 Legris, Sieur, reference to, i. 418  
 Le Loutre, Abbé, opinion of the French regarding, i. 147; taken prisoner and conveyed to Jersey, 147, 201; biographical reference, 200; sent to Louisbourg in 1737, 200; sent as missionary to the Micmacs, 1738, 200; returns to Louisbourg in 1749, 201; escapes to Baye Verte and Miramichi, 201; urges Acadians to settle on the Isthmus of Chignecto, which French claim was not ceded to Great Britain, 201; reward offered for capture of, 201;

- taken prisoner to England and confined at Winchester, 201; death of, 201; reference to, iii. 342
- Le Mairé, Abbé, reference to, i. 32
- Le Mercier, the Chevalier, carries flag of truce from Quebec, i. 402; sails to France to seek succour for Canada, November, 1759, ii. 286; reference to, iii. 182; note on, 353, 357. *See* Mercier
- Lemoine, the Rev. James, extracts from Algonquin Dictionary by, ii. 233
- Sir James, reference to, ii. 207; extract from *The Scot in New France* by, 395
- Lennox County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Le Noir, captain of the regiment of La Sarre, attempts to dislodge British from post at Samos, ii. 75; endeavours to recapture the house at Samos battery, 100
- Leostoffe*. *See* *Lowestoffe*
- Lequille River, formerly Allain's creek or river, i. 135
- Lerminac, le Chevalier de, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 187, 244
- Le Roux, Bartholomew, Colonel of the New York Regiment, ii. 527; in command of the New Yorkers in Amherst's army, 527; wounded at Ticonderoga, 527
- Leslie, Matthew, reference to, i. 221, 347, 351, 356, 407, 421, 424; appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General in the expedition against Quebec, 332, 333; resigns as Assistant Deputy Quartermaster-General, ii. 246; detachment under, crosses from Quebec to Point Levi, 293; detachment of, detained at Point Levi, 298; detachment of, to return to Quebec, 311; reference to, iii. 317
- L'Estang de Celle, de, reference to, iii. 175, 177
- L'Esturgeon, a name given to Comeau's Village, i. 126
- Le Sueur, paintings by, in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, ii. 224
- Letang Harbour, fleet conveying 43rd Regiment anchors in, i. 323; description of, 323, 324; ship captured by Indians in, 324
- Letters, note by author on the irregular delivery of, i. 8, 171; non-delivery of, to officers in Nova Scotia, 139; bag of, found amongst Canadians at Beaumont, ii. 54; correspondence of the French intercepted, 56
- Letters of Marque, note on, i. 25
- Levasseur, Noel, dit Borgia, makes a plan of the Borgia House, ii. 140
- L'Evesque, reference to, iii. 174
- Lévis, the Chevalier de, at the battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194; orders attack to be made on English grenadiers and Scottish Highlanders at Ticonderoga, 194; reference to, 412; recommends the Sieur Dumas, 419; camp of, injured by British batteries at Montmorency, 424; urges expulsion of British from Montmorency, 426; detached from camp at Beauport to command at Pointe aux Trembles, ii. 71; detached to Montreal, 85; to reinforce Bourlemaque, 92; estimates the strength of the French army, 106; joins Bougainville at Lorette, 110; decides that the French army shall go into winter quarters, 110; in charge of the defences of the western and southern frontiers, 110; criticises Vaudreuil for withdrawing the army from Quebec, 110; recalled to take command of the army after the death of Montcalm, 110; decides to abandon the idea of attacking Quebec after he found British in possession, 121; considers that fate of the colony will depend upon the fate of Quebec, 172; plans of, in the event of loss of Quebec, 172; report of intention of, to attack Quebec, 239; reported to be about to attack Quebec, October 24, 1759, 243; reported to intend to storm Quebec, 267; reference to a letter from, to Brigadier-General Murray, 272; report of arrival of supplies for, November, 1759, 283; extract from *Journal* of, 286; extract from letter of, to the Marshal de Belle-Isle, 298; biographical note on, 300; rumour of proposed attack on Quebec by, December, 1759, 300; reference to, 308; reported to intend to attack Quebec, December 22, 1759, 311; rumour of an intended attack on Quebec by, January,

1760, 319; reported to have ordered that British woodcutters be not disturbed, 330; report of proposed wager between, and Murray, 334; references to, 335; alleged plan of, for attacking Quebec, February 1760, 351; extract from *Journal* of, 363; circular letter of, to commandments of battalions, March 29, 1760, 369; circular letter of, ordering an advance on Quebec, April 16, 1760, 377; prepares to proceed against Quebec, 378; extract from *Journal* of, 383, 386, 390; reference to, 387; occupies Ste. Foy, 390; reconnoitres the British position, April 27, 1760, 390; statements by, of strength and casualties at Ste. Foy, 397; movements of, retarded by the fire of the British, 404; sends present of spruce branches to Murray, 409; sends a present of partridges to Murray, 411; hears of the arrival of a British frigate, 414; thanks Murray for European newspapers, 416; informs Murray that he cannot return the convalescents who were in the hospital, 419; gives orders that only twenty shots shall be fired from each gun during twenty-four hours, 422; sends word to Murray that he is not able to comply with his request regarding convalescents, 423; hears of the arrival of English vessels at the Island of Orleans, 426; decides to fall back on Montreal, 429; makes preparations to retreat, 430; raises the siege of Quebec, 430; sends message to Murray regarding prisoners, 432; orders the iron guns to be thrown down the cliff at the Foulon, 433; proposed to attack Quebec in February, 1760, 447; writes to M. Berryer in reference to non-payment of bills of exchange, 461; said to be alarmed at the approach of the British fleet, 472; reports to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle that Murray had left Quebec with forty sail and a landing force of two thousand five hundred men, 484; reports that the British have delayed operations until harvest time in order to deprive the French of the farmers, 485; reports that

Amherst has collected fourteen or fifteen thousand men at St. Frederick, 485; reports that the French are at the crisis of their fate, 485; reports that he has no means of stopping Murray's advance, 485; pledges his credit to obtain flour, 485; reports that British may establish themselves at Sorel, 485; leaves for Lake St. Peter, 485; reports that the British fleet has been increased by twenty-eight sail, 485; watching the progress of the British from the south shore, 501; reported to be inclined to give Murray battle before the arrival of Amherst, 507; disappointed that he had not an opportunity to fight Murray at Three Rivers, 511; with his principal officers retires to Montreal, 515; reference to his efforts to retake Quebec, 524; addresses letter to Amherst, 561; provision for the return of, to France, 571; sends to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle an account of the surrender of Montreal, 586; return of the troops of the line by, on Sept. 9, 1760, 589; declares on word of honour that French colours have been destroyed, 590; to command at Ticonderoga, 1759, iii. 31; reference to, 83, 93, 163; memoir, 184; letter from (to Amherst), 297; reference to, 246, 255, 289-296, 301-303, 313, 315, 322; letter from, 354, 357  
 Lévis, Fort, invested by the British in the face of a vigorous fire on the part of the enemy, ii. 506; on Isle Royale, strongly fortified, 506; reference to, 509; account of the ordnance found at, 545; account of the capture of, 546; batteries erected against, 548; a litter of carpenters' wood and fascines, 548; fall of, 548; articles of capitulation of, 555  
 Lewis, Lieutenant, mentioned, iii. 399  
 — Major, reference to, iii. 74  
 Lexington, reference to battle of, i. 274  
 Liberty, the, i. 22  
 Library, regimental, necessity of providing, i. 272  
 Licences, for sale of intoxicating liquors, in Quebec, recalled, ii. 273, 275; to be taken out by butchers and bakers in Quebec, 323



- Liesse, former name of Moose River, i. 144
- Lieutenant-colonels to be promoted to the rank of colonel while serving in America, i. 150
- Light House Point, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 222; abandoned by French, 244; Brigadier-General Wolfe ordered to take possession of, 244; troops make a feint to land at, iii. 3
- Light infantry, body of, to be organised for the Louisbourg expedition, 1758, i. 207; to receive seventy rounds of ammunition per man, 209; to exchange arms with artillery and Highlanders, 209; orders for disposition of, in landing at Louisbourg, 213, 214, 215, 216; ordered to prepare an ambuscade before Louisbourg, 222; employed in expedition against Light House Point, Louisbourg, 244; help to repulse sortie of French at Louisbourg, 246; good conduct of, at siege of Louisbourg, 253; disbanded, 279; 43rd Regiment to form company of, 303; company of, from Louisbourg garrison, not allowed to proceed to Quebec, 333; organisation of, in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; suitable men to be selected for, 347; uniform and equipment of, 352; ordered by General Wolfe to wear bayonets, 353; directions for, 379; British, skirmish with French on south side of St. Lawrence, June 30, 1759, 386; detachment of, escorts General Wolfe to view Quebec, 395; may be ordered to retire before the enemy at times, 400; to carry bayonets, 400; cattle brought by, to camp before Quebec, 435; British, have engagement with Indians at Montmorency, 443; bring prisoners and plunder to camp before Quebec, 433; movement to be executed by, at British attack on Montmorency, 447, 448; detachment of, encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510; position of, on the Plains of Abraham, ii. 98; organisation of, in Quebec, November, 1759, 281; completion of companies of, in Quebec, November, 1759, 289; detachment of, to cover the parties collecting firewood at Quebec, 304, 306; British, in Quebec, to be instructed in the use of snow-shoes, 312; British, at Quebec, practised in the use of snow-shoes, 319; organisation and armament of, in Quebec, 337; from Quebec, drive French forces from Point Levi, 339, 340; special duties assigned to, in Quebec, 344; British, at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392, 393; British, in Quebec, to rejoin their corps, April 29, 1760, 400; five hundred and ninety-seven of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, 484; Colonel Amherst's battalion of, complement of boats for, 537
- Lightning*, the, sloop, commanded by Captain Martin, i. 21; unfit for service, 37
- Lights, use of, as signals, i. 217, 339, 450
- Ligneries. *See* Des Ligneries.
- Ligonier, John, biographical notice of, i. 300; reference to, ii. 116, iii. 59
- Fort, on the Ohio, naming of, i. 300, 301; three hundred men of the 77th Regiment from, join the army, 491; note on, ii. 200; reference to, 596
- Limestone, abundance of, in vicinity of Lake George, i. 481
- Linall, Lieutenant, iii. 198
- Lindsay, the Abbé, opinion of, on a Christmas Eve custom, ii. 313
- Captain, in command of the *Trent* in 1758, i. 152, 358
- Line formation, two deep, employed by Amherst and Wolfe, i. 350
- Linen, all not required, to be sent to Dr. Russel for use of the hospital, ii. 413
- Linier, M., reference to improvements made at Montreal by, ii. 603
- Lippincott's *Gazetteer*, reference to, ii. 43
- Liquor, not to be sold in camp, except at fixed market, i. 228; not to be sold except by permission of commanding officers, 236; quantity of, which may be drunk in cold climates, 293; not to be sold in or near camp, 400; General Wolfe will allow spirits to troops under special circum-

- stances, 401; sutlers selling, to be removed from camps before Quebec, 446; regulations regarding sale of, in Quebec, ii. 258; licences for sale of, in Quebec, recalled, 273, 275; punishment of women for selling, contrary to orders, 289; women forbidden to give liquor to soldiers, 403; soldiers break into houses and stores in search of, 401. *See also* Rum.
- Little Carrying Place. *See* Fort Miller.
- Champlain Street, Quebec, reference to, ii. 257
- Duchene, reference to, ii. 253
- Hope Island, reference to, i. 54
- Passage, reference to, i. 326
- Rock Guard, description of, i. 423; the *Diana* runs aground near, 429
- Littleton, Governor, reference to, ii. 520
- Livre, note on the value of, i. 62
- Lizard*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; captures the French ship *Victoire*, 419; Murray disappointed in not receiving money by, ii. 465
- Lloyd, George, chaplain of the 15th Regiment, ii. 28
- Loan, General Murray raises a, for the public service, ii. 298, 299
- Loans, repayment of money lent to Government by officers and soldiers, ii. 441
- L'Oberatz, M. de, reference to, iii. 74
- Lobsters, note on, by author, i. 50
- Logs of British fleet, reference to, i. 359
- London Magazine*, the, reference to, iii. 96
- London newspapers received at Quebec contain accounts of the defeat of Conflans and Thurot, ii. 416
- Long, a noted rebel, made prisoner and sent in irons on board a man-of-war, ii. 126; probably an associate of Johnson of Annapolis, 126
- Island, reference to, i. 55, 326
- Longdill, Captain, of the *Eden and Mary* transport, ii. 13
- Longevity, reference to, i. 134
- Longue Pointe, British land at, ii. 521; note on, 521; reference to, 605
- Longueuil, Charles Le Moyne de, obtains a grant of Longueuil in 1676, ii. 515
- Paul Joseph, Chevalier de, note on, ii. 575; lieutenant of the Regiment of Normandy, 575; commander of Fort Frontenac, 575; governor of Three Rivers, 575; lieutenant of the king at Quebec, 575; governor of Three Rivers and staff of colony to be given free passage to France, 575; death of, in France, 575
- note on, ii. 515; erected into a barony in 1700, 515; General Murray and Colonel Burton cross the river and march to, 515; surrender of Huron Indians at, 517; reference to, 529; post at, iii. 255
- Loppinot, the Sieur, aide-major of Louisbourg, conducts negotiations with British, i. 252; note on, iii. 370
- Lozembec, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 222; capture of cured fish at, 245; Bragg's Regiment ordered to proceed to, iii. 3
- Lorette, reference to, ii. 171; church of, occupied by British, November, 1759, 270, 275; inhabitants of, summoned to surrender arms and take oath, 279; fortification of church at, 280; reference to, 283; arrangements for relief of British detachment at, 294; capture of a British volunteer in neighbourhood of, 303; reinforcements sent to, January, 1760, 329; French grenadiers in neighbourhood of, February, 1760, 339; arrival of flag of truce at, February 27, 1760, 351; British light infantry make excursion from, 360; skirmish with French near, March, 1760, 370; field-pieces to be stationed at, 378, 381; British abandon post at, 383; British abandon, 385; British take post at, 445; British re-establish a post at, 459
- Loring, Captain Joshua, biographical reference to, i. 479; in command of the construction of vessels on the lakes, 479; agent for the hire of transports to convey troops to America, 480; left at Ticonderoga to build a brigantine, ii. 192; to build a boat to carry six 24-pounders, 193; to build a sloop to carry six-



- teen guns, 194; 200 men in whale-boats detached to assist him in his search for the enemy's schooner, 197; equipping vessels at Niagara, 530; fails to find the channel to La Galette, 541; letter of, to the Admiralty, 549; arrives from Niagara, 549; colours struck on board his vessel against his will, 551; accident to, 551; in command of the *Onondago*, 553; comment on his action, 554; to prepare vessels for service on the lakes, iii. 28; reference to, 52, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 69, 85
- Lotbinière, inhabitants of, take the oath of neutrality, ii. 474
- Lotteridge, Captain, reference to, iii. 205, 209, 210, 217, 218, 228, 229
- Loudoun, Earl of, biographical reference to, i. 29; reviews the 17th and 43rd Regiments, 35; recalled by Pitt, 40; regulations regarding provisions for troops, 48; decides to return to New York, 52; issues orders regarding expense of funerals with a view of preventing extravagance, 139; returns to England, 151; first colonel of the Royal Americans, 169; reference to, 212; gives instructions to Captain Loring to enlist seamen for service on the lakes, 480; reference to, ii. 593
- county, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Fort, on the Tennessee River, captured by the Cherokees after the departure of Montgomery, ii. 616
- Louis XIV, grants land at Quebec to the Récollets, ii. 204; relations of, with Mgr. de St. Vallier, 216
- Louis d'or, value of, ii. 290
- Louisbourg, note on, i. 27; failure of the expedition against, under Loudoun, 31; expedition against, abandoned, 43; remarks on the causes of failure of expedition against, 63; spruce beer first introduced into the garrison of, 71; disaster to British fleet in vicinity of, 1757, 101; engineer sent from Fort Edward to join army at, 148; Major-General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen appointed to command the expedition against, 1758, 149; French ship of war bound for, intercepted by Admiral Coates, 150; list of ships in fleet sent against, 1758, 151; list of transports employed in relieving 28th Regiment for service against, 1758, 164; Boishébert believed to be collecting the French for service at, 1758, 170; extract from journal of a chaplain at siege of, 1745, 173; capture of prizes off, by Sir Charles Hardy, 1758, 173; the *Hind* to join the fleet at, 1758, 176; orders of Admiral Boscawen, May 21, 1758, *re* expedition against, 177; report of sailing of armament against, May 28, 1758, 177, 179; strength of fleet against, 1758, 179; report of Boishébert having gone to, 180; letter from camp before, June 16, 1758, 184; news of the surrender of, reaches the garrison at Annapolis, 204; general orders of expedition against, 1758, 205-241; organisation of brigades in expedition against, 1758, 212; equipment provided for expedition against, 1758, 212; expedition against, sails from Halifax, 1758, 213; orders for landing of troops at, June, 1758, 213, 215, 217; landing of troops at, prevented by surf, 215, 216, 217; account of British landing at, 218; description of French defences on shore near, 218; reference to diagram of order of British landing at, 218; organisation of brigades in expedition against, 220; distribution of provisions among regiments before, 221; directions for work on entrenchments before, 225, 226, 231, 234, 238; directions for manning and relief of trenches before, 238, 239; General Amherst compliments his officers and men on good conduct in siege of, 241; surrender of, 241, 242, 252; letter giving account of siege of, 242; landing of British troops at, prevented by bad weather, 242, 243; defences of French on shore near, 244; French destroy Grand Battery and retire into town of, 244; Brigadier-General Wolfe takes possession of Light House Point near, 244, 245; extract from *An Authentic Account of Reduction of*, 244, 246, 248, 250, 254; silencing of Island Battery at, 245; labours of British soldiers before, 245; de-

fences of French on shore near, 245; character of ground around, 245; sally of French from, June 26, 1758, 245; French sink ships to block entrance to harbour of, 246; sortie of French from, repulsed by General Wolfe, July 1, 1758, 246; French ships in harbour of, annoy British, 246; disposition of French ships in harbour of, during the siege, 246; sortie of French from, repulsed, July 9, 1758, 247; burning of three French ships in harbour of, July 21, 1758, 248; heavy bombardment of, by British, 249, 250; burning of barracks in, 249, 250; capture of French ships in harbour of, July 25, 1758, 250; proposal of garrison of, to surrender, 251; negotiations leading to capitulation of, 252; numbers of French garrison in, 253; occupation of, by British, 253; casualties of British in siege of, 254; desolate appearance of harbour of, 254; dilapidated condition of, after the siege, 254; articles of capitulation of, 255; casualties of French in siege of, 255; return of state of garrison of, 257; population of, during siege, 257; capture of French ships in harbour of, 259; celebration of capture of, at Annapolis, 260; British regiments in garrison at, 263; French violate customs of war during siege of, 267; French profess to regard, as unimportant, 267; effect of capture of, on conditions in Nova Scotia, 271; British expedition to Gaspé returns to, 277; threat of Indians to retake, 282; expedition to Quebec to rendezvous at, 303; provincial regiment to be stationed at, 306; arrival of 43rd Regiment at, 327; a French prize brought to, 327, 328; Grenadiers from garrison of, to serve in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; French and Indians in neighbourhood of, May 30, 1759, 351; military drill at, 353; Rangers drive French from neighbourhood of, 354; reference to defences of, 356; expedition against Quebec sails from, 357; reference to the arrival of Stobo at, 479; report of capture of, by French, 1759, ii. 283; destruc-

tion of fortifications at, 457; troops from, to join Murray without delay, 478; articles of capitulation, iii. 19; account of siege, 96; letters from, 96; Wolfe occupies a picquet post near the West Gate of, 111; description of British occupation of, 115

Louisbourg Grenadiers, orders for regiment to remain at Orleans, ii. 4; at Orleans, relieved by Royal Americans, 31; orders to march under Brigadier Murray, 73; position of, on the Plains of Abraham, 98; march into Quebec, 125; land at Sorel, 503

Louvricourt, de, note on, iii. 304

Lovewell, Zaccheus, biographical reference to, i. 458

Lovewell's, or Lovel's, Regiment with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; marches from Fort Edward to join Amherst's army, 483; batteaus delivered to, 489; orders for, 497; reference to, in orders, 500; ordered to join Prideaux's army, 505

Loviague, Captain, of the Carignan Regiment, obtains a grant at Nicolet, ii. 487

Lower Town, Quebec, havoc wrought by guns render streets impassable, ii. 135

Lowers, Engineer, reference to, iii. 197

Lowes, John, master of the *Charming Molly*, transport cutter, i. 359

Lowestoffe, or Leostoffe, the, frigate, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; reference to, 360; cutter of, captured by French, 403; barge of, recaptured, 437; takes part in the expedition against Deschambault, ii. 13; to convey reinforcements for General Murray, 27; attempts to pass the town, 27; succeeds in passing the town under heavy fire, 52; reference to, 79; to take on board 200 of Amherst's regiment, 83; to follow flat-bottomed boats, 86; to take 300 of Amherst's men, 87; arrives at Quebec, to the delight of the British, 414; thought to be a French ship, 415; French keep up a heavy fire against, 420; reference to, 430; runs on the rocks and is sunk, 436; reference to, iii. 251

- Lowther, Miss, miniature of, handed to John Jervis by Wolfe, ii. 90
- Loyal Hanning, British victory at, i. 274
- Lucretia*, the, smallest schooner of fleet, ii. 74
- Lunenburg, Fort, situation of, i. 91; to be garrisoned by detachment of Royal Americans, 208; entrenchment at, ii. 592
- Lusignan, reference to, iii. 175, 176
- Luther, name given to cattle to annoy British officers, i. 160
- Lutwiche*, packet, reference to, iii. 51
- Lyman, Colonel Phineas, provincial regiment of, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; to command left column, 498; in command of the Connecticuts in Amherst's army, ii. 528; serves under Loudoun in 1757, 528; member of the Connecticut Legislature, 528; Commander-in-Chief of the Connecticut forces, 528; obtains a grant of land in Mississippi, 528; takes part in the expedition against Havana, 528; death of, near Natchez, in 1774, 528
- Lyman's Regiment, order relating to, i. 465; strength of, in June, 1759, 474; batteaus delivered to, 489; orders for, 497; reference to, 500; stationed at Half-way Brook, 1759, iii. 37
- Lysaght, Nicholas, appointed lieutenant, i. 304
- Lyttleton, Governor, dispatches delivered to, iii. 6
- MABANE, Adam, appointed member of the first council at Quebec, ii. 4; occupies Samos house, 76  
— surgeon's mate, note on, ii. 365
- M'Allester, one of the first men chosen to scale the Heights, ii. 95
- Macalpin, Daniel, Lieutenant, in possession of the house at Samos, ii. 75; lieutenant of the 60th Regiment, 432; finds the trenches of the enemy deserted, 432; sent by Murray to make sallies and amuse the enemy, 433
- M'Carney, Captain, of the *Porcupine*, to winter at Quebec, 1759-60, ii. 238; rescues a French soldier from the River St. Lawrence, 386; conducts rescued French soldier to General Murray, 387; sent in the *Racehorse* with dispatches from Amherst, 404; reference to, iii. 79
- M'Cormack, Lieutenant, captured by the French, i. 280; extract from letter of, 288
- M'Curdie, Captain, death of, i. 296
- M'Donald (McDonnell), Donald, Captain, saves Lieutenant Peyton at Montmorency, i. 454; leader of the advanced party in climbing the Heights of Abraham, ii. 95; note on, by the author, 96; commands a reconnoitring party near Quebec, February 12, 1760, 339; carries flag of truce to French army, February 29, 1760, 351; commands British detachment in attack on Le Calvaire, 361, 363; note on, 384; commands a company of volunteers, 384; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392; forms a company of volunteers, 400; reference to, 400
- M'Donald, Ensign, serves in Rogers' Rangers, i. 157
- Machault, Fort, Des Lignerics in command at, ii. 183
- Machault, Le*, frigate, reference to, iii. 357, 360, 390; burnt, 402
- Machault, M. de, reference to, ii. 112
- Machaux*, the, French frigate, strikes her colours, ii. 491
- Mackay, Captain Samuel, of the 40th Regiment, ii. 503
- Mackellar, Patrick, note on, i. 225; to direct certain work on entrenchments at Louisbourg, 225; appointed chief engineer in the expedition against Quebec, 332; reference to, 355, 378, 432; reports on *radeaux à feu* at Quebec, 382; extracts from report of, on buildings of Quebec, ii. 24; disapproves of the suggestion to storm Quebec, 36; accompanies General Wolfe, 84; reports on the condition of the walls of Quebec, 141; reference to, 143, 209; constructs temporary works which prove effective against the attacks of Lévis in 1760, 144; reference to report of, 205, 211, 244; work of, on the Plains of Abraham, April, 1760, 384; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392; description by, of the battle of Ste. Foy, 393; reconnoitres the ground



- at Louisbourg, iii. 7; reference to, 79, 339; report of, 151
- Mackenzie, one of the first men chosen to scale the Heights, ii. 95
- M'Kenzy, Captain, commander of the *Sunderland*, i. 21, 36; reference to, iii. 73
- Mackey, Captain, iii. 329
- M'Koy, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 65, 74
- M'Lane, Mr., surgeon of the 1st battalion of grenadiers in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- M'Lennan, J. S., reference to, i. 256
- McLeon, Captain, reference to, iii. 191
- M'Main, Mr., surgeon of the 2nd battalion in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- M'Master, given a pass, iii. 225
- MacPherson, Captain, wounded near Beaumont, i. 440, 443
- Major, takes part in the reduction of the fortress at Jacques Cartier, ii. 522
- Mr., surgeon of the 5th battalion in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- Robert, chaplain of the 78th Regiment, ii. 28
- one of the first men chosen to scale the Heights, ii. 95
- Madame la Victoire. *See* Notre Dame des Victoires
- Madawaska, seigneurie of, purchased by Henry Caldwell, i. 332
- Madeira wine, whole butt of, taken by Stobo on his expedition, ii. 49
- Magdelain River, reference to, ii. 253
- Magnan family, taken prisoners by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Mailhot family, taken prisoners by British at Pointe aux Trembles, i. 439
- Maillard's Hill. *See* Mayass Hill.
- Maillart, Sieur, reference to, iii. 342
- Maille, arrival of regiment of, i. 48
- Maillou, M., house of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19; reference to, 31
- Maine, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 69
- Maintenon, Madame de, gift of, to Mgr. de St. Vallier, ii. 212
- Maisonat. *See* Baptiste, Captain.
- Marie Magdalen, biographical reference to, i. 94; extraordinary influence of, 95; presides at councils of war, 95
- Maitland, The Hon. Captain David, thanks the detachment for their behaviour at René Forêt, i. 128, and note; reference to, 173; appointed to act as adjutant-general at Quebec, ii. 243; made prisoner by the French, April 28, 1760, 396; sent by Murray with dispatches, 438; sails for England with dispatches from Colville and Murray, 453
- the Hon. Richard, note on, i. 331; appointed major of brigade in the expedition against Quebec, 331, 333
- Maize, growth of, in Nova Scotia, i. 311
- Malartic, Brigadier, requested to deliver up English deserter, ii. 7; *Journal* of, referred to, 100, 286; his estimate of the strength of the French troops, 105
- Malcolm, Ensign, wounded, iii. 323
- Malone, Edward, Lieutenant, of the 47th Regiment, note on, ii. 562; detained prisoner on his way to meet Amherst, 564; sent by Murray to Amherst, 562
- Malroux, reference to, iii. 174
- Malt liquor, price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Manach, Abbé, escapes to Miramichi, i. 201; reference to, iii. 392
- Mandament, issued by Mgr. Pontbriand before the siege of Quebec, ii. 153
- Manifesto, of Major-General Abercromby, June 24, 1758, i. 181; regarding violation of capitulation of Fort William Henry, publication of, 238; to Canadians, issued by Brigadier-General Murray, November, 1759, ii. 249; issued by Murray offering protection to all who deliver up their arms, 512
- Mann, Captain, in command of the *Prince Frederick*, in 1758, i. 152
- Captain, of the *Lancaster*, reference to, i. 275
- Manneville, Captain, attends council of war, ii. 110; given an order permitting him to pass to and fro on private business, 157
- Manceuvres, performance of, at Louisbourg, i. 353

- Manseau, house of, on the Ste. Foy road, ii. 140, 176
- Mansfield County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Mante, Major Thomas, estimate of, as to effects of loss of Lord Howe, i. 186
- Mantell, Captain, commander of the *Centurion*, i. 21, 36, 358, 457
- Maple sugar, uses of, ii. 497; note on the manufacture of, 498; extent of the industry in Canada, 498
- tree, the, reference to the sugar made from, ii. 181; note by the author on, 497
- Marblehead, schooner from, iii. 420
- Marcel, sends note to Vaudreuil containing message from Montcalm, ii. 110; present at the council of war, 117; reference to, iii. 175
- Marchand, Jeanne Claire, of St. Etienne, reference to, ii. 293
- Marie, La*, sloop, arrival of, at the Foulon, April 28, 1760, ii. 390; throws her guns overboard and escapes to Lake St. Peter, 429; French succeed in getting her afloat, 433; wounded officers and soldiers put on board, 437; guns removed from, 501; reference to, iii. 321, 323, 327
- Mariet (Marcel), attends council of war, iii. 176
- Marin, Colonel, reference to, i. 219, 252
- Joseph, biographical reference to, ii. 183; cadet in Colonial troops, 183; served with Verchère at Michilimakinac, 183; sent on a voyage of discovery to the Upper Mississippi, 183; takes part in an expedition against Port Royal, 183; serves at Fort Carillon, 184; sent to Newfoundland, 1762, 184; made prisoner at Belle Rivière but is set at liberty, 184; journals of the expedition of, 184; serves in Nova Scotia under De Ramezay, 184; replaces his father at a post on the Mississippi, 184; takes part in the attack on Grand Pré, 184; wounded at the battle of the Plains and made prisoner, 184; family papers of, destroyed, 184; reference to, iii. 188; expedition of, 342
- Marines, troops of the, at the battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194; detachment of, landed at Louisbourg, 246; French, surrender of, at Louisbourg, 257; French, history and uniform of, 258; detachment of, land at Point Lévis, 409, 418, 420; detachment of, sent to Montmorency, 441; officer of, killed, 495; troops of, employed at Carillon, 504; orders issued for the camp to be removed to a more open spot, ii. 7; two men reported as deserters from, 30; seven men seen crossing the river reported as deserters, 32; gunner of, killed at the batteries, 52; to make a feint at Beauport, 90
- Market, directions for establishment of, in British camp before Louisbourg, i. 228; good order to be kept in, 236; to be established in the centre of the camp for the use of the army, 467; rates of exchange established for, ii. 454
- Marquis de Malauze, Le*, departure from Bordeaux, iii. 361; reference to, 385, 390; dismounts guns, 402
- Marriage of British soldiers with inhabitants of Quebec forbidden, ii. 257
- Marshal, Captain, reference to, i. 33, 36
- Marshes, in vicinity of Beauséjour, drained by the French, i. 84
- Martell, M., reference to, ii. 504
- Martello towers, reference to, ii. 100
- Martin, Abraham, a French pilot, original grantee of the Plains of Abraham, ii. 97
- Captain, commander of the *Lightning* fire-ship, i. 21
- Etienne, commonly known as Barnabé, founder of Barnaby's Mill, i. 119
- Father, French Jesuit, preaches Montcalm's funeral sermon, ii. 111
- Martinique, conquest of, by Monckton, i. 164
- Mary*, the, i. 22
- Maryland, reference to, ii. 190
- Masagnash, River (Messagouash), i. 83
- Mascarene, Paul, Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis, i. 139; birth of, 139; educated at Geneva, 139; obtains commission in British army in 1708, 139; takes part in the capture of



Port Royal in 1710, 139; appointed member of the Council of Nova Scotia, 139; becomes major-general in the British army, 1758, 139; death of, 139

Masons, arrival of, i. 483

*Masquelongue*, a sloop, iii. 52, 69

Mass, High, celebration of, in the church of the Ursulines, October 21, 1759, ii. 240

Massachusetts, privateer of, reference to, i. 27; report that body of provincial troops had been raised by province of, 145; provincial troops from, to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, 166

— Regiment, number of men from, to be employed in batteau-service, 463; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; strength of, under Amherst in June, 1759, 474; sent to Half-Way Brook, iii. 32

Massey, Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, of the 27th Regiment, note on, ii. 187; in command of the grenadiers, 537; battalion of grenadiers under, sent to assist the *Onondaga* in finding a passage to La Galette, 538; reference to, 548, iii. 29, 89, 197, 217, 219, 225, 226, 232

Massot, Marie Madelaine, of St. Francis of Paul, reference to, ii. 293

*Master Mason*, the, arrives at Annapolis with provisions from New York, i. 108

Matheson, Lieutenant, killed at Montmorency, i. 454

Matron of the hospital may employ women left at Albany, i. 461

Maurepas, Comte de, reference to, iii. 341

Maurice of Saxony, reference to, ii. 301

Maw, Crank, note on, ii. 384; joins the company of Donald McDonnell, 400; rash enthusiasm of, 400; sallies forth in search of a prisoner but is captured, 400; capture of, causes some comment in the camp, 400

Mawas, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536

Mayass Hill, now known as Gate's Hill, i. 91; a number of horses captured by the British in vicinity of,

1757, 102; expedition to vicinity of, to secure fruit for garrison of Annapolis, 103; expedition to vicinity of, secures a quantity of apples, 110; reference to, 116, 180, 183; notice attached to pole of reward of two hundred dollars for the return of Mr. Easson, 130; party sent to, in search of black cattle, 135; proposal to enclose part of, with palisades, 136; armed party sent to vicinity of, to cut wood for farmer, 138; party of the army appear at, with flag of truce, seeking information regarding the reward offered for Mr. Easson, 142; flag of truce hoisted by the French at, who desired to make an exchange of prisoners, 145; flag of truce hoisted at, by the French, who wish to barter furs for tobacco and brandy, 146; fires observed in the vicinity of, 153; lands in the vicinity of, secured for pasture, 183; enemy, under flag of truce, seek to exchange peltry for provisions at, 204

Mayor of Cork, zeal and activity of, i. 18

Meares (or Mayors), master of the sloop *Eagle*, captured by the French, i. 269

Meat, price of, in Quebec, fixed by proclamation, ii. 323; directions for freshening before being eaten by the soldiers, 355; tubs provided for freshening of, 358

Mechanics and peasantry described by author as deceitful and fantastic, ii. 612

Medicines, supply of, in British camp, completely exhausted, ii. 437

*Mediterranean*, the, i. 22

Medowes, Captain, in command of the *Shannon* in 1758, i. 152

*Medway*, the, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; to take forty Highlanders, ii. 87; sails from Quebec, October 26, 1759, 243

— and *Captain* to take Lascelles' Regiment, in five boats, out of *Ward* transport, and fifty Royal Americans out of *Sutherland*, ii. 86

Meech, Lieutenant, sails up the Pitscordiac to intercept the enemy, 1758, i. 196; takes part in plundering an Acadian village, 198; commands

- first landing party at Orleans, 376 ; death of, 377
- Memoire des Disputes*, iii. 289
- Memoirs of Robert Stobo*, quotation from, ii. 49
- Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec*, edited by Captain Gardiner, ii. 138 ; extract from, by the author, 139
- Mercer, Hugh, in command of Pennsylvanian troops, ii. 198 ; biographical reference to, 199 ; reference to, iii. 56
- Merchants, at Quebec, send money to Montreal to purchase furs, November, 1759, ii. 298 ; English, in Quebec, villany of, 336 ; in Quebec, form company of volunteers, 389 ; French, in Quebec, form a company, 1759, 389
- and clerks of Louisbourg to be transported to France, i. 256
- and masters of ships forbidden to trade with the French, ii. 455
- Mercier, M., blamed for failure of fire-ships at Quebec, i. 382 ; Capt., reflects on action of British in returning prisoners, 441 ; brings flag of truce from Quebec, 441 ; reference to, 444 ; artillery stores and provisions under the direction of, ii. 168 *See* Le Mercier
- Meredith, Hugh, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 63, 71, 73 ; note on, 71
- Mermaid*, the, sloop, employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164
- Merry Meeting*, the, sloop, employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164
- Messagouash, River, formerly Mesagouèche, i. 83
- Messervey, Colonel, reference to, i. 212 ; taken ill with small-pox at Louisbourg and dies, iii. 9 ; junior, dies from small-pox at Louisbourg, 11
- Meulles, Jacques de, issue of paper money by, ii. 331
- Meynardie, junior, reference to, iii. 174
- Mice, prevalence of, i. 64
- Michilimakinac, reference to, ii. 183 ; Major Rogers in command at, 526 ; troops at, to be treated the same as in Montreal, 568
- Micmac Indians, note relating to the language of, i. 90 ; send deputation to the British, offering to form an alliance, 91 ; deputation from, attacked by a party of British, 92 ; Abbé Le Loutre appointed missionary to, 201 ; reported to be in neighbourhood of Point Lévis, 405
- Midshipman with despatches succeeds in passing the enemy's batteries in canoe, ii. 34 ; dangerously wounded at St. Paul's Bay, 38
- Milan, work of St. Charles Borromeo as Archbishop of, ii. 215
- Military exercise, troops practised in, at Louisbourg, i. 353
- reforms effected by Lord Howe, i. 185
- service, note by author on, i. 93 ; long residence in remote garrisons prejudicial to, 93 ; character of, in Nova Scotia, 308
- Militia of Quebec, strength of, ii. 225 ; French, regulations regarding, for the campaign against Quebec, April, 1760, 377 ; reference to the execution of a captain of, 474 ; body of, arrives at Sorel from St. Francis, 494
- Mill, Alexander, taken prisoner at Fort Cumberland, i. 199
- Miller, John, a soldier of Captain Maitland's company, escapes from confinement at Miramichi, i. 199
- Captain, of the *Racehorse*, to winter at Quebec, 1759-60, ii. 238 ; blown up on board a French ship near Quebec, 286, 288, 292 ; of the *Seahorse*, reference to death of, 335
- Fort, a post on the Hudson between Fort Edward and Saratoga, i. 482 ; Indians in the vicinity of, iii. 22 ; Inniskilling Regiment at, 29
- grenadier, killed while cutting wood, i. 199
- Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of provincial piquets and rangers, i. 492
- Millon, Sieur, reference to, ii. 63
- Milloncarde, Major, reference to, ii. 63
- Minden, reference to, ii. 533 ; iii. 230 note
- Mineral springs near Varennes, ii. 513
- Miners, French, history of, i. 257

- Miners and sappers, returns of, to be made, i. 240
- Miniac, Sieur, Vicar-General, reference to, iii. 342
- Minorca, reference to, i. 251, 252; French opinions of importance of, 267; siege of, 1782, 330
- Miramichi, Acadians transported to, i. 61; postal services to settlements on, 171; number of British prisoners confined at, make their escape, 199; expedition sent to, 276; Cæsar McCormick taken as prisoner to, 289; French women captured near, 402
- Miray, Lake, note on, iii. 14  
— road, blockhouse built at, iii. 8
- Mirrie, Captain Robert, in command of four companies of the Royals, ii. 525; captain of the 1st Regiment, major of the 77th, 526
- Missisagas, note on, iii. 192
- Missisquoi Bay, Major Rogers leaves his boats in, ii. 286; reference to, iii. 53
- Mississippi, French from Fort Du Quesne retire towards, i. 297
- Moccasins, note by the author on the form and use of, i. 111; traces of, found near René Forêt bridge, 119; reference to, 286; use of, by British soldiers in Quebec, ii. 259; usefulness of, 312; provision for supply of, to soldiers in Quebec, 316; soldiers not to be charged for, 369
- Moggosan or Indian slipper. *See* Moccasin
- Mohawk*, the, snow of eighteen guns, ii. 531; constructed on Lake Ontario by Captain Loring, 531; sent to find a passage to La Galette, 538; reference to, iii. 85
- Mohawk camps, estimate of troops in, ii. 589  
— River, defeat of French designs against British establishments on, i. 265; reference to, 480; settlers on, would benefit by the capture of La Galette, ii. 192
- Mohawks, two Indians of this tribe scalped alive and hanged in chains, ii. 55; difficulty experienced in restraining them, 516; attempt to molest the Indians who surrender to Murray, 516; threatened with chastisement, 517; sent express to Amherst with news of the arrival of Haviland at Longue Pointe, 521; tribe of Indians with Sir William Johnson, 536
- Mohians, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Molasses issued to the troops, i. 71, 428; Murray begs Amherst to send supply of, ii. 437
- Mollowitz, reference to battle of, i. 493
- Monckton, Robert, General, captures Fort Beauséjour in 1755, i. 82; deports Acadians from district of Fort Cumberland, 115; appointed brigadier, 150; troops to serve under, in Nova Scotia, 1758, 163; biographical reference to, 163; becomes member of the Council at Halifax, 1758, 163; date of birth of, 163; is sent to Nova Scotia, 163; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis Royal, 163; serves under Wolfe at Quebec, 164; becomes Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 164; conquers Martinique and other islands of the West Indies, 164; ordered to expel French settlers from Nova Scotia, 164; captures Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau, 164; becomes Governor of New York, 164; reference to *Journal* of, 262, 280, iii. 344; expedition of, to St. John's River, i. 262; report of state of Annapolis to be made to, 263; reference to despatch from, 263; reference to, 268, 273, 431; sends a reconnoitring party up the River St. John, 268; sends rangers to Pitscordiac River, 269; expedition of, above Fort Frederick, 272; returns to Halifax, 279; extract from report of, 281; appointed to serve in the expedition against Quebec, 328; brigade of, at Quebec, 333, 334; obtains the pardon of an officer whose detachment abandoned their posts, 385; brigade of, ordered to occupy the south side of the River St. Lawrence, 386; brigade of, crosses to Point Lévis, 386; posts a manifesto at Beaumont church, 387; brigade of, occupies Point Lévis, 390, 391; inspects the 43rd Regiment, 421; entertains captured priest, 439; entertains ladies taken prisoner near Quebec, 440; in



- attack on Montmorency, 449; corps of, lands below French lines at Montmorency, 453; withdraws troops after unsuccessful attack at Montmorency, 454; reference to, at the attack at Montmorency, 451; corps under, at attack on Montmorency, ii. 3; in command of brigade at Montmorency, 4; gives orders regarding French prisoners, 7; makes a feint to land on Beauport shore to aid movement of troops from Montmorency, 58; reference to, in Wolfe's despatch, 61, 65; brigade of, to consist of the battalions of the regiments of Amherst, Lawrence and Kennedy, 76, 77; brigade of, to endeavour to effect a landing on the north shore, 80; detachment under, makes a feint to land, 83; sends detachment in search of cattle, 85; wounded at the head of the 43rd Regiment, 102; wound of, not considered dangerous, 108; passes to his tent at Point Lévi, 114; reference to, 115, 176, 229, 597; desires all officers of the army to wear mourning for General Wolfe, 143; fills vacant commissions at Quebec, 227; advances money to the nuns of the General Hospital, 234; extract from letter of, to Pitt, October 8, 1759, 241; review of troops at Quebec by, 242; embarks at Quebec for New York, October 26, 1759, 243; receives money from the officers of the navy for the garrison of Quebec, 253; promoted to the command of the 17th Regiment, 416; re-establishes a fort on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, which he names Frederick, 594; left in command of troops at Halifax, iii. 2; appointed under the command of General Wolfe, 27; reference to, 74, 78, 80, 289, 293, 299
- Monckton and Murray re-embark from St. Nicholas, ii. 93; go ashore with the first division at the Foulon, 96; in first line on Plains of Abraham, 98
- Monckton's Battalion. *See* Sixtieth Regiment (Second Battalion)
- Monckton's county, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Monckton*, the, armed schooner, French attempt to capture, i. 302; to cruise in the Bay of Fundy, 305; reference to, 307; conveys the 43rd Regiment from Fort Cumberland, 323
- Moncrief, Lieutenant, note on, ii. 182; reference to, 184; arrives from Niagara with the capitulation of that place, iii. 48
- Moncton, N.B., reference to, i. 197
- Money, of little service to troops in uninhabited forests, i. 139; lack of, at Annapolis, May, 1758, 169; for troops brought to Annapolis and Fort Cumberland, June, 1758, 176; relative value of different kinds of currency, 233; amount of, received by the British army at Quebec in 1759, ii. 253; inconvenience caused by transmission of, from Quebec to Montreal, 298; large sum of, obtained by General Murray on loan, 298, 299; scarcity of, in the French army, 1760, 331; Murray issues orders for the repayment of sums lent to the Government by officers and soldiers, 441. *See also* Currency
- Money penny, Captain, appointed major of brigade, i. 459; to inspect the detachment employed in batteau-service, 463; Major, reference to, 490
- Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander, of the 22nd Foot, takes part in the recovery of Fort Loudoun, ii. 616
- Monnier, Jean, reference to, iii. 174
- Monongahela, battle of, ii. 183
- Monroe, Lieutenant-Colonel George, in command of 35th Regiment, i. 67; in command at Fort William Henry, 67; reference to, ii. 592
- Mont Louis, Gaspé, capture and destruction of, i. 274; expedition sent against, 277
- Montagu, Charles, colonel of the 59th Regiment of Foot, i. 17 and note
- Montcalm, Louis Joseph de Montcalm Gozon, Marquis de, biographical reference to, i. 67; reference to, 54, 413; sent to Canada in 1756, 67; distinguished conduct of, at battle of Plaisance, 67; at Fort William Henry, 67; defeated at battle of Plains, 67; pension to family of, approved by the Assembly in 1789, 67; death of, in the house of Surgeon Arnoux, ii. 108, 110; intercepts letters

addressed to General Webb, i. 68 ; conduct of, at Fort William Henry, 69 ; Captain Pouchot approves entrenchments of, at Ticonderoga, 192 ; extract from *Journal* of, giving ■■ account of the battle of Ticonderoga, 193 ; at the battle of Ticonderoga, 193, 194, 195 ; brings up his reserve and checks the British at Ticonderoga, 194 ; reported proposal of, to fortify Lower St. Lawrence, 373 ; reference to *Journal* of, 382 ; proposal of, to fortify Point Lévis, 392 ; exercises his army at Quebec, 401 ; remarks of, on British position at Montmorency, 411 ; reported strength of army of, 414 ; remark of, on British position at Montmorency, 426 ; reported to have threatened discontented Canadians with the Indians, 431 ; reported to be in disagreement with Vaudreuil, 432 ; receives information on British army, 433 ; reported to have upbraided Vaudreuil, 439 ; reference by Wolfe to the activities of, 479 ; letter from, 493 ; flag of truce from, with information regarding capture of Captain Jacobs, 495 ; reference to the forces under, ii. 10 ; sends Bougainville to watch the movements of Murray, 13 ; returns the reward sent by Wolfe to the soldiers who rescued Ochterloney, 20 ; Indian claimed to have been punished by, 21 ; gives advice to the Canadians, 27 ; reported to have hanged two Canadians, 56 ; reference to in Wolfe's despatch, 60 ; reference to, 85, 248 ; orders all his posts on the north shore to be strengthened, 95 ; orders the regiment of Guienne to the Foulon, 95 ; forms his troops into three columns, 99 ; receives word from Vaudreuil that British have landed at the Foulon, 100 ; meets Boishébert on the bridge of boats, 100 ; orders troops to march to Plains of Abraham, 100 ; reported to be dying on the eve of September 13, 103 ; remarks of, on learning that the British had gained the heights, 106 ; marches his troops across the river St. Charles, 106 ; demands the execution of the Treaty of Exchange, 109 ; addresses a letter to Towns-

hend, in which he gives up Quebec, 109 ; note by the author on the emoluments of, 110 ; fatally wounded with his face to the foe, 110 ; endeavours to reassure women of Quebec, 110 ; supported by two Grenadiers, enters Quebec through St. Louis Gate, 110 ; suggests a new engagement, retreat to Jacques Cartier, or surrender, 110 ; requests the surgeon to tell him how many hours he had to live, 110 ; quotation from letter of, 111 ; requests that his papers be delivered to the Chevalier du Lévis, 111 ; requests Marcel to convey a message to his wife, his mother, and his children, 111 ; sends word to De Ramezay that he has no more orders or advice to give, 111 ; pays tribute to the valour of the British troops, 112 ; refers to the debts that he has incurred, 112 ; funeral of, in the Ursulines chapel, attended by De Ramezay, the officers of the garrison, ■ few citizens, and women and children, 111 ; buried in a cavity formed by the bursting of a shell, 111 ; funeral service of, a hundred years after his death, 111 ; recommends that more troops be sent to Canada, 138 ; criticised for not waiting for Bougainville, 140 ; appears to have acted wisely in not waiting for Bougainville, 140 ; incorrect statement of his burial at the General Hospital, 215 ; declares information from English deserters worthless, 239 ; reported to be at Carillon, iii. 30 ; flag of truce with letters to Amherst from Montcalm and Bourlamaque, 1759, 32 ; reference to, 51, 59, 71, 102, 163 ; memoirs of, 179 ; killed by grape-shot of Colonel Williamson, 339

Montcalm's House, Quebec, position of, ii. 257

Montford, Captain, of the *Pelican*, i. 358

Montgomerie, Archibald, Earl of Eglington, reference to, i. 299 ; biographical reference to, 476 ; in command of 77th Regiment, 476 ; Colonel, in command of Seven-Mile Post from Fort Edward, 478 ; exercised in firing by platoons, 484 ;



- succeeds in subduing the Cherokees, ii. 519; to chastise the Cherokees, 519; retires to Fort Prince George in Carolina with wounded soldiers, 520; marches to Charles-town, 520; success of, over the Cherokee Indians, 535; reference to, iii. 82, 85
- Montgomery, Archibald. *See* Montgomerie
- Montgomery, General Richard, reference to, i. 296, 332; invasion of Canada by, 330
- Montgomery's Regiment. *See* Seventy-seventh Regiment
- Montigny, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 188
- Montissau, M., Seigneur of Beçancour, ii. 480
- Montizambert, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 188
- Montmorency, M. le Connétable de, reference to, iii. 350, 351
- reference to attack at, i. 350; orders for landing at, 405; position of British camp at, 410; British batteries at, ineffective, 411; British batteries erected at, 415; fortification of British camp at, 416; bombardment of French camp from, 417; British batteries at, do damage to French camp, 424; Indians attack British at, 426; French entrenchments at, 426; regulations for defence of British camp at, 430; detachment of marines sent to, 441; engagement between light infantry and Indians at, 442; orders for British attack on, 446; preparations for attack on French position at, 448; British attack on French position at, 449; code of signals for British movements during attack at, 450; storm damages ammunition during attack at, 453; British armed cats burned after attack at, 454; British loss in attack on, 454; causes of failure of British attack at, 455; object of British attack at, 455; Wolfe's plans for the attack at, 456; circumstances causing failure of British attack at, 456; letter of General Wolfe to Admiral Saunders in regard to the attack at, 456; orders issued by Wolfe in consequence of the irregular behaviour of the grenadiers at, ii. 3; orders issued in French camp for a return of killed and wounded, 5; return of killed and wounded to be sent to adjutant-general, 5; reference to Wolfe's house at, 42; preparations at, for breaking up the camp, 53; cannon removed from camp at, 55; Wolfe's account of the unfortunate affair at, 67
- Montmorency, Falls of, reference to, i. 375, 378, ii. 169, 252; note on, 42
- Montpellier, in southern France, iii. 350
- Montreal, Thomas Gage appointed Lieutenant-Governor of, i. 274; communication between Quebec and, cut off, 429; state of affairs in, January, 1760, ii. 333; report that French army was about to advance from, February, 1760, 350; Lévis retires to, 515; Articles of Capitulation, 566; inhabitants of, to enjoy the privileges of trade, 585; surrender of, 587; description of, by the author, 603; population of, in 1912, 603; inhabitants of, described, 605
- island of, reference to, ii. 253; Canadians from the frontiers said to have taken refuge on, 357; plan to effect a landing on the lower end of the island of, 507
- Montresor, James Gabriel, biographical reference to, i. 473; appointed lieutenant-colonel of engineers, 473; appointed chief engineer in the provinces, 473; arrives at Seven-Mile Post, 473; death of, 473; reference to, 499, iii. 32, 58; builds a new fort at Lake George, i. 510
- Captain John, reference to, i. 473; quartered in a house without a roof, ii. 156
- Lieutenant, despatched from Quebec to General Amherst, ii. 332; reference to, 336, iii. 311, 331, 332; arrival of, at Fort Halifax, ii. 358; arrives in Quebec with despatches from Amherst, 438
- Montreuil, Chevalier de, reference to, ii. 106; considers that Montcalm acted prudently in giving instant battle, 141
- Moore, John, master of the *Richard and Mary* transport, i. 45

- Moose River, formerly called *Liesse*, i. 144
- Moraigans, another name for Mohicans, ii. 569
- Morambert, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 187, 244
- Moras, M. de, Minister of Marine, reference to, i. 419
- More, Samuel, order signed by, i. 340, 342
- Moreau, junior, reference to, iii. 174
- Morin, M., robbery at house of, ii. 85
- Charles, reference to, iii. 174
- Morris, Captain, killed, iii. 75
- Robert Hunter, Governor of Pennsylvania, biographical reference to, i. 107
- Roger, commanding 17th Regiment, 1758, reference to, i. 165; biographical reference to, 210; to do duty at Halifax, 1758, 210; aide-de-camp to General Braddock, wounded, 211; assigned to a special command before Louisbourg, 223; to assist in commanding the Grenadiers at Quebec, 380; in command of piquets to cover parties in search of garden produce, ii. 30; ordered to march to Sillery, April 27, 1760, 387; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391; in command of the 3rd Battalion, composed of detachments from the 35th and 3rd battalion Royal Americans, in the expedition against Montreal, 463; commanding the the 3rd battalion of grenadiers, 502; note on, 503; reference to, iii. 307, 329, 344
- Morse, Colonel Robert, reference to *Report on Nova Scotia* by, i. 323
- Mortar, method of distinguishing flash of, i. 408
- Mortars, British, at Quebec, impaired by using too much powder, i. 417
- Moschelle, formerly *Saw Mill Creek*, i. 117
- Mosquito-hawk, reference to, i. 175, 317
- Mosquitos, annoyance from, i. 64, 175, 310; first appearance of, 158; description of, 318
- Mouatt, Captain, of the *Cormorant*, i. 358
- Mouchkoudaubougouek, residence of the Abbé de Loutre, i. 201
- Mounier, Francis, appointed member of the first council at Quebec, ii. 4
- Mount Royal, so named by Jacques Cartier, ii. 522; British encamped before, 522
- Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, occupies Samos House, ii. 76
- Hill, reference to, ii. 202
- Street, Quebec, reference to, ii. 206
- Moydore, value of, ii. 290
- Munroe, Colonel. *See* Monroe.
- Murphy, Simon, a soldier of Captain Maitland's company, escapes from confinement at Miramichi, i. 199
- Murray, Major Alexander, note on, i. 214; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214, 216; to command Louisbourg Grenadiers in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; commands Louisbourg Grenadiers at Orleans, 434; Louisbourg Grenadiers under command of, to return to their corps, ii. 136; reference to, 137; to send in a list of killed and wounded and a return of those who are laid up with scurvy, 158; in command of three companies of grenadiers at Louisbourg, iii. 13
- the Hon. George, letter of Brigadier-General Murray to, ii. 395
- Brigadier-General James, orders of, reference to, by author, i. 7; ordinance by, on currency, 72; commanding 15th Regiment, 1758, reference to, 165; to command a brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 212; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; reference to, 227; leads expedition to Miramichi, 276; appointed to serve in the expedition against Quebec, 329; biographical reference to, 329; serves in the battle of the Plains, 329; serves at Louisbourg, 329; in command in Quebec, 329; defeated by Lévis at Ste. Foy, 330; besieged in Minorca, 1782, 330; appointed Governor of Canada, 330; brigade of, at Quebec, 333, 334; marching orders of brigade under, 406; removes from Orleans to Montmorency, 411; ordered to reconnoitre the Montmorency River, 437; reference to, 442; at the attack at Montmorency, 453; in command at Island of Orleans, ii. 4; demands

return of deserter, 7; to proceed, with strong detachment under Holmes, to make a diversion above Quebec, 9; parade of troops under the command of, 10; unsuccessful attempt of, at Pointe aux Trembles, 13; unavoidable delay of, upsets Wolfe's plan of an early attack, 13; attempts to destroy the French floating batteries at Pointe aux Trembles, 14; detachment to, remains on ships, 29; returns from his expedition to Deschambault, 45; note on his operations in the Upper River, 45; affixes memorandum to church doors giving reasons for making reprisals, 46; reference to, in Wolfe's dispatch to Pitt, 65; brigade of, to consist of battalions of Otway's, Anstruther's, and Louisbourg Grenadiers, 76; reference to, 77, 115, 144; detachment under, makes a feint to land, 83; thanks the troops for their good behaviour at the battle of the Plains, 102; refers to the dilapidated condition of the walls of Quebec, 119; to remain in command at Quebec, 138; appoints Jacques Allier judge, 146; orders one day's provisions from each officer and soldier to be given to inhabitants who take oath of allegiance, 147; appointment of, as Governor of Quebec, 241; extract from *Journal* of, 243, 244, 245, 248, 255, 269, 273, 276, 278, 286, 291, 324, 326, 332, 339, 347, 349, 354, 363, 366, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 381, 385, 387, 391; summary of return by, regarding garrison of Quebec, October 24, 1759, 247; manifesto by, November, 1759, 249; sketch of counties in the province of Quebec prepared by, 252; receives money from Amherst, October, 1759, 253; issues a manifesto to the French inhabitants, November, 1759, 270; offers reward for apprehension of deserters, 273, 274; recalls licences for sale of intoxicating liquors in Quebec, 273, 275; report of alleged conversation of, with a Jesuit, 274; extract from letter of, to Major Hussey, November 22, 1759, 278; proclamation of, respecting currency, 290; proclamation of, asking

for a loan for the public service, 299; sends dispatch to General Amherst, December 26, 1759, 316; extract from letter of, to Amherst, March 27, 1761, 321; proclamation of, fixing prices in Quebec, 322; report of a wager proposed to, by the Chevalier de Lévis, 334; letter of, to General Amherst, December 24, 1759, 335; proposal of, to encamp on the Heights of Abraham, 1760, 336; publishes placart giving reasons for burning houses at St. Michel, 350; attitude of, towards sickness in garrison of Quebec, 354; publishes a manifesto assuring Canadians of the King's good disposition, 366; makes pretence of receiving an express from Amherst, 366; sends letter to the St. John's River, 366; good relations of, with Madame de Ramezay and the Sisters in Quebec, 367; letter alleged to have been written by, to Madame de Ramezay, 368; orders the *Lawrence* to be got ready for sea, 373; writes to Lord Colville, 378; intention of, to encamp at Ste. Foy, April, 1760, 381; receives information from ■ rescued French soldier, 387; makes an excursion to Ste. Foy, April 27, 1760, 387, 388; reasons of, for fighting at Ste. Foy, 391; Vaudreuil offers to surrender to, 395; defence by, of his conduct in fighting the battle of Ste. Foy, 395; letter of, to the Hon. George Murray, October 19, 1760, 395; statements by, of strength and casualties at Ste. Foy, 397; causes a return to be made of the artillery, and recommends economy in the use of, 404; frequent visits of, to guards and working parties, to encourage the men, 405; sends present of Cheshire cheese to Lévis, 409; sends a communication to Lévis, asking for the return of the sick in the General Hospital who are fit for service, 416; sends communication to Colville, 416; appointment as governor confirmed, 417; informs the garrison that ■ strong squadron is at hand, 417; promoted to the command of the 2nd battalion Royal Americans, 417; refers to the cartel of



- exchange, 419; examines the defences and finds them in a dilapidated condition, 421; pursues the French troops as far as Cap Rouge, 433; succeeds in taking several prisoners, 433; addresses a communication to Amherst on the condition of the garrison at Quebec, 437; appointed colonel of the 2nd battalion of Royal Americans, 438; sends dispatch to Pitt, 438; thanks the troops for their diligence during the siege, 440; sends dispatch to Pitt, 453; issues proclamation forbidding merchants and masters of ships to trade with the French, 455; asks Colville to prevent French ship from running up the Saguenay, 456; to command the troops in the expedition to Montreal, ii. 463; writes to Pitt to inform him that he intends to set out for Montreal at the head of 2200 men, 466; proceeds to Montreal in the absence of instructions from Amherst, 467; French apprehensive that he will complete the conquest of Canada, 477; accompanied by Burton and Howe, reconnoitres up the river, 481; threatens to hang any man guilty of violence or plundering on the Island of St. Ignace, 496; censures the troops for disorderly conduct at St. Ignace, 496; burns houses of the inhabitants at Sorel, 504; addresses letter to Pitt on the situation, 504; difficulty in approaching Montreal, 558; receives news when at Long Point of the cessation of hostilities, 562; appeals to Bourlamaque regarding the detention of Captain Malone, 565; threatens to attack Montreal if Captain Malone is not returned within five minutes, 565; reference to landing of, at St. Thérèse, 600; does not wait for instructions from Amherst, 601; Governor, reference to, iii. 81, 83, 94; letters, 161; *Journal* of, 161, 306; report to Wolfe, 163; letter to Holmes, 165; letter of, 252, 255; reference to, 290, 294, 298, 299; letter to (from Amherst), 413
- Murray, Major-General Thomas, colonel of the 46th Regiment of Foot, i. 16
- Murray, Walter, member of the first council at Quebec, ii. 4  
 ——— deserter, ii. 7  
 ——— County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Musketa. *See* Mosquito  
 ——— hawks. *See* Mosquito
- Musket, description of, i. 350
- Muskets, care to be taken to avoid indiscriminate firing of, i. 384
- Musketry, exercise of 43rd Regiment in, i. 301; method of firing by platoons, 422; troops exercised in, at Fort Edward, 468; achievements of, 512
- Musk-rat, description of, i. 314
- Musketoes. *See* Mosquitos
- Mutilation. *See* Scalping  
 ——— of soldiers killed near Fort Cumberland, i. 290; of bodies of British soldiers near Point Lévis, 396; of a British soldier near Quebec, October 29, 1759, ii. 248
- Mutton, price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Muy, Marie-Charlotte de, of St. Helen, reference to, ii. 292
- Myass Hill. *See* Mayass
- NACHISSIPE, an Algonquin village, ii. 487
- Nadau's water-mill, Point Lévis, reference to, i. 392, 433
- Namur, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; flagship of Admiral Boscawen, 1758, 213; reference to, 215, 259
- Narrows, the, reference to, i. 369; boats of the enemy at, 490
- Nassau, the, commanded by Captain Sawyer, i. 21; reference to, 36; discovered at sea without masts, 101
- Navigation, directions regarding, in river St. Lawrence, i. 335
- Navy, British, officers of, at Quebec, collect money for the use of the garrison, ii. 253  
 ——— French, loss of, at Louisbourg, i. 259; loss of vessels of, at Fort Frontenac, 265
- Necto, M. la Frenier, seignior of, ii. 480
- Negro servant, alarm caused by, in garrison of Annapolis, i. 180; escapes punishment on account of his simplicity, 180
- Nellar, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 199

- Nellus, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 193
- Neptune*, the, i. 22, 85 ; at Louisbourg, 217 ; reference to, 338, 342, 343, 344, 346 ; in the expedition against Quebec, 357 ; to be moved into the basin of Quebec, 386
- Nerepice, Fort, built by Boishébert, i. 61
- Nestaguina, light infantry encamped at, iii. 25
- Neutrals, reference to, i. 55 ; evidence of the industry of, 66 ; starving condition of, 71 ; chief of, kindly treated by Governor Lawrence, 71 ; distressed condition of, 71. *See* Acadians
- Newark*, the, commanded by Admiral Holborne and Captain Holborne, i. 21 ; reference to, 36 ; eight guns lost by, in gale, 100
- New Brunswick Historical Society, reference to *Collections* of, i. 262
- Newcastle, Duke of, reference to letter from Murray to, October 12, 1759, ii. 241
- New England, cattle to be sent from, to Annapolis, i. 183 ; families from, propose to settle near Annapolis, 273 ; Indian attacks on back settlements of, 282
- artificers, at Annapolis, character of, i. 172 ; at Louisbourg, 260
- fishermen, primitive methods of, i. 27
- ports, embargo laid on, i. 145
- seamen, timidity of, i. 160
- New Fort, protection afforded to workmen at, i. 490 ; orders issued for artificers to work from five till twelve and from two to seven o'clock, 491 ; artificers left to complete work on, 491
- Newfoundland, fleet arrives off banks of, i. 26 ; reference to, 359 ; fleet of Colville cruising off, ii. 416
- dogs, reference to, ii. 319
- New Hampshire, provincial troops from, to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, i. 166
- Regiment, encamped at Fort Edward (New York), i. 466 ; commanded by Colonel Montgomerie, 476 ; ordered to assist Haldimand in building Fort Oswego, iii. 42
- New Jersey, provincial troops from, to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, i. 166 ; number of men from regiment of, to be employed in batteau-service, 463
- Militia, at Fort William Henry, i. 67
- Regiment, encamped at Fort Edward (New York), i. 466 ; under orders to march, 471 ; marches to Seven-Mile Post, 473 ; sixteen men of, in search of spruce, attacked by Indians, 481 ; three battalions of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484 ; forms a part of Amherst's Regiment, 527
- Newman, a soldier of Talbot's company, escapes from confinement at Miramichi, i. 199
- New York, troops from, disembark at Chebucto, i. 31 ; embargo laid on port of, 145 ; Robert Monckton becomes governor of, 164 ; provincial troops from, to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, 166 ; reference to, 270 ; extract from *Documents Relating to Colonial History* of, 297 ; supplies sent from, to British army before Quebec, 420 ; troops encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466 ; report of a British squadron sailing from, for the St. Lawrence, February, 1760, ii. 351
- currency, regulations regarding, i. 72 ; relative value of, 233
- gazettes, a French officer brings, to Quebec, ii. 318
- independent companies, to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, i. 165
- Regiment, three battalions of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484
- Niagara, report that French are alarmed for safety of, i. 432 ; Brigadier Prideaux advances on, 494 ; account of the army at, 510 ; report of the reduction of, by Brigadier Prideaux, reaches British camps, ii. 46 ; reference to, 68 ; reduction of, referred to, 92 ; surrender of, 182 ; light infantry take post on road leading to, 183 ; articles of capitulation of, 188 ; description of, by the



- author, 190; importance of the acquisition of, 191; fort at, built by the French in 1727, 191; expedition against, determined by Amherst, iii. 22; news of capture of, 1759, 46; capitulation of, 242. *See* Ochniagara
- Nichols, J., master of the *Peggy and Sarah*, transport cutter, i. 359
- Nicholson, Lieutenant, killed at the landing at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- Nicolet, seignior of, granted to M. Loviague, captain of the Carignan Regiment, ii. 487
- Night-hawk, reference to, i. 175
- Nightingale*, the, unfit for service, i. 37; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; to carry invalids to England, 354, 355; in the fleet at Louisbourg, 1759, 358
- Night-jar, reference to, i. 175
- Niverville, de, reference to, iii. 389, 391, 392
- Norfolk*, the, reference to, i. 337
- Northumberland*, the, commanded by Captain Lord Colville, i. 21; reference to, 36, 250; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; under the command of Lord Colville, ii. 416
- Norway, reference to barley raised in, ii. 613
- Notre-Dame-des-Anges, General Hospital at, ii. 204; reference to Récollets of, 204
- des Victoires, note on the church of, ii. 22; church of, origin of designation of, 203; church of, alleged prophecy of destruction of, 203; reference to, 239
- Nottingham*, the, reference to, i. 33, 36; damage sustained by, 101; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151
- Nova Scotia, note by author on his description of, i. 8; abundance of fruit-trees in, 86; orders issued by the governor to commanding officers in, 87; laxity of discipline among troops in garrisons of, 93; ceded to Great Britain by Treaty of Utrecht, 99; longevity of inhabitants of, 134; troops intended to remain in, 1758, 163, 165; Monckton ordered to expel French settlers from, 164; Robert Monckton becomes lieutenant-governor of, 164; French settlements in, to be burned by British, 1758, 170; Highlanders to remain in, 1758, 209; destruction of a French settlement in, 269; improved position of British in, 271; disagreeable character of garrison duty in the retired forts of, 272; Governor Lawrence publishes proclamation for settlement of, 275; evidences of burning of settlements in, 277; fortresses of, to be garrisoned by provincial troops, 304; distribution of provincial troops in, 1759, 306; description of military service in, 308; origin of name, 308; longitude and latitude of, 308; description of climate of, 309; account of government of, 309; the author's prejudices against, 309, 310; character of soil of, 310, 311; varieties of trees found in, 311; varieties of fruits found in, 311, 312; coal and peat found in, 312; description of animals of, 312; varieties of fish found in waters of, 319; observations of the author on climate of, 320; causes of fogs in, 321; progress of, after the peace, 321; author's prophecy of future prosperity of, 321; extent of, 360; Indians of, reported to have made peace with Governor Lawrence, ii. 354; Indians of, make peace with governor, 366
- Nova Scotia currency, reference to, i. 49
- regiments, officers of, to superintend the wood-cutting, ii. 146
- Noyant, Chevalier de, Lieutenant, conditions of surrender, iii. 149, 150
- Nuns, of the General Hospital, Quebec, character of, ii. 213; assistance given to, by Highlanders in Quebec, 322; at Point aux Trembles, Montreal, welcome the British, 521; to retain their privileges, 580
- Nurses, order issued regarding, ii. 39
- OATH of allegiance, inhabitants required to subscribe to, ii. 137
- of neutrality, form of, ii. 475
- Oaukpack, Indian settlement, reference to, i. 280

- Ochniagara or Oghniogorah, Indian name for Niagara, ii. 191
- Ochterloney, David, Captain, wounded at Montmorency, i. 453, 454; Captain, reference to case of, ii. 8; French send for the effects of, ii. 11; reference to, 108, 367
- Officers, commanding, invested with authority of chief magistrate, i. 87; order from the Earl of Loudoun that uniform be worn on all occasions, 139; fall into the ranks as privates, and perform exercises with men, 181; number of rations allowed to, 303; two British officers sent by Amherst to Wolfe, said to have fallen into the hands of the French, ii. 55; of 28th Regiment, sitting at door of tent, has leg shattered by shot from town, 121; refuse to volunteer, but express willingness to carry out any command of the General, 400; who choose to go as volunteers on sorties to be recommended to the King, 402; refuse to serve as volunteers, 402; to attend men on every kind of fatigue, and keep them close to their work, 402; number of convalescents from New York arrive at Quebec, 465; and soldiers of the colony to be given free passage to France, 575
- Ogden, Captain, reference to, iii. 71, 72
- Ogilvie, Rev. John, Indian missionary, ii. 536; reference to, iii. 191, 232
- Ohio country, army intended to serve against, 1758, i. 163
- River, pleasing accounts received of country bordering on, i. 298; reference to, ii. 595
- Old Tenor, note on, i. 72, 73
- Old York, otherwise Portsmouth, Maine, i. 264; arrival at Annapolis of a sloop from, 264
- Oneida, blockhouse erected near, ii. 538
- Oneidas, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536; bring in German prisoner, iii. 29
- Onondaga, snow constructed on Lake Ontario by Captain Loring, ii. 531; the, reference to, 531; sent to find a passage to La Galette, 538; with *Mohawk* ordered for service at Isle Royale, 543; reference to, iii. 85
- Onondagos, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Onontio (Governor of Canada), words attributed to, by Indian, ii. 29
- Oquagos, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536; or Oquaga (wild grape), Tuscaroras, 537
- Orchards, productiveness of, in the district of Annapolis, i. 105; abundance of, near Annapolis, 183
- Ord, Major, commanding Royal Artillery with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; reference to, 465; raft constructed by, 488; trial of carcasses made by, 491; completes raft for service of the artillery, 493; in command of the Royal Artillery, ii. 525; lieutenant-colonel of Royal Artillery, 526; reference to, iii. 58
- Orderly book, taken from the north camp by deserting sergeant, ii. 5
- sergeant of commander-in-chief, peculiar accident to, i. 33
- Orders, for foreign service, February 2, 1757, i. 15; for the disposition of troops in camp at Fort Cumberland, October 4, 1757, 77; regarding defence issued by the governor of Nova Scotia, 87; of Admiral Boscawen, May 21, 1758, *re* expedition against Louisbourg, 177; general, of expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 205-241; regimental, to 43rd Regiment, 303; sailing, for ships conveying 43rd Regiment to Louisbourg, 322; general, of the campaign against Quebec, publication of, 328; general, of Major-General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders, preparatory to the expedition against Quebec, 328-356; of battle of expedition against Quebec, 334; of encampment of expedition against Quebec, 334; sailing, of the expedition against Quebec, 337; to masters of transports at Louisbourg, 1759, 345; for landing at the Island of Orleans, 375; general, of British army before Quebec, June 28, 1759, 379; general, of British army before Quebec, June 29, 1759, 383; general, of British army before Quebec, June 30, 1759, 386; general, of British army before Quebec, July 1, 1759, 394; general, of British army before Quebec, July 3, 1759, 397; general,

of British army before Quebec, July 5, 1759, 398; general, of British army before Quebec, July 7, 1759, 404; marching, of Brigadier-General Townshend's brigade, July 8, 1759, 405; general, of British army before Quebec, July 8, 1759, 405; marching, of Brigadier-General Murray's brigade, July 8, 1759, 406; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 12, 1759, 414; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 13, 1759, 416; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 14, 1759, 417; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 15, 1759, 421; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 17, 1759, 425; general, of British army before Quebec, July 18, 1759, 427; general, of British army before Quebec, July 19, 1759, 429; general, of British army before Quebec, July 20, 1759, 432, 433; general, of British army before Quebec, July 21, 1759, 434; general, of British army before Quebec, July 23, 1759, 436; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 24, 1759, 437; regimental, forbidding swearing, 438; general, of British army before Quebec, July 28, 1759, 444; general, of the British army before Quebec, July 29, 1759, 446; general, of British army before Quebec, July 30, 1759, 449; regarding the supply of provisions by contractors, 471; issued for the troops under Amherst to strike tents and prepare to march, 474; issued by Amherst to prevent unnecessary alarms, 483; regarding the relief of guards and outposts, 486; regarding the formation of troops, 487; silence to be observed by the troops during action, 488; for the army passing the lake, July 30, 1759, 496; regarding the dangers of false alarms, 506; issued at Montmorency regarding unsoldierlike conduct of grenadiers, ii. 3; issued at Montmorency, August 1, 1759, 3; issued at Montmorency, August 2, 1759, 5; issued by French regarding horse-shoeing, 6; issued in the French camp regarding price of tools found in English ships, 6;

issued at Montmorency, August 3, 1759, 8; issued at Montmorency, August 4, 1759, 9; issued at Montmorency, August 5, 1759, 10; issued at Montmorency, August 6, 1759, 12; issued at the camp of Montmorency, August 7, 1759, 17; issued at Montmorency, August 8, 1759, 19; issued at Montmorency, August 9, 1759, 21; issued at Montmorency, August 10, 1759, 24; issued at Montmorency, August 11, 1759, 25; issued at Montmorency, August 12, 1759, 28; issued at Montmorency, August 13, 1759, 29; issued in French camp, August 13 and 14, 31; issued at Montmorency, August 16, 1759, 33; issued at Montmorency, August 17, 1759, 34; issued at Montmorency, August 18, 1759, 36; issued in French camp, August 28, 1759, 53; issued at Montmorency, September 1, 1759, 55; issued at Montmorency, September 2, 1759, 57; after orders issued at Montmorency, September 2, 1759, 58; second after, issued at Montmorency, September 2, 1759, 58; issued September 4, 1759, 73; issued off Cape Rouge, September 7, 1759, 76; regarding the sailing in boats, 81; issued September 9, 1759, 82; after orders issued at Cape Rouge, September 7, 1759, 81; issued September 11, 1759, 86; issued regarding line of boats, 88; issued on board the *Sutherland*, 92; issued before Quebec, September 14, 1759, 107; issued before Quebec, September 17, 120; issued in consequence of the surrender of Quebec, 123; infringement of, punishable by death, 124; issued before Quebec, September 20, 135; issued at Quebec, September 21, 137; issued at Quebec, September 22, 137; issued at Quebec, September 23, 143; issued at Quebec, September 24, 1759, 144; issued at Quebec, September 25, 145; issued at Quebec, September 26, 148; issued at Quebec, September 27, 1759, 156; issued at Quebec, September 29, 1759, 159; general, for the garrison of Quebec, October 21, 1759, 239; general, for the garrison of Quebec,



October 22, 1759, 240; general, for the garrison of Quebec, October 23, 1759, 241; general, for the garrison of Quebec, October 24, 1759, 242; general, for the garrison of Quebec, October 28, 1759, 243; general, for the garrison of Quebec, November 3, 1759, 253; standing, for the garrison of Quebec, November, 1759, 255; second standing, for the garrison of Quebec, November, 1759, 260; general, of the garrison of Quebec, November 13, 1759, 273; general, of the garrison of Quebec, November 14, 1759, 274; general, of the garrison of Quebec, November 22 and 23, 1759, 281; general, of the garrison of Quebec, November 24 and 25, 1759, 284; general, of the garrison of Quebec, November 30, 1759, 291; general, of the garrison of Quebec, December 3-7, 1759, 294; general, of the garrison of Quebec, December 8-12, 1759, 302; general, of the garrison of Quebec, December 13-15, 1759, 304; general, of the garrison of Quebec, December 16-21, 1759, 307; general, of the garrison of Quebec, January 1-6, 1760, 316; general, of the garrison of Quebec, January 11-15, 1760, 321; general, of the garrison of Quebec, January 16-20, 1760, 325; general, of the garrison of Quebec, February 18, 1760, 344; general, of the garrison of Quebec, March 5, 1760, 354; general, of the garrison of Quebec, March, 1760, 355, 357; general, of the garrison of Quebec, April, 1760, 374; general, of the garrison of Quebec, April 28, 1760, 398; issued May 1, 1759, 403; announce the success of British arms in Europe, 417; issued by Murray regarding a market in Quebec, 454; issued July 10, 1760, 465; issued by Murray, August, 19, 1760, 501; issued by Murray, September 3, 1760, 514; issued on September 7, 1760, for army to cross the river, 517; issued regarding the price of bread, 532; relating to encampment at Oswego, 532; issued relating to Lord George Sackville, 533; issued regarding the taking of Montreal, 566

VOL. III.

Ordonnances, issue of, in Canada, ii. 331  
 Orfontaine, Michael Rousseau, Sieur d', note on, iii. 370, 380  
*Oxford*, the, commanded by Captain Spry, i. 21; reference to, 36; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; sails from Quebec, October 26, 1759, ii. 243  
 Orleans, Island of, British fleet proceeds to, i. 361; General Wolfe learns of French forces on, 370; arrival of British transports at, 374; description of river St. Lawrence at, 374, 375; British troops ordered to land at, 375; skirmish on, 377; British army lands on, 377; description of, 378; alarm in British army on, 385; west end of, occupied by Colonel Carleton, 393; French defeated on, 395; Colonel Carleton fortifies the west end of, 395; British troops to remove from, 404; completion of British works on, 408; position of hospital on, 408; provincials posted on, 432; British wounded from above Quebec taken to, 440; deserters from the French at Montmorency cross over to the island, ii. 85; hospital remains at, after the surrender of Quebec, 136; reference to, 252; return of troops on, ordered, November, 1759, 271; wood from, conveyed to Quebec, 291; delay in conveying wood to Quebec from, 291; arrangements for obtaining firewood from, 300; banishment of a Frenchman from Quebec to, 324; detachment sent to, to make fascines, 350; schooner *Lawrence* brought to Quebec from, 373; sick and convalescents of the army to be removed to, 455; gentlemen's seats at, 608  
 Orme, aide-de-camp to General Braddock, wounded, i. 211  
 Ortolans, French name for snow-buntings, i. 317  
 Osborn, Captain Thomas, of the 46th Regiment, in command of the sick and wounded, ii. 555  
 Oswald, Major, in command of the 4th battalion, composed of detachments from the 43rd and 2nd battalion Royal Americans, in the

2 M

- expedition against Montreal, ii. 463 ; commanding the 4th battalion of grenadiers, 502 ; note on, 503
- Oswegatchie, two rangers taken prisoners make their escape from, i. 482 ; Mohawks said to have been advised to leave that place, ii. 29 ; taken by the British, 542 ; orders sent to, for heavy artillery, 543 ; or Swegatchie, iii. 29. *See* La Galette
- Oswegatchies, immigrants of the Six Nations, chiefly Onondagos, settled at La Galette, ii. 536, 537 ; agree to remain neutral, 553 ; threatened by the Five Nations if they take action against the British, 1759, iii. 35
- Oswego, fort at, rebuilt by Haldimand, i. 493 ; 1st battalion of 60th Regiment encamped at, 494 ; Brigadier-General Gage ordered to take command of the army at, 510 ; Highlanders detached to, ii. 180 ; reference to, 530 ; colours taken from the British restored to Amherst, 590 ; Amherst decides to send an expedition against, iii. 22 ; Colonel Haldimand ordered to build a fort at, 1759, 38 ; La Corne attacks British at, 1759, 38 ; New Hampshire Regiment to assist in building fort at, 1759, 42 ; reference to, 49
- Harbour, *Onondago* and *Mohawk* at, ii. 550
- Ottawa River, reference to, ii. 253
- Ottawas, reference to, the, iii. 56
- Otter Creek, note on, iii. 51
- Otter*, the, sloop, commanded by Captain Broadly, i. 21
- Otway's Regiment. *See* Thirty-fifth Regiment
- Oughton, Colonel James Adolphus, mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 90 ; note on, iii. 82
- Ourry, Captain Paul Henry, commander of the *Success*, order issued by, i. 45
- Outawa*, the, brig, attempts to escape up the river, but is interrupted by Colonel Williamson, ii. 541 ; compelled to strike her colours, 541 ; loss of the crew of, 545 ; forced to run aground, 546
- Outelas, Monsieur, note on, iii. 389
- Outposts, vigilance enjoined on, i. 399 ; all men to be under arms at day-break, ii. 33
- Overseers, completion of the work of, i. 79
- Owls, description of, i. 316
- Ox carts, regulations for the use of, i. 460
- teams, orders relating to countermanded, i. 460, 485
- Oxford*, the, reference to, i. 337
- Oysters, description of, supplied by the New England traders, i. 320
- PAILLASSES, reference to, ii. 308
- Paintings, in the Church of the Récollets, Quebec, reference to, ii. 204 ; in the chapel of the General Hospital, Quebec, description of, 214 ; in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, description of, 224, 225
- Palace Gate, reference to, ii. 135, 210, 245, 257 ; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268 ; reference to, 409 ; defences in the vicinity of strengthened, 411 ; works completed in the vicinity of, 421
- Hill, reference to, ii. 202
- Street, Quebec, reference to, ii. 256
- Palliser, Captain, of the *Shrewsbury*, i. 357 ; with a large body of seamen takes possession of the lower town and hoists British colours on Mountain Hill, ii. 125
- Panet, Jean Claude, reference to *Journal* of, i. 362 ; extract from *Journal* of, 382, 424, 438, 439 ; house of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19 ; reference to, iii. 172
- Panis, to remain in possession of their owners, ii. 585
- Pannock, meaning of the word in Micmac language, i. 91
- Pan-nook, Lake, or Penhook, situated in Windsor Township, Nova Scotia, the source of the St. Croix River, i. 91
- Paper money, French, declared worthless, ii. 290 ; use of, in Canada, 331
- Papier d'Ordonnance*, declared worthless, ii. 290
- Parade, Quebec, description of, ii. 204
- Paradise, a place on the Annapolis River, formerly Peter Bernard's, i. 121
- Parallel, before Louisbourg, reference to, i. 238



- Parapet wall on land side strengthened, ii. 410
- Parent, M., Curé of Sainte Anne, reference to, ii. 85
- Parfourn, reference to, iii. 175, 176
- Parisé, Angélique C., of St. John, reference to, ii. 293
- Parish Clerk of Halifax criticises Earl Loudoun in a novel manner, i. xxi
- Park of Artillery, in camp before Louisbourg, reference to, i. 230; in the army before Louisbourg, reference to, 234; establishment of, at Point Lévis, 404
- Parker, Captain, iii. 211, 212, 214, 216
- Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, reference to, i. 266
- Parole, in honour of Captain Deane, ii. 417
- Parole, La*, captured by the *Gosport*, i. 42
- Parry, Captain, commander of the *Kingston*, i. 21, 36
- Partridge, description of, i. 315
- Partridges, officers on tour of pleasure return with a number of, i. 109; Murray receives a present of from Lévis, ii. 411
- Pas Beau, expedition sent to, i. 276; description of, 277; destruction of, 277
- Passamaquoddy Head, reference to, i. 323
- Pateshall, Lieutenant, appointed Town-Adjutant of Quebec, ii. 143; biographical note on, 240; to have charge of boats at Quebec, 240
- Paul, Captain, in command of the *Sea Flower*, i. 110
- Pay, of soldiers in army before Louisbourg, i. 233; rates of, to provincial troops, 304; rate of, to soldiers employed as artificers during the campaign, 462; British soldiers at Quebec not to receive, during winter of 1759-1760, ii. 253
- Paymaster-General, to pay each soldier twenty shillings on account of balance due to him, ii. 465
- Payson [Payston], Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of artillery at Four-Mile Post, i. 469; in command of 1000 provincials, 477; detachment of regiment of, joins the army, 491
- Payson's Post, alarm caused at by team drivers, i. 480
- Peace, report at Quebec of conclusion of, November, 1759, ii. 267; rumour of establishment of, in Europe, 366
- Pean, Madame, dispenses public patronage under Bigot, ii. 573
- Peat, abundance of, in Nova Scotia, i. 312
- Peculation, reports regarding, carried on by Vaudreuil and Bigot, ii. 273
- Peggy and Sarah*, the, transport cutter, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 359
- Pelican*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358
- Pelleciers, Les, reference to, i. 372
- Pellegrin, M., present at the council of war, ii. 117; reference to, iii. 175, 182
- Peltrie. *See* La Peltrie.
- Pembroke*, the, for North Carolina, employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, i. 115; to join the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 179; sails for Gaspé, 275; sails for the St. Lawrence, May 5, 1759, 306; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; to take in Kennedy's Regiment out of *Employment* transport, ii. 86; extract from the log of, 93
- Pendants, use of, as signals, i. 341, 342
- Penguins, description of, i. 26 note; seen by fleet during voyage, 26
- Penier, Peter, Lieutenant, note on, iii. 228
- Pennsylvania, method of raising war-taxes leads to resignation of Governor of, i. 108; reference to, ii. 190
- Penobscot, inhabitants of attacked by Indians, i. 75; Maine, reference to, ii. 592
- Pentagoet, seat of the Government of Acadia, i. 44
- Penzance*, the, of Murray's fleet, in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 468; quotation from the log of, 472; unable to pass the rapids of the Richelieu, 473
- Pepperell, Sir William, regiment given to, ii. 591; regiment disbanded, 591
- Pepperell's expedition against Louisbourg, reference to, i. 264
- Perrault, M., house of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19
- Perrot, Sieur, obtains a grant of Ile

- Perrot in 1672, ii. 515; descent made by the British at the house of, ii. 15
- Perrot Island, Amherst's army arrives at, 515
- Perry, Colonel Charles, death of, note, i. 21, 33
- Perthuis, Madelaine Geneviève, of St. Charles, reference to, ii. 293
- Peru balsam, reference to, ii. 497
- Petards, note on, by the author, ii. 434
- Petit, Anne-Catherine, of St. Stanislaus, reference to, ii. 293
- Petitcodiac (also Pitscordiac), i. 196; British prisoners taken to, 200. *See* Pitscordiac
- River (Moncton), reference to, i. 61
- Petite Rivière, reference to, ii. 255
- Peyton, Henry, Lieutenant, gallantry of, at Montmorency, i. 453, 454
- Philibeg, not calculated for Canadian winter, ii. 309
- Philibert, Nicholas-Jacquin, killed by Repentigny, ii. 63; said to have set up the Golden Dog, 207; death of, 207
- Philippe, Mary, wife of Col. Morris, attainted for treason by the State of New York, i. 211
- Susannah, wife of Col. Beverley Robinson, attainted for treason by State of New York, i. 211
- Phillips, Erasmus, Fort-Major at Annapolis, biographical reference to, i. 202; member of the council at Annapolis, and Judge-Advocate, 202; polite relations of officers with, 282
- Colonel Richard, Governor of Nova Scotia, i. 202
- Captain, commander of the *Furnace*, bomb, i. 21
- Lieutenant, takes part in an attack upon the Indians, i. 157; reference to, 158
- Phipps, Lieutenant, placed by Amherst in charge of whaleboats, ii. 553; given command of the *Mohawk*, 553
- Phipps, Sir William, repulse of, at Quebec, ii. 203; reference to, i. 398
- Phoenix*, sloop, from New York, arrives at Fort Annapolis, i. 159
- Pichon, Thomas, reference to, iii. 96
- Pickled pork, scarcity of, ii. 497
- Picquet, Abbé, marches with the French troops to Oswego, 1759, iii. 38; note on, 225
- Picquets, orders for disposition of, at Louisbourg, i. 219; orders regarding, before Louisbourg, 226, 227, 228, 230, 234, 235; of regiments, strength of, 335
- Picts, number of, seen by author, ii. 486
- Pie, La*, Captain Sauvage of, ii. 17; sloop, arrival of, at the Foulon, April 28, 1760, 390
- Piedmont, M. de, iii. 175, 176
- Piggot, Captain, of the *Royal William*, i. 357
- Pigou, Captain Peter, of the 43rd Regiment, killed at René Forêt, i. 128; inventory taken of his effects, 128; reference to, 173; party under the command of, discovered by a sentry, 199
- Pike, carried by sergeants, i. 350
- Pilgrim Islands, French crews with their effects landed at, ii. 456
- Pillage and violence forbidden, ii. 123
- Pilot, French, boasting of, i. 371; surrenders to the *Diana* frigate, ii. 490
- Pilots, masters of transports ordered to provide themselves with, i. 50; French, obtained by British fleet in St. Lawrence, 362
- Pimmaquid (Pemmaquid), reference to, i. 176
- Pine-apples, gift of, from General Amherst to Madame Drucour, i. 230
- Pioneers, equipment of, for siege of Louisbourg, 1758, i. 212; orders for, before Louisbourg, 225, 226; directions for selection of, before Louisbourg, 239
- Piscataway, Maryland, note on, i. 100
- Pistole, Spanish, value of, ii. 290
- Pitscordiac, Acadian name for Petitcodiac, i. 196; expedition to, 269
- Pitt, William, chooses Wolfe to be Brigadier in the Louisbourg expedition, i. 206; chooses Wolfe to command the Quebec expedition, 206; extract from letter to, 264; biographical sketch of, 299; Pittsburg named after, 299; successful war policy of, 299; General Wolfe alters letter to, at suggestion of Saunders, 456; extract from letter

of Monckton to, October 8, 1759, ii. 241; letter from Amherst, iii. 49, 68, 78, 84, 90; letter to (from Murray), 255; letter to (from Colville) 410; letter to (from Amherst), 416, note  
 Pittsburg, formerly Fort Du Quesne, i. 297, 299; reference to, 491, ii. 595  
 Pius IV., Pope, reference to, ii. 215  
 Piziquid, Fort, reference to, i. 44  
 — River, i. 44  
 Placard of General Wolfe affixed to church of St. Paul's Bay, ii. 38  
 Plains of Abraham, history of, ii. 97; place chosen for the battle, 97; British soldiers scalped on, October 23, 1759, 243; proposal to fortify a windmill on, 324; soldiers buried in swamp on, 369  
 Plaisance, Marquis de Montcalm present at battle of, i. 67  
 Plan, proposed by brigadiers for attacking Quebec, ii. 55; prepared by Lévis for opposing the invasion of the British, 167  
 Plat rapids, reference to dangers of, ii. 555  
 Platon Road, troops from Louisbourg to be conveyed to, in the *Hawke* sloop, ii. 477  
 Platoon firing, detachments instructed in, i. 492  
 Platoons, orders issued for the direction of, i. 476  
 Playing cards, use of, for paper money, ii. 331  
 Plunder, light infantry bring, to camp before Quebec, i. 433; quantity of, secured by Captain Goreham, ii. 38  
 Plundering, by soldiers, forbidden, i. 384; characterised Quebec campaign of 1759, ii. 273  
*Poe*, the, i. 22  
 Poilly, Chevalier de, reference to, iii. 257  
 Point de Barille, or Point au Baril, ii. 540; Brigadier Gage at, 542  
 Point Baudet, detachment of the French at, ii. 556  
 Point Champlain, fleet comes to anchor off, ii. 479; Rollo's troops march to, and disarm inhabitants, 490  
 — Goacha, French vessel captured near, ii. 491  
 — de Lest, reference to, ii. 17, 36; Wolfe orders a detachment to make

an attempt to cross the ford at, 23; enemy's batteries at, annoy British boats passing to Island of Orleans, 56  
 Point Lévis, Monckton's brigade ordered to occupy, i. 386; British troops occupy, 390, 391; proposal of Montcalm to fortify, 392; French attack on, July 1, 1759, 392, 393; British battery at, July 1, 1759, 395; entrenchments of British camp at, 396; British troops at, ordered to prepare for marching, July 7, 1759, 404; detachment of marines land at, 409; movements of troops at, to facilitate landing at Montmorency, 409, 411; report that the Marquis de Vaudreuil refused to allow an attack on, 411; British entrenchments at, 413; failure of French expedition against, 418, 419; marines and mortars landed at, 420; British fortifications at, 423; deserter reports failure of French design against, 424; report of a French force sent against, 433; British detachment waylaid near, 442; camp at Montmorency transferred to, ii. 56; Bragg's, Lascelles', Otway's, and Anstruther's regiments arrive at, 57; name applied to south shore between the Point and the river Etchemin, 61; 800 men left to protect camp at, 105; inhabitants of, prefer charges of theft against the Highlanders, who were described as *les gens sans culottes*, 159; posts of the British at, evacuated, 179; French cavalry assault a Canadian at, November, 1759, 272; British detachment returns to, December, 1759, 310; an attack expected on, December, 1759, 310; blockhouse to be erected at, 334; French detachments in neighbourhood of, February, 1760, 334; strong detachment of French in neighbourhood of, February, 1760, 335; strength of French force in neighbourhood of, February, 1760, 338; French forces driven from neighbourhood of, February 13, 1760, 339, 340; establishment of a British post at, February, 1760, 340, 342; skirmish with French and Indians in the neighbourhood of, February 21,



- 1760, 345; Canadians in neighbourhood of, take the side of the British, February, 1760, 345; French defeated in attack on, February 24, 1760, 347; proposal to erect block-houses at, February, 1760, 349; timber sent for building block-houses at, 354; a second blockhouse erected at, March, 1760, 358; British abandon, April 27, 1760, 388, 389; French form a magazine of provisions at, 447; British complete defensive works at, 448; British drive the French from their position at, and secure quantities of provisions, 448
- Point Lévis Church, converted into a hospital for the fleet, ii. 456
- Maurepas, Louisbourg, reference to, i. 252
- Platon, party of the enemy surprised in vicinity of, and several killed and wounded, ii. 471; battalion of grenadiers land at, 472
- Pleasant, officers' guard established at, i. 39
- Rochefort, Louisbourg, reference to, i. 259
- Pointe à la Chevelure, a French fort opposite Fort Frederic, ii. 190
- à la Garde, iii. 363 note
- à Lessay, position of, i. 398
- aux-Ecureuils, mention of, iii. 248
- aux Trembles, British design against French magazine at, i. 431; inhabitants of Quebec reported to have retired to, 431; British land and make prisoners at, 439; unsuccessful attempt of Murray to land at, ii. 13; Moncrief's account of the attempt to land at, 14; Lévis in command at, 72; body of the enemy encamped there to watch the movements of the British, 134; British expedition to, November, 1759, 278, 279; advanced posts of the French at, 447; French army landed at, 449; on the Island of Montreal, note on, 521; inhabitants of, welcome the British soldiers and offer them refreshments, 521; British troops land at, 521; mention of, iii. 248
- des Pères, British batteries at, i. 397; General Wolfe resolves to bombard Quebec from, 399; ground broken for batteries at, 401; British batteries at, bombarded by French, 412; addition to British batteries at, 444; British batteries at, ii. 61; reference to, 253
- Poisoning of wells, report of, in Quebec, ii. 258
- Poitneuf, Chevalier, commandant, reference to, iii. 191
- Pomeray, Madame, captured by British, i. 402
- Pommeroy, René Gédéon Pothier, Sieur de, note on, iii. 377
- Pomone, La*, frigate, arrival of, at the Foulon, April 28, 1760, ii. 390; runs aground, 427; forced ashore by the *Vanguard*, 429; reference to, iii. 247
- Poncet, Pierre. Paul, reference to, iii. 350
- Ponsonailhe, Charles, reference to, iii. 351
- Pontbriand, Henri Marie Dubreuil de, ii. 111; biographical reference to, 148, 149; retires to Charlesbourg during the siege of Quebec, 149; mandement issued before the siege of Quebec, 153; reference to, 206; reference to a letter from, to Brigadier-General Murray, 272; death of, 464
- Pontchartrain, Detroit, ii. 198
- Pontiac, unsuccessful attempt of, against Detroit, ii. 183
- war, services of Colonel Bradstreet in, i. 264
- Pont le Roi, attends council of war, ii. 110; reference to, iii. 181
- Porcupine*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; sloop, to cover landing at Montmorency, 405; sloop, to winter at Quebec, 1759-60, ii. 238; repairs made to, 423; loaded with provisions for an emergency, 424; salutes fleet of Lord Colville, 435; with two armed vessels and floating batteries to be commanded by Captain Deane, 460; of Murray's fleet in the expedition to Montreal, 468; keeps up a fire against French battery, 469; reference to, 476, 503; runs aground at St. Magdalene, 480; towed into deep water, 480; runs aground, 488; guns taken off to lighten vessel, 488; cannonades the enemy at Sorel, 496;

- reference to, iii. 309, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 322, 327
- Porpoises, seen by fleet during voyage, i. 26 ; in the St. Lawrence, 363
- Portabere, now called *Port le Bear*, i. 54
- Porte Dauphin*, Louisbourg, to be surrendered to British, i. 256
- Port Frederic, reference to, i. 356
- Port wine, price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Porter, Robert, appointed Deputy-Paymaster to the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 210 ; Paymaster-General, reference to, ii. 36 ; accounts to be sent into, 144
- Portmahone*, the, i. 21, 36
- Portneuf, M., Curé of Château Richer, invites an officer to dine with him, ii. 44, 45 ; killed at the head of a party disguised as Indians, 45 ; scalped by the British, 51
- British effect a landing within two miles of, ii. 14 ; reference to, 253, iii. 248
- Porto Bello, reference to war at, ii. 355
- Portsmouth, Maine, reference to, i. 264
- Postal arrangements, letters from Europe for officers stopped at New York by order of the commander-in-chief, i. 139 ; unsatisfactory character of, 171
- Posts of the enemy in the islands destroyed by Major Campbell, i. 490
- Potasse battery, parapet of, filled up, ii. 404
- Potatoes, growth of, in Nova Scotia, i. 311 ; price of, in 1759, ii. 19
- Pouchot, Captain, extract from *Memoir* of, i. 185 ; extract from *Memoir* of, describing French position at Ticonderoga, 191 ; builds a new fort at Niagara, ii. 191 ; opposes the descent of Amherst, 184 ; taken prisoner by Johnson at Niagara, but exchanged, 184 ; superintends the rebuilding of Fort Niagara, 184 ; serves in the Regiment of Béarn, 184 ; takes part in the battle of Carillon, 184 ; serves as engineer at Oswego, 184 ; obtains the Cross of St. Louis, 184 ; returns to France and is threatened with imprisonment, 184 ; valuable memoirs of, 184 ; killed in active service at Corsica, 184 ; surrenders to British, 544 ; account of the capture of Fort Levi, 546 ; extract from the *Memoir* of, 548 ; reference to, iii. 53, 89, 187, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 244, 257
- Poularies, in command of grenadiers at Ticonderoga, i. 194 ; attends council of war, ii. 110 ; note on, iii. 304
- Poulin, Marie-Antoinette, of St. Francis, reference to, ii. 293
- Marie-Françoise, of St. Anthony, reference to, ii. 293
- Marion, wife of Thomas Handfield, i. 214
- Poutrincourt, reference to a fort built by, i. 86
- Powder, lack of, in French camp, ii. 422 ; removed to a place of safety, 423
- horns, orders for use of, ii. 295
- house blown up by loose powder, ii. 401
- Pownal, Governor, reference to, i. 255 ; six prisoners from Quebec sent to, ii. 474 ; reference to, iii. 74
- Pradel, Lieutenant, of the Regiment of Languedoc, dangerously wounded, ii. 420
- Prebble, voyage of, iii. 344
- Prérond, reference to, i. 112. *See also* map of Annapolis River
- Prée Ronde, Round Hill, i. 118 ; British destroy breastwork in course of construction by the French at, 154
- Prejudices, national, absence of, in the army, i. 295
- Prentice, Sergeant, appointed Provost-Marshal to the army before Quebec, i. 402
- Prescott, Captain, appointed A.D.C. to General Amherst, i. 459 ; note on, 459 ; sent to England with dispatches relating to the reduction of Niagara, iii. 46 ; reference to, 49, 89, 90, 95
- Presents, exchange of, between English and French commanders, ii. 409
- President of the Navy Board writes to Bigot regarding abuses in his administration, ii. 573
- Presqu'île, fort at, i. 61 ; log fort at, built by the French, ii. 183 ; reference to, 183, 596 ; 44th Regiment detached to, 534
- Preston, Lieutenant, of the navy, to command boats in the 2nd Brigade, ii. 501



- Prevost, Major, commanding 2nd battalion of 60th Regiment, 1758, reference to, i. 165; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; note on, 214; reference to, 228; wounded, 436, ii. 70; takes part in the reduction of Fort Jacques Cartier, 522
- Prévost, *Ordonnateur* of Louisbourg, opinion of, regarding conduct of Captain de Vauquelin at Louisbourg, i. 248; reference to, 252, 256, iii. 114
- Prevost, François, Town Major of Quebec, ii. 205
- Prévôté de Quebec, quotations from records of, ii. 63
- Price, Rev., of Boston, sentiments of, regarding the French fleet, ii. 402
- Prices, request for an order fixing, in Quebec, ii. 306; proclamation of Murray fixing, in Quebec, 322
- Prideaux, Brigadier-General, to command detachment against Niagara, i. 458; arrives at Albany, 459; appointed to serve as Brigadier-General, 459; in command of New York troops at Fort Edward, 466; report of the strength of forces under, 488; army of, advances towards Niagara, 494; killed in the trenches before Niagara, 510; ii. 46, 185; iii. 46; Colonel, of the 55th Regiment of Foot, and is given command of an expedition against Niagara, ii. 185; biographical reference to, 185; buried in the chapel of the fort, 185, iii. 189; reference to, ii. 596; arrives at Albany, iii. 23
- Prideaux's Regiment. *See* Fifty-fifth Regiment
- Priest, of St. Paul's Bay, papers of, confiscated, ii. 39; and eighty parishioners fortify themselves in house, 42; taken prisoner by the Highlanders, 119; French, departure of a, from Quebec, November, 1759, 277; French, arrest of a, in Quebec, November 18, 1759, 278; French, retirement of a, from Quebec to Montreal, November, 1759, 280; French, liberated from arrest, 280; letter from, regarding conditions in Quebec, 436; entertained by Brigadier Monckton, 439; warned not to interfere in military matters, ii. 474; of parish of Bartré, acts as engineer, 499; of Three Rivers, treacherous conduct of, 500
- Priests persuade Canadians to remain faithful to French, i. 434; to exercise their functions in various parishes, ii. 579
- Prince Edward's Bastion, orders relating to posts at, i. 131
- Prince Edward Island. *See* Island of St. John.
- Prince Frederic*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; to receive ■ detachment of troops, 354; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; midshipman of, dangerously wounded, ii. 38
- Prince of Orange*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; sails for the St. Lawrence, May 5, 1759, 306; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; of Lord Colville's fleet, ii. 416; sent to protect the merchant ships, 456; sent by Lord Colville to search for French vessels in Bay de Chaleurs, 458; reference to, 490
- Prince of Wales*, the, i. 22
- Prince of Wales Bastion, orders relating to posts at, i. 131
- Princess Amelia*, the, under the command of Commodore Durell at Halifax in 1758, i. 150; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; reference to, 215; sails for the St. Lawrence, May 5, 1759, 306; in the expedition against Quebec, 357
- Pringle, Captain, reference to, iii. 73
- Printop, interpreter, reference to, iii. 205, 212, 221
- Prisoner, French, remarks of, on French forces at Quebec, i. 410; French, released, 421; Canadian, dressed as Indian, captured by British, 428, 429; purveyor for British officers made, but released, ii. 343; French, escape of a, at Quebec, 359; taken by the French, escapes and reaches Quebec, 402; female, at Varennes, assures the British that there are few troops in the city of Montreal, 511; captured by the British at the Cedars, 556
- Prisoners, British soldiers fed on salt fish and tallow, i. 200; number of, taken at Louisbourg, 253, 257; French, taken by British on landing

- at Louisbourg, 218, 219; French, taken at Fort Frontenac, 265; French, used as guides and pilots on the river St. John, 268; two, captured at Petitcodiac River, 269; number of, captured at Cape Sable, 271; French, taken at St. John's River, 280; French, information given by, at Fort Cumberland, 286; British, reported to have been massacred at Fort Du Quesne, 300, 301; offer of French to exchange, refused, 305; British, captured by Indians at Montmorency, 426; British, give intelligence to the French at Quebec, 424; taken by light infantry, July 20, 1759, 433; French, taken by Colonel Carleton above Quebec, 435; negotiations regarding exchange of, at Quebec, 436; French, captured by Colonel Carleton above Quebec, 438; French, returned to Quebec, 439; French, captured by British above Quebec, returned to that city, 439; French, captured by British at Point aux Trembles, 439; French, well treated by British troops, 440; French, captured at St. Henry, 440; French, sent on board the British transports, 440; French, brought in by Colonel Fraser's detachment, 440, 443; sixteen men made prisoners by Colonel Haviland, 508; British soldiers from Ste. Foy taken, by French, ii. 298; cartel for the exchange of, Captain Abercromby visits Montreal in regard to, 301; French propose exchange of, February, 1760, 351; in hands of the French well treated, 401; sixty-two English prisoners taken from a French store ship, 492; twenty men and ten women who had been captured by the French ask to be taken on board Lord Rollo's boat, 499; cast lots as to who shall venture to approach the ships to ask for protection, 499; treatment of English, iii. 365, 370, 371, 403
- Privas, the Sieur de, valuable service of, at the battle of Ticonderoga, i. 194; reference to, ii. 31
- Privateer, manned by Indians, captures the *Endeavour* schooner, i. 203
- Privateers, French, in Bay of Fundy, 1758, i. 187; French, in the river St. John, 269; French, recaptured by British, 280
- Prize, method of distinguishing a, i. 327
- Proby, Captain, of the *Medway*, i. 358  
— Thomas, Major, death of, i. 193
- Processions, religious, in Quebec, to be saluted by British officers, ii. 260
- Proclamation respecting currency, test of, ii. 290; of General Murray, asking for a loan for the public service, 299; of Murray, fixing prices in Quebec, 322
- Proclamations, to Canadians, issued by British in Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 279
- Proctor, Mr., army agent, arrives at Fort Annapolis, i. 161; furnishes list of transports, 1758, 164
- Proe*, constructed for mounting 18-pounder, i. 485; evening gun fired from, 489; brought into action on the lakes, 490
- Prosperity*, the, transport cutter, appointed sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 359
- Prosperous*, the, sloop, employed as transport in relieving 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164
- Provincial forces, officers of, to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, i. 162; to serve under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne, 163, 166; to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, 166; reinforcement of, sent to Wolfe's army before Quebec, 420; reinforcements of, posted on island of Orleans, 432; 300, sent to join the army of Wolfe, 465; practise firing at target, 470; convalescents of, returned to their regiments, 479; instructed in manœuvres, 486; severe punishment of, 488; 130, volunteer to serve as rangers, 493; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510
- Provision boats captured by the British, ii. 456
- Provisions, prices of, in 1757, i. 50; officers may receive money in lieu of provisions from king's stores, 139; inferior quality of, supplied to the troops, 140; regulations *re* allow-

ance of, in expedition against Louisbourg, 210; supply of, in expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 221; not to be sold in camp, except at fixed market, 228; allowance of, in the British army before Louisbourg, 232; orders regarding supply of, in army before Louisbourg, 234; of French in Gaspé, destruction of, 274, 275; preservation of, in winter, 291; price of, for St. Patrick's Day entertainment at Fort Cumberland, 294; scarcity of, at Fort Cumberland, 295; cost of, at Fort Cumberland, 298; cost of, at Louisbourg, 351; allowance of, for women, 355; captured, to be delivered to the magazine, 400; extra allotment of, to British troops before Quebec, 418; orders regarding the supply of, by contractors, 471; large convoy of, escorted to Seven-Mile Post, 472; Amherst's army well supplied with, 478; fourteen vessels laden with stores and provisions for the French, arrive safely at Quebec, 479; scarcity of, in French camp, ii. 8; list of prices paid by soldiers for, 19; scarcity of, in British camp, 40; scarcity of, in French camp, 53; men to carry two days' provisions and blankets and kettles, 83; for two days to be carried on eve of battle, 88; to be issued to the troops near the Intendant's palace, 135; large quantities of, brought into Quebec, 179; obtained by barter from Canadians at Quebec, 245; regulations against removal of, from Quebec, 267; removal of, from Quebec, forbidden, 270; not to be prevented from entering Quebec, November, 1759, 277; regulations for the accurate issuance of, 281; allowance of, to British troops, 281; soldiers complaining of allowance of, to be punished for sedition, 282; redress to be given soldiers for any deficiency in amount of, 282; supply of, in Quebec, December, 1759, 306; regulations regarding supply of, in Quebec, 322; disposal of, in Quebec, 1760, 332, 334; French send an expedition to obtain, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, 338; capture of, from French forces at Point

Levi, February 13, 1914, 341; British obtain supplies of, ordered for French, 345; arrangements for, for French expedition against Quebec, 1760, 370; French unable to procure meat for the use of the troops, 440; arrangements made for carrying, 538

Provost-Martial, duties of, i. 236; instructed to hang all stragglers and marauders, ii. 408

Provost's guard, to be established in the centre of the army to preserve order, i. 467; all stragglers to be taken to, ii. 137

*Prudente, La*, burned by British in Louisbourg Harbour, i. 250, 251, 252; loss of, 259; orders given by Boscowen for the destruction of, iii. 16, 17, 112; reference to, 112

Prudhomme, M., in command of the Montreal Militia, ii. 167

Prussia, the King of, reference to victories by, ii. 308

Prussian drill, reference to, i. 350

Public-houses, regulations regarding, in Quebec, ii. 258

Pumpions, or pumpkins, growth of, in Nova Scotia, i. 310, 311

Punch, mention of, iii. 221

— liberal allowance of, at St. Patrick's Day entertainment, i. 295

Punishment, reference to the severity of, in the army, ii. 107

Punishments, list of, imposed on soldiers in Quebec, ii. 278; in Quebec, for disobedience of orders, 289; of military delinquents in Quebec, December, 1759, 307; capital, for robbery, 310

QUAI DES THÉÂTINS, house of Cadet on, ii. 166

Quakers. *See* Society of Friends, i. 107

Quartermaster to be in charge of the market at Quebec, ii. 454

Quartermasters ordered to mark out a camp at Varenne, ii. 511

*Quartermaster-Sergeant, Memoirs of the*, reference to, i. 454. *See* Johnson

Quarters, officers to draw lots for, ii. 156

Quebec, destruction of supplies for, i. 275; loss of French ship carrying supplies to, 298; capture of a French ship carrying supplies to, 327, 328;



reference to fleet of transports bound for, 328; temporary citadel constructed at, 1783, 329; defence of, against Montgomery, 330; organisation of troops in the expedition against, 333, 334; order of encampment of, during expedition against, 334; order of battle of expedition against, 334; distribution of troops for expedition against, in fleet, 335; regulations governing expedition against, while sailing up the St. Lawrence, 336; regulations regarding signals in fleet sailing to, 337, 341; expedition against, to rendezvous at Gaspé Bay and island of Bic, 343; capture of French ships carrying supplies to, 351; expedition against, sails from Louisbourg, 356, 357; capture of a ship with supplies for, 357; reference to French fleet bound to, 357; scarcity of supplies at, 1759, 361; capture of French vessels bound for, 1759, 361; report of a ship being built at, 1759, 361; French fleet with supplies arrives at, 1759, 361, 362; ship from, captured by British, 368; arrival of fleet at, 1758, 368; General Wolfe views French lines at, 378; British capture boat from, 379; British fleet at, damaged by storm, 379; attempt of French to destroy British fleet before, by fire-ships, 381, 382, 385; description of French lines at, 394; etymology of word, 403; report of French deserter on number of troops at, 405; French camp near, bombarded by British, 409; city of, is exposed to artillery fire, 411; British batteries before, bombarded by French, 412; reported strength of French army at, 414; British begin bombardment of, 415; French ship with supplies for, captured, 419; damage done to, by British artillery, 421; bombardment of, July 15, 1759, 423, 424; powder of, removed from the magazine to the suburbs, 424; bombardment of, by British batteries, July 16, 1759, 424; bombardment of, July 18, 1759, 428; British ships pass, July 18, 1759, 429; city of, French forces in, 429; French hang sentinels at, 430; some inhabitants of, retire to Pointe aux

Trembles, 431; report on strength of French forces at, 432; bombardment of, by British batteries, July 22, 1759, 436; French fortify shore above, 436; British ships fail to pass, July 23, 1759, 437; part of lower town of, burned, 437; orders to British to devastate country around, 438; bombardment of, by British, July 24, 1759, 438; addition to British batteries before, 439; destruction of part of, 439; French fortifications in, 441; scarcity of provisions in, 441; bombardment of, July 26, 1759, 442, 443; bombardment of, July 27, 1759, 444; bombardment of, July 28, 1759, 444; French send fire-raft from, against British fleet, 445; bombardment of, July 30, 1759, 448; bombardment of, July 29, 1759, 448; Wolfe sends despatch to Amherst on the defence of, 479; part of the town in flames, ii. 8; fire causes considerable damage in the lower town, 22; heavy bombardment of, by British batteries, 30; French officers taken prisoners report that the city will surrender in a few days, 103; preparations of the fleet to attack the lower town, 121; capitulation of, 123; ceremonies observed in taking possession of, 124; large detachments employed in clearing the streets of, 138; repairs made in, 148; plans for the defence of, 171; ginseng to the value of \$500,000 shipped from, in 1752, 182; etymology of, 201; city of, description of, 201; severity of winter at, 1759-60, 201; city of, military strength of, 208; city of, description of French batteries at, 209; strength of militia of, 225; city of, population of, 225, 227; city of, inhabitants of, disarmed, 227; report of intention of French fleet to escape past, October, 1759, 228; works undertaken by British for defence of, October, 1759, 229; thanksgiving service for reduction of, 229; character of winter quarters of British in, 231; rumours of French attack upon, in winter of 1759-60, 238; accidental explosion in, October 21, 1759, 239; soldiers forbidden to

pass outside the lines of, October, 1759, 239; report of intention of Lévis to attack, 239; French cavalry carry off prisoners and cattle from neighbourhood of, 241; appointment of Brigadier-General Murray as Governor of, 241; appointment of Colonel Burton as Lieutenant-Governor of, 241; attack by French on redoubt near, October 24, 1759, 242; orders for greater vigilance by outposts at, October 24, 1759, 242; French attack on, expected, October 24, 1759, 243; reported scheme of French for capture of, 244; arrival of a sloop carrying eels at, October 28, 1759, 244; preparations for defence of, by British, October, 1759, 244, 245; inhabitants of, allowed to retire to the country, October 30, 1759, 246; strength of garrison of, October 29, 1759, 246; strength of garrison of, October 24, 1759, 247; Province of, Murray's sketch of counties of, 252; British troops at, not to receive pay during the winter of 1759-60, 253; scarcity of money in, during the winter of 1759-60, 253; citizen of, charged with corresponding with the French, but pardoned, 254; standing orders for the garrison of, November, 1759, 255; destruction of French works in neighbourhood of, November 4, 1759, 255; regulations in case of outbreak of fire in, 256; alarm-posts of British regiments quartered in, November, 1759, 256; British soldiers in, forbidden to intermarry with or work for the inhabitants, 257; municipal regulations of British in, 258; city of, restrictions on French inhabitants of, 258; inhabitants of, to have the free exercise of their religion, 1759, 259; second standing orders for garrison of, November, 1759, 260; inhabitant of, proved innocent of charge of corresponding with the French, 266; report of the intention of Lévis to attack, 267; number of chimneys used by regiments in, to be reported, 267; French ship of war on the stocks at, to be ripped up, 268; detail of guards at, November 5, 1759, 268; hardships of British

soldiers in, November, 1759, 269; civil jurisdiction established in, 270; removal of certain articles from, forbidden, November, 1759, 270; French carry off cattle from neighbourhood of, November, 1759, 270; provisions distributed among the British regiments in, 269, 271; skirmish in neighbourhood of, November, 1759, 272; crimes of theft and robbery in, November, 1759, 273; prevalence of drunkenness in the garrison of, November, 1759, 273, 275; skirmishes in the neighbourhood of, November, 1759, 277; French ships from up the St. Lawrence come in sight of, November 22, 1759, 280, 281, 282; report of a ship from France passing, November, 1759, 283; report of French purpose to recapture, 283; French ships from the Upper St. Lawrence pass, November, 1759, 285; loss of British seamen and carpenters on a French ship near, November, 1759, 286, 287, 288; character of French retreat from, September, 1759, 287; capture of a British schooner near, November, 1759, 287, 288, 291; report of a ship from France passing, November, 1759, 289; skirmish in neighbourhood of, November, 1759, 289; streets of, slippery, 289; French ships stranded near, burned, 290; increase of sickness in garrison of, November, 1759, 292; returns of British troops in, ordered to be made, 293; expedients for obtaining firewood in, 294; Americans under Arnold unprepared for severity of winter at, 294; orders for the strict observance of discipline in the garrison of, 296; orders regarding guards and rounds in the garrison of, 296; method of bringing firewood to, 299; rumour of proposed attack by Lévis on, December, 1759, 300; hardships of British soldiers in, 303; Indians reported to be in the neighbourhood of, December, 1759, 304, 306; erection of lamps in the streets of, 306; sufferings of British soldiers in, December, 1759, 307; provision for lighting lamps in streets of, 308; sufferings of the British garrison in,



from the cold, 309; rumour that the French would attack, December 22, 1759, 311; description of a peculiar ceremony of the inhabitants of, on Christmas eve, 312; icy condition of streets in, 317; strengthening of defences of, January, 1760, 318; increase of sickness in the garrison of, January, 1760, 318; rumour of an attack by the French on, January, 1760, 319; prices of provisions in, fixed by proclamations, 322, 323; butchers and bakers in, required to take out licences, 323; export of merchandise from, forbidden, 324; confiscation of merchandise found in the ruins of, 324; houses in suburbs of, pulled down, January, 1760, 324; inhabitants of, forbidden to correspond with the enemy, January, 1760, 324, 325; merchandise of French treasurer found in ruins of, 324, 325; arrangements for signalling the approach of an enemy to, January, 1760, 329; rumours regarding proposed French attack on, January, 1760, 331; strengthening of defences of, January, 1760, 332; severity of cold in, January, 1760, 332; report of capture of an express from General Amherst near, 333; report of intended French attack on, February, 1760, 335; good behaviour of inhabitants of, 336; villainy of English merchants in, 336; good behaviour of British troops in, 336; importance of early arrival of Lord Colville at, 1760, 336; French capture supplies for, February, 1760, 337; French send an expedition to secure provisions in the neighbourhood of, February, 1760, 338; defeat of a French force in the neighbourhood of, February 13, 1760, 340, 341; alarm in, caused by French rockets about Cape Rouge, February, 1760, 342; purveyor for British officers in, taken prisoner by French and released, 343; prisoner's report as to French troops in neighbourhood of, February, 1760, 343; British forces in, obtain provisions ordered by French, February, 1760, 345; orders for removal of snow from dwellings in, 346; return of strength of gar-

risson in, February, 1760, 352, 353; flying parties of French in neighbourhood of, 353; wells in, ordered to be closed, 353, 354; comparative good health of garrison of, asserted, 354; regulations for preserving health of troops in, 354, 355; reported abandonment by French of design to storm, 356, 357; equanimity of inhabitants of, 360; return of strength of garrison of, March 24, 1760, 364; orders of Lévis regarding preparations for campaign against, March 29, 1760, 369; orders for cleaning streets of, 369; preparation to launch sloops of war at, April, 1760, 374; decrease of sickness in garrison of, April, 1760, 375; breaking of ice in river at, April 10, 1760, 376; rumours of intended French campaign against, April, 1760, 376; heavy mortality among inhabitants of, 1759-60, 376; preparations of French for campaign against, April, 1760, 376, 378; British army against, lands at Orleans, 377; orders of Lévis for advance against, April 16, 1760, 377; intention to expel French inhabitants from, announced to British officers, 378; religious in the nunneries allowed to remain in, April, 1760, 379; inhabitants of, ordered to leave the city, 379; French bakers allowed to remain in, April, 1760, 380; decrease of sickness in garrison of, April, 1760, 381; expulsion of inhabitants of, 382; gates of, closed, April 26, 1760, 383; plan of French advance against, April, 1760, 383; increase of sickness in garrison of, April, 1760, 385; rescue of a French soldier from the ice in the river at, 386; information regarding French campaign against, obtained from rescued soldier, 386, 387; number of sick in garrison of, April 24, 1760, 389; British merchants in, form company of volunteers, 389; French army entrenches before, 396; French siege works in front of, April 29, 398; account of siege of, 1760, 398; disorder in garrison of, April 30, 1760, 399; British works for defence of, April 29, 1760, 399; unsuccessful sortie from, April 29, 1760, 400;

vigorous defence of the town made by Murray, 405; opinion of the author that the town would have fallen had Lévis followed up his advantage, 405; rejoicing in the garrison on the arrival of the *Lowestoffe* frigate, 415; reference to the gifts made to, 535; a miniature Versailles under Bigot, 573; report on, iii. 151; petition of citizens, 172; *Mémoire pour la défense des envirois*, 184; Bishop of, letter to, 341

Queen Anne, proclamation by, i. 72

— of Hungary, reference to, ii. 461

Queen's Bastion, Louisbourg, reference to, i. 249

— county, proposed creation of, ii. 253

Queylus, Mgr. de, consecration of Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, by, ii. 224

Quiberon Bay, Brigadier-General Townshend goes to assistance of Admiral Hawke at, i. 329

RABBITS not found in Nova Scotia, i. 313

Raby Castle, reference to, ii. 91

*Race-horse*, the, schooner, employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164

*Racehorse*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; to winter at Quebec, 1759-60, ii. 238; reference to, 287, 385; death of captain and lieutenant of, 292; sails for Louisbourg to hasten up the fleet for the relief of Quebec, 402; sent with despatches to General Amherst, 404; of Murray's fleet in the expedition against Montreal, 468

Racoon, description of, i. 314

Radeaux à Feu, reference to, iii. 159.

See also Fire-ships

Radin, Ensign, obtains grant of land at Berthier in 1672, ii. 498

Raft, construction of, to convey artillery across the lake, i. 484

Ramparts of Quebec, repairs to be made to, ii. 144; inhabitants not allowed to walk on, 148

*Ranger*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22

Ranger, cowardly conduct of, i. 156

Rangers, uniform of, i. 34, 307; com-

pany of, ordered to remain at Fort Cumberland for the winter, 1757-58, 78; cadets or volunteers of the army to serve in, 109; five companies of, to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 162, 165; company of, to serve under General Monckton in Nova Scotia, 1758, 163; party of, proceed in armed sloop up the river Petitcodiac, 1758, 197; Goreham's, reference to, 197; in Louisbourg expedition, to be commanded by Major Scott, 207; Goreham's, detachment of, to guide Highlanders to Fort Edward, May, 1758, 209; to receive seventy rounds of ammunition per man, 209; tents abandoned by French at Louisbourg to be given to, 221; ordered to prepare an ambuscade before Louisbourg, 222; employed in expedition against Light House Point, Louisbourg, 244; body of, takes part in expedition to St. John's River, 1758, 262; detachment of, landed at Cape Sable, 1758, 263; party of, sent up the river St. John, 268; ravages of, in Nova Scotia, 269; distribution of, in Nova Scotia, 279; company of, scour country around Fort Cumberland, 289; wanton destruction of property by, 297; Captain Danks's company of, ordered to join the expedition to Quebec, 303; recruits for, come from Boston to Fort Cumberland, 305; detachment of, placed on board the *Monckton*, 305; six companies of, to serve in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; Goreham's and Danks's, to be sent in advance to, the St. Lawrence, 1759, 336; detachment of, drive French from woods near Louisbourg, 354; detachment of, left at Ile Madame, 370; first to land on island of Orleans, 376; special services assigned to, 380; detachment of, skirmish with French on south side of St. Lawrence, June 30, 1759, 386; services of, at Point Lévi, 394, 395; detachment of, march to Chaudière River, 396; detachments of, occupy positions around Pointe aux Pères, 401; atrocities committed by, 409, 410; detachment of, skirmish with Indians at Montmorency, 411; re-

cruits for, join British army before Quebec, 420; establish a post near the river Etchemin, 434; movement to be executed by, at British attack on Montmorency, 447; body of, with General Amherst, 1759, 458; strength of, under Amherst in June, 1759, 474; ordered to form advance guard under Major Rogers, 1759, 474; reviewed by Brigadier Gage, 481; two, escape from Oswegatchie and gain Fort Miller on the Hudson, 482; order issued forbidding them to straggle in the woods, 486; number of boats allotted to, 489; endeavour to intercept the canoes of the enemy during the night, 506; sixty men under Major Rogers take up position in the trenches before Ticonderoga during the night, 506; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510; party of, fired upon by British, ii. 27; bring in a large number of cattle, 35; surprise a party of Canadians at Beaumont, 54; destroy the harvest in settlements on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, 56; company of, to remain in Quebec, 136; detachment of, sent to Crown Point, 181; party of, sack the Indian village of St. Francis, 286; ordered to instruct light infantry in the use of snow-shoes, 312; detachment of, sent from Quebec to General Amherst, 316; party of, recovers plunder from French near Quebec, February, 1760, 339; detachment of, has skirmish with French near Lorette, March, 1760, 370; company of, at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392; to be advanced every night between the town of Quebec and the enemy's works, May, 1760, 406; approach the trenches of the enemy unperceived, 411; surprise and capture a courier bearing despatches to Lévis, 428; surprise a party of the enemy near Point Platon and take several prisoners, 471; one hundred and forty-six, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, 484; party of, detached express to Brigadier Haviland, 495; land at St. Ignace, 495; capture two Canadians with their packs on their way to Montreal, 506; officer of, endeavours to take

a prisoner at Varennes, 508; attacked at Varennes by Canadians, 510; Captain Ogden's companies of, form a part of Amherst's army, 527; Captain Waite's companies of, form a part of Amherst's army, 527  
 Rapids of the Richelieu. *See* Richelieu  
 — of the St. Lawrence. *See* St. Lawrence  
 Rations, note by author on, i. 48; number of, allowed to officers, 48, 304; officers not to receive money in lieu of, 49; return of persons to receive, ordered, 227; allowance of, in the British army before Louisbourg, 232; allowance for, when not drawn by officers, 304; tables of, for British troops, ii. 281  
 Rattle-snake Sam, Mohawk Indian, statement made by, ii. 29  
 Raudot, Intendant, reference to, ii. 206  
 Ravelin thrown up by the British outside St. Louis Gate, Quebec, ii. 422, 434  
*Rawleigh*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22  
 Raymond, W. O., reference to work by, i. 211  
 — Count, reference to, iii. 96  
 Raynham, Wolfe's orders probably at, i. 328  
 Reboulle, Sieur, references to, iii. 364, 369  
 Récher, reference to *Journal* of, i. 418, 424, 440; references of, to the severity of the weather, ii. 201  
 Récollets, reference to college of, at Quebec, ii. 202; historical account of church and convent of, at Quebec, 204; goods of French inhabitants of Quebec to be lodged in chapel of, 380; college of, at Three Rivers, 487; reference to, 603  
 Redans, before Louisbourg, reference to, i. 238, 239  
 Red Head, an Indian chieftain, reference to, iii. 206, 208, 210, 218  
 Redoubts, directions for construction of, before Louisbourg, i. 226, 231, 238; orders for defence of, before Louisbourg, 237; erection of, before Louisbourg, 245; erected by British before Ticonderoga, 505; all works in front and rear of camp on the



- Plains of Abraham to be levelled, ii. 135
- Regal, Monsieur, reference to, iii. 52
- Regiments, state of, in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1757, i. 41; in Quebec to send in returns of their strength, April, 1760, ii. 400. *For British regiments, see under the numeral designations*
- Reid, John, of the 42nd Regiment, note on, ii. 195; attacks British boats by mistake, 195; reference to, iii. 65
- Reindeer, reference to, ii. 295
- Relation du Siègè de Québec*, reference to, i. 424
- Religious exercises, character of, i. 172
- René Forêt, reference to, i. 119, 156; now known as Bloody Creek, 122; description of dangerous pass at, 124; engagement at, 124; casualties at, 127; Captain Pigou killed in engagement at, 128
- Repentigny, the Chevalier de, establishes camp at Montmorency, ii. 62; situation of camp of, shown on map preserved in library of Congress, Washington, 62; commands French advance posts near Quebec, March, 1760, 361
- Jean-Baptiste René Le Gardeur de, reference to, ii. 63
- Marie Madelaine de, reference to, ii. 62
- Pierre le Gardeur de, obtains a grant of Beçancour in 1647, ii. 480; reference to, 63; executed in effigy at Quebec, 63; death of, at Mahé, in 1776, 63
- taken prisoner by Johnson, ii. 183
- Reports of officers, directions regarding, i. 229; regimental, regulations regarding, 285
- Reprisals upon prisoners, threat of, i. 182
- Repulse*, the, service of, in the Baie des Chaleurs, ii. 490; iii. 399, 401, 404, 406; sent to Halifax to refit, ii. 492
- Resche, Joseph, Abbé, conducts the funeral service of Montcalm, ii. 111
- Resolution*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- Restigouche. *See* Ristigouche
- Restoration*, the, transport, in expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 212
- Returns, regimental, directions regarding, i. 349; of British troops in Quebec ordered to be made, ii. 293
- Revest, M. du, commodore of the French fleet, i. 47
- Review, orders for, of British troops in Quebec, October 22 and 23, 1759, ii. 240, 241
- Revolte, M., seigneur of Gaspé, reference to death of, i. 275
- Madame, surrenders to British, i. 276
- Rewards to British soldiers for gallant behaviour, character of, ii. 241
- Rhode Island, provincial troops from, to be employed under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, i. 166; join Amherst, May, 1759, iii. 21
- Regiment, number of men from, to be employed in batteau service, i. 463; ordered to march to Fort Edward (New York), 464; soldiers of, condemned for desertion, 464; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; reference to, 475
- Richard, Marie-Elizabeth, of St. Augustine, reference to, ii. 293
- Richard and Jane*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- *and Mary*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22; reference to, 85
- Richbell, Major-General, colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, i. 16, and note
- Richelieu, Cardinal, reference to, ii. 224
- Marichal de, secures a quantity of Bigot's plate, ii. 145
- Rapids of the, soundings taken at, ii. 469; project to place a boom across, 473; transports pass in safety, 477; reference to, 609
- River, description of, ii. 493
- Richibucto, mentioned, iii. 397
- Richmond, Duke of, forms a society for the encouragement of British troops abroad, ii. 535
- Richmond*, the, frigate, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; General Wolfe on board, 363; reference to, 374, 375, iii. 325; brings a captured French sloop to Orleans, i. 401; reference to action of, September 12, 1759, ii. 93; of Lord Colville's fleet, 416
- the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22

- Richmond County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Rickards, Captain, of the *Racehorse*, i. 358
- Rickson, Lieutenant-Colonel, extract from letter of Wolfe to, i. 266
- Ricochet*, batteries ordered to fire *à*, ii. 430
- Rifle, use of, i. 350
- Rigaud, Pierre-François de. *See* Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, Marquis de
- François Pierre, Marquis de, note on, ii. 570
- Rigby, Surgeon's Mate, reference to death of, ii. 346
- Rioux, Sieur, reference to, iii. 389, 393
- Ristigouche, Cæsar McCormick taken prisoner to, i. 289; French frigate at anchor at, ii. 490; settlement at, destroyed by Byron, 491; camp at, iii. 386; conditions at, 390
- River, note on, iii. 362
- River Orwell [*? Rivière Ouelle*], reference to, ii. 253
- Riverin, M., reference to, iii. 174
- Rivet, Mr., reference to, iii. 227
- Rivière de la Chute, British approach Ticonderoga by way of, i. 194
- du Loup, Seigneurie of, purchased by Henry Caldwell, i. 332
- Roads, directions for construction of, in camp before Louisbourg, i. 230; building of, before Louisbourg, 245, 247; eight hundred men employed in repairs to, between Fort Edward and Four-Mile Post, 472
- Robbery, of tents, to be punished with death, i. 400; crimes of, in Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 273; soldier executed for, 276, 310; punishment of, committed by soldiers in Quebec, 307
- Robert, Captain, commander of the *Susanne*, i. 105
- Roberts, Mr., surgeon of the 1st battalion in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- Ensign, reference to, iii. 217
- Robertson, Major James, appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 210; to construct a road before Louisbourg, 240
- Lieutenant-Colonel, reference to, iii. 73, 81, 83
- Robertson, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 69, 75
- one of the first men to gain the Heights of Abraham, ii. 95
- Robin, description of, i. 316
- Robinson, Col. Beverley, attainted for treason by the State of New York, i. 211.
- commanding 3rd battalion of 60th Regiment, 1758, reference to, i. 165
- Roche, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 73
- Roches, Marie-Joseph des, of the Angels, reference to, ii. 293
- Rochester*, the, detached by Lord Colville to assist in the search for French vessels, ii. 458; reference to, 490
- Rochfort, Wolfe serves in expedition against, i. 206
- Rockets, use of, as signals, i. 247, 450; sent up from Goreham's Post to attract the attention of Brigadier Murray, ii. 13; appearance of, near Quebec, February, 1760, 342, 344; sent up by the French at Point Lévi, 423
- Rock-guard, description of, i. 423
- Rodney, Captain, in command of the *Dublin*, in 1758, i. 152
- Rodney*, the, cutter, to serve as sounding vessel for the expedition against Quebec, i. 358, 359
- Rogers, James, of Rogers' Rangers, ii. 525; note on, 526
- Robert, extract from *Journal* of, i. 34, 157; biographical note on, ii. 526; expedition of rangers to Baye Verte under command of, i. 78; expeditions of, 157; reference to, 484, iii. 331; service of, before Ticonderoga, i. 506, 507; sacks Indian village of St. Francis, ii. 286; iii. 59, 62, 69, 71, 74; in command of five companies of rangers, ii. 525; in command of a party of rangers on the lakes, 1759, iii. 37; attacks the French near Isle-aux-Noix, 81
- Captain, commands a province sloop in Nova Scotia, i. 70; brings news to Annapolis from St. John's River, 262; commands the *Ulysses*, sloop-of-war, lost in the river St. John, 281
- Roll-call to be called every half-hour to prevent marauding, ii. 108



- Rollo, Lord, commanding 22nd Regiment, 1758, i. 165; assigned to a special command before Louisbourg, 223; note on, ii. 488; ordered to land 500 men on the north shore to disarm the inhabitants, 1760, 488; receives English prisoners from St. Francis, 499; ships under, treacherously attacked at Three Rivers, 500; appointed to act as brigadier, 501; in command of the reserve in Murray's expedition against Montreal, 502; note on, by the author, 502; in command at Thérèse, 515; reference to, iii. 317, 320, 323
- The Hon. John, appointed to act as major of brigade, ii. 501; note on, by the author, 502
- Roman Catholic religion, free exercise of, granted until the possession of Canada is determined, ii. 129; reference to a royal proclamation for the free exercise of, in Quebec, 259; regulations for the free exercise of, by the inhabitants of Quebec, 1759, 259; free exercise of, guaranteed in the Capitulation of Montreal, 579
- — religious processions to be saluted by British officers in Quebec, ii. 260
- Ronce, Jean de, paid for conveying Du Calvet to Ristigouche, ii. 52
- Rookins, a soldier taken prisoner, December 6, 1757, arrives at Fort Cumberland, July 1758, i. 198; wounded during an engagement, 199
- Rose, Hugh, to attend Colonel Schuyler, i. 498
- Rose, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- Rosette Village. *See* Joseen's Village
- Ross, Major, assigned to a special command before Louisbourg, i. 223; reference to, 230; iii. 105
- Roths, Earl of, reference to, i. 15 and note
- Round Hill, known to the Acadians as Prée Ronde, i. 118. *See* also Barnaby's River
- Rounds, orders regarding, in the garrison of Quebec, ii. 296
- Rous, John, Captain, biographical note on, i. 37; to command the convoy for the transports to Cape Breton, 1757, 37; in command of the *Suther-*
- land*, 152, 358, 429; captures French boats above Quebec, 430; moves higher up the St. Lawrence, 435; report of, regarding Louisbourg, iii. 2
- Routh, Captain, in command of the *Scarborough* in 1758, i. 152
- Row-galleys, number of, built on the lakes, ii. 539
- Roy, Pierre Georges, works of, referred to, ii. 63
- Royal*, the, reference to, i. 33
- Royal Americans. *See* 60th Regiment
- Artillery, detachment of, to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, i. 162, 165; detachment of, to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 162, 165; detachment of, to serve under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne, 163, 166; detachment of, with General Amherst, 1759, 458; to proceed from Halfmoon to Fort Edward, 464; ordered to march to Seven-Mile Post, 470; strength of, with General Amherst, 501; with lighted match to march to the grand parade in taking possession of Quebec, ii. 124; 167 of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, 484. *See* also Artillery
- Battery or Citadel, Montreal, ii. 605
- Highlanders. *See* 42nd Regiment.
- Jersey Regiment sent to Halfway Brook, 1759, iii. 33
- Marine, Regiment of, at Louisbourg, iii. 5
- Regiment. *See* 1st Regiment.
- Roussillon Regiment, at battle of Ticonderoga, i. 193, 194, 195; note on the uniform of, ii. 6; reference to, 175
- Royal William*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151; sails for Gaspé, 1758, 275; in the expedition against Quebec, 357; reference to, iii. 98
- Rubens, painting by, in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, ii. 224
- Ruffee's Mill, reference to, i. 120
- Ruffio, Joseph. *See* Cadet
- Ruggles, Timothy, reference to, i. 465; biographical note on, ii. 524; commands 1st and 2nd battalions of

- the Massachusetts Regiment under Amherst, 1760, 525
- Ruggles' Regiment, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; reference to, 475, 500, iii. 57, 64; batteaus delivered to, i. 489; orders for, 496
- Ruisseau Fourchu. *See* Saw Mill Creek
- Rum, generous allowance of, to woodcutters, i. 98; small supply of, given to the enemy, 143; not to be sold in or near camp, 400; grant of, to troops, 428; distribution of, to troops before Quebec, 435, 437; commanding officers at posts to seize all, not required for King's stores, 461; prohibition of sale of, 485; good stores of, provided by Government, ii. 8; price of, in 1759, 19; soldiers given a gill of, on eve of battle, 88; a gill of, ordered to be served to the troops after the battle of the Plains, 107; allowance of, to soldiers, for cutting wood, 145; distribution of, to the soldiers in Quebec, 258; restrictions on issue of, in Quebec, 270; punishment of women for sale of, contrary to orders, 280; to be given to certain convalescents, 372; extra allowance of, to soldiers in Quebec, 385
- Rumney, Rev. John, vicar of Berwick, letter from, i. xv
- Russel, Dr. Frederick, reference to, ii. 266; to supervise supply of wine for the sick in Quebec, 275; recommendations of, for frost-bites, 294; reports to be made to, of sick sent to the General Hospital, Quebec, 297; to be given lists of the men in the General Hospital, Quebec, 304; note on, 365; prescribes wine to preserve health of troops, 365; warns the troops against a dangerous root resembling a parsnip, 413
- M., in charge of tools in Amherst's army, 1759, i. 497
- Russel, the, reference to, i. 376, 449; heavy fire on, during attack at Montmorency, 457
- Russians, description of snow-shoes used by, ii. 315
- SABOURIN, Lieutenant, a prisoner, iii. 231
- Sacandaga, Indian village, reference to, iii. 21; band of Indians reported in the vicinity of, 1759, 31
- Sackville, Lord George, grants petition of Knox, i. xiv; reference to, 78; court-martial on, for disobedience to the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, ii. 533
- Sackville, Fort, reference to, i. 51, 170; ii. 592; detachment of 35th Regiment to occupy, i. 209
- Sage, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47
- Saguenay River, reference to, ii. 289
- Sailing orders, for ships conveying 43rd Regiment to Louisbourg, i. 322; of the expedition against Quebec, 337
- Sailors, devotions of, on the St. Lawrence, in Champlain's time, i. 31; two French, killed on the ramparts of Quebec, ii. 32; fired upon by inhabitants near Quebec, August, 1759, 41; employed in drawing up artillery to the camp on the Plains of Abraham, 117; party of, taken prisoners while in search of plunder, September 15, 1759, 117
- St. Andrew*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- St. Andrew's Crosses, presentation of, by Ursuline nuns, to General Murray and his officers, ii. 292
- Day, due observance of, by garrison of Annapolis, i. 110; celebration of, Quebec, 1759, ii. 292
- St. Angela de Merici, foundress of the Ursulines, ii. 223
- St. Ann's (now Fredericton), destruction of, by Lieut. Hazen, i. 297
- River, number of Canadians crossing, fired on by the floating batteries, July 27, 1760, ii. 478
- St. Antoine, landing of the British at, ii. 14; inhabitants of, surrender arms to British, 475
- St. Augustin, French post at, February, 1760, ii. 343; French detachment at, March, 1760, 358; French army lands at, April 26, 1760, 385; inhabitants of, disarmed, 445; advanced posts of the French at, captured by the British, 449
- St. Augustine, statue of, in the General Hospital, Quebec, ii. 215
- Ste. Cécile-de-Bic, reference to, i. 343
- St. Charles Borromeo, biographical note on, ii. 215; statue of, in the

- General Hospital, Quebec, 215; reference to, 222; assistance given by, to Ursulines, 223
- St. Charles River, works of the French at, ii. 176; guard at redoubt on, November 5, 1759, 268; British abandon redoubt on, January, 1760, 319; cutting of hulks out of, April, 1760, 374
- St. Clair (or Sinclair), John, Lieutenant, in command of boats in Murray's expedition against Montreal, ii. 502; note on, 503; in command of the *Williamson* brig on the St. Lawrence, 1760, ii. 542; iii. 88. *See also* Sinclair
- St. Claude de la Croix, Mère Marie Charlotte de Ramezay, reference to, ii. 213; biographical reference to, 236; instance of courtesy of, 236
- St. Croix, Mother, of the Ursulines of Quebec, association of, with an eyewitness of Montcalm's funeral, ii. 111
- British fleet anchors in sight of, ii. 467; British troops land at, 470; inhabitants of, abandon their dwellings and retire to the woods, 471; British troops occupy a farmhouse at, 471; inhabitants of, surrender to the British, 473; inhabitants of, take the oath of neutrality, 474
- St. David's Day, due observance of, by the garrison at Annapolis, i. 140; at Fort Cumberland, 293
- St. Esprit, the *Tilbury* wrecked off the island of, i. 101
- St. Felix, Capt., note on, ii. 6, 7
- Ste. Foy, fief of, purchased by Henry Caldwell, i. 332; Repentigny serves with distinction at battle of, ii. 62; British troops march along Ste. Foy road to Borgia's house, 97; rangers stationed along the road to, September 21, 1759, 137; Indians in neighbourhood of, October, 1759, 238; church of, occupied by British, November 11, 1759, 270, 275, 445; fortification of church of, 280; relief of British posts at, November 23, 1759, 283; arrangements for relief of British detachment at, 294; British soldiers from post of, taken prisoners, 298; difficulties in bringing firewood from, to Quebec, 299; French irregulars in the neighbourhood of, December, 1759, 303; beacons erected to mark road to, 310; British wood-cutters at, not molested by French, 329; British wood-cutters recalled from, 339; French intention to attack wood-cutters at, 372; British force at, reduced, 380; intention of Murray to encamp at, 381; British advanced detachment falls back on, 383, 385; British withdraw from, 386; British set fire to church of, 386; General Murray makes excursion to, April 27, 1760, 387; occupation of, by French, 390; account of the battle of, 390, 391, iii. 301, 309; reasons of Murray for fighting the battle of, ii. 391; orders of British army at battle of, 391; defence by Murray of his conduct in fighting the battle of, 395; strength of French army at the battle of, 396; strength of British army at the battle of, 396, 397; cruelty of the Indians at, 428; large quantities of wood cut in the forests of, 446
- St. Francis, Indian village of, sacked by Major Rogers, ii. 286; Major Agnew ordered to prepare to land at, 488; note on the seigniorship of, 489
- de Sales, biographical note on, ii. 222
- St. Geneviève, Mass to be said in the church of, ii. 156
- St. George, the, transport, at Louisbourg, i. 217
- St. George's Day, celebration of, i. 305
- St. Germaine-en-Laye, reference to Treaty of, i. 44
- St. Helen's Island, fifteen hundred men entrenched at, ii. 510; Bourlamaque retires to, 514; troops in, to be treated the same as in Montreal, 567; reference to, 603; popular summer resort, 603
- St. Henry, proclamation announcing a policy of devastation posted at, i. 438
- St. Ignace, Marie Dubé de, of the Ursulines, attends funeral and identifies grave of Montcalm, ii. 111
- Mère Marie Guenet de, arrival of, at Quebec, ii. 224
- Island of, part of the parish of Sorel, ii. 494; male inhabitants leave



- to join the French army, 495 ; alarm caused to the British at, by a party of their own men, 495 ; body of men land on island to cut fascines, 498 ; Louisbourg brigade at, 503
- St. Ignatius*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- St. John*, Height of, brigadiers propose to make a descent between that place and Cap Rouge, ii. 47
- Island of, deserters come to Fort Cumberland from, 1758, i. 180 ; starving condition of inhabitants of, 180 ; surrendered, 252 ; articles of capitulation of, 255 ; French families in, surrender, 267 ; Boishébert attempts to capture British fort in, 420 ; renamed Prince Edward Island, 420 ; reference to, ii. 592
- Street, Quebec, reference to, ii. 256
- the Evangelist, celebration of the festival of, in Quebec, 1759, ii. 313
- St. John's*, Newfoundland, invaded by the French in 1762, ii. 617
- near Montreal, Murray informs the troops of the surrender of, ii. 514
- on the north of the *St. Lawrence*, reference to, ii. 252, iii. 50
- St. John's Bastion*, parapet of, filled up, ii. 404
- Gate, Quebec, Canadians make a gallant stand in vicinity of, September 13, 1759, ii. 102 ; note on, 125 ; reference to, 135, 210, 317 ; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268 ; carpenters ordered to encamp at, 424
- River, reference to, i. 176 ; intention to send an expedition to, in 1757, not carried out, 262 ; British occupy old French fort on, 262 ; expedition of Brigadier Monckton to, 262 ; material sent for construction of a new fort at, 264 ; provisions sent to British at, 264 ; reconnoitring expedition up, 268 ; new fort at, called Fort Frederic, 268 ; report of expedition up, 279, 280 ; Indians at, diverted from intention of making peace with English, 279, 280 ; destruction of French settlements on, 280 ; description of, 281 ; Murray sends letter to governor of British fort on, ii. 366
- suburb, Quebec, guard at, November 5, 1759, ii. 268 ; houses in, pulled down, January, 1760, 324
- St. Joseph*, near Isle Coudre, French at, fire at British boats in *St. Lawrence*, i. 370
- near *Pointe-aux-Trembles*, burning of, by British, ii. 279
- St. Joseph's Church*, Point Lévi, British troops capture, i. 391 ; converted into hospital, 407 ; evacuated by British, ii. 359 ; British take possession of, in the winter of 1760, 448
- — Portneuf, British attack French at, ii. 14
- St. Julien*, M. de, note on, i. 218 ; commands French forces resisting British landing at Louisbourg, 218 ; iii. 5 ; reference to, i. 219, 252
- St. Lawrence Church*, British transports anchor off, i. 374, 375 ; British army lands at, 377 ; letter from rector of, 378
- Rapids of the, danger of navigation in, ii. 557 ; eighty-four men lost in, 557
- River, expedition to destroy French settlements on, 1758, i. 263 ; charts of, obtained on a French prize, 328 ; directions regarding navigation in, 335 ; description of, 363, 367, 369, 372, 373, 374, 375 ; opinion of Thomas Killick on, 368 ; French astonishment at British success in navigating, 373 ; freezing of, at Quebec, January, 1760, ii. 332 ; freezing of, at Quebec, February 2, 1760, 334 ; importance of control of, for the conquest of Canada, 335 ; navigation of, difficult, 608 ; navigation of, between Lake St. Francis and Montreal, 609 ; Amherst's expedition down the, iii. 91 ; Mackellar's opinion on navigation of, 158
- St. Leger*, Barry, Captain, appointed major of brigade in Murray's expedition against Montreal, ii. 464
- St. Loe*, George, Major, of the 40th Regiment, ii. 502 ; note on, 503
- St. Louis Bastion*, Quebec, reference to, ii. 257 ; embrasures cut near, 404
- Falls of, reference to, ii. 253
- Fort, note on, ii. 32 ; description of, 203 ; construction of, 203
- Gate, Quebec, ground to be cleared in the vicinity of, ii. 119 ; note on, 124 ; reference to, 135, 210,

- 256, 257, 317; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268; cavalier erected near, 405; sandbags to be made at, 410
- St. Louis Street, Quebec, to be used by the troops in passing from camp to batteries, ii. 424
- Suburb, Quebec, houses in, pulled down, January, 1760, ii. 324
- St. Magdalene, inhabitants of, disarmed, ii. 490
- St. Martin, Captain, replaces Vergor at the Foulon, ii. 95; reported to be in the neighbourhood of Point Levi, December, 1759, 310; reference to, 338; commands French forces at Point Levi, February 24, 1760, 347
- St. Maurice Forges, note on, ii. 482
- River, reference to, ii. 253, 481
- St. Michael's River, Wolfe thinks of attacking at, ii. 64; French floating batteries at, 78; demolition of bridges over, 383
- St. Michel, village of, French detachment makes rendezvous at, February, 1760, ii. 348; British destroy houses in parish of, 349; native of, hanged, for inciting rebellion, 453
- St. Nicholas, troops to be cantoned in church and village of, ii. 82; detachment under Monckton and Murray lands at, 84; troops landed at, to refresh themselves, 85; two companies of grenadiers sent to, under Major Irving, to obtain the submission of the inhabitants, 459
- Bay of, reference to, ii. 252
- St. Ours, Brigadier-General, killed at the battle of the Plains, ii. 118; biographical reference to, 119; brigade of, to encamp in sight of Beauport, 167
- parish of, reference to, ii. 493
- St. Patrick's Cemetery, Quebec, reference to, ii. 76
- Day, observed by the garrison at Annapolis with great cheerfulness, i. 141; entertainment at Fort Cumberland in celebration of, 294
- St. Paul, island of, reference to, i. 359
- village of, reference to, i. 369
- St. Paul's Bay, village of, destroyed by Goreham's Rangers, ii. 38; fertile settlement at, 611
- St. Peter's Island, occupied by Canadians, ii. 556
- St. Peter's Lake, navigation of, very shallow, ii. 438
- St. Pierre les Becquets, note on, ii. 478
- St. Poncy, Abbé, parish priest of Annapolis, i. 200
- St. Quentin, Quentin Moral de, receives a grant of Cape Magdalene in 1656, ii. 480
- St. Roch's, Quebec, 60th Regiment quartered at, September, 1759, ii. 156; reference to, 202, 210, 229, 245, 294; guard at, November 5, 1759, 268; houses in, pulled down, 389; defences at, 444; market established at, for benefit of troops and inhabitants, 454
- St. Romauld, parish of, ii. 76
- St. Sacrement. *See* William Henry
- St. Simon, Antoine-Charles, dispatched to Vaudreuil from Baie des Chaleurs, iii. 362; biographical note on, 367; returns from Montreal, 365
- St. Sulpice, priests of, articles regarding, in capitulation of Montreal, ii. 580, 581; reference to properties of, 604
- Ste. Thérèse, Island of, light infantry land at, ii. 506; four companies of grenadiers to land at, 508; part of the army encamped at, 512
- Ste. Thérèse, on the Richelieu, surrender of, ii. 514; remainder of Murray's troops encamped at, 515
- St. Ursula, legend of, ii. 223; celebration of feast of, 240
- Bastion of, Quebec, embrasures cut near, ii. 404
- St. Vallier, Jean Baptiste de la Croix de Chevalière de, second Bishop of Quebec, reference to, ii. 204; builds the Bishop's Palace at Quebec, 205; establishes the General Hospital at Quebec, 212; epitaph of, 216; biographical note on, 216
- St. Villemin, Madame, captured by British, i. 402
- St. Vincent, M., present at the council of war, Quebec, September 15, 1759, ii. 117; iii. 175, 177
- Salmon, Lieutenant, of the navy, to command boats in Murray's expedition against Montreal, ii. 501
- Salmon, rivers of Canada well stocked with, ii. 610



- Salt, scarcity of, at Quebec, ii. 245 ; use of, at Quebec, for barter, 245 ; from French stores, distributed to British officers in Quebec, 245 ; to be allowed to be taken out of Quebec in exchange for provisions, 254
- Saltenstall, Mr., reference to, i. 240
- Salute, to the colonel of the 43rd Regiment, at Annapolis, i. 167 ; royal, fired on occasion of anniversary of accession of George II., 181 ; to be paid to officers of navy by soldiers, 208
- Samos battery, erection of, i. 435 ; note on, ii. 75 ; fifty of the light infantry sent to hold post at, 105 ; reference to, 174
- Sandbags, directions for filling of, before Louisbourg, i. 241 ; women to be employed in making, in Quebec, ii. 410
- Sandfly, description of, i. 319
- Sans Bruit estate, purchase of, by Henry Caldwell, i. 332
- Sappers and miners, returns of, to be made, i. 240
- Saquerisera, reference to, iii. 200
- Saratoga, Amherst visits camps at, iii. 29
- Sarrazin, Dr., reference to, ii. 206
- Saunders, Charles, Vice-Admiral, fleet under, sails February 15, 1759, i. 292 ; biographical reference to, 337 ; receives the thanks of the House of Commons for his services at Quebec, 337 ; orders of, preparatory to the expedition against Quebec, 337-356 ; displeased with Wolfe's remarks on the seamen, 416 ; supports British attack at Montmorency, 449 ; orders British armed cats at Montmorency to be abandoned and burned, 454 ; letter of General Wolfe to, after unsuccessful attack at Montmorency, 456 ; sends dispatches to England, September, 1759, ii. 59 ; mentioned in Wolfe's will, 90 ; orders the seamen and marines to make a feint off Beauport to favour the operations of Wolfe, 90 ; signs articles of capitulation of Quebec, 132 ; departure of, from Quebec, 238 ; provisions left at Quebec by, inadequate, 597 ; references to, i. 357, ii. 229, 596, iii. 56, 74
- Saunders County, proposed creation of, ii. 253
- Sauvage, Captain, of *La Pie*, ii. 17
- Sawmill Creek, on Annapolis River, called by the Acadians Ruisseau Fourchu, and now known as Moschelle, i. 117 ; references to, 128, 154, 183
- Sawmills, the, near Ticonderoga, engagement at, July 22, 1759, i. 503, iii. 40
- Sawyer, Captain, commander of the *Nassau*, i. 21
- Saxe, Marshal, reference to, i. 221
- Scaife, John, commander of the *Vulture*, i. 81 ; sailing orders issued by, 85
- Scaling ladders, French design to use, for recapture of Quebec, ii. 284 ; French troops said to be exercising in the use of, 326 ; report of accident to French while experimenting with, 356 ; number of, secured by Murray, 433 ; large quantities of, prepared by the French, 447
- Scalp, discovery of a, by the author, ii. 231
- Scalps, bounty on, i. 197 ; £250 paid for, 197 ; Indians scalp number of the men of New Jersey Regiment, 481 ; said to have been promised by French to Indians, ii. 348
- Scalping, of soldiers killed near Fort Cumberland, i. 290 ; of two grenadiers on the Island of Orleans, 395 ; of Indians at Point Lévi by rangers, 395 ; of British troops in Island of St. John, 420 ; of British soldiers at Montmorency, 426 ; practice of, forbidden by General Wolfe, 438 ; of Indians killed near Montmorency, 442 ; by Indians at Montmorency, 453 ; order issued forbidding the scalping of women or children belonging to the enemy, 468 ; two prisoners to be executed in retaliation for each woman or child scalped or murdered by the enemy, 468 ; four sailors found scalped on the Island of Orleans, ii. 32 ; party of rangers bring in a scalp, 54 ; of a British soldier and two Canadians on the Plains of Abraham, 243 ; of a British soldier near Quebec, October 29, 1759, 248 ; of British soldiers by Indians, iii. 36, 44

- Scarborough*, the, sloop, of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, i. 152; employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, 164; assists in capture of French frigate *L'Echo*, 219; iii. 103; in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; convoys provision ships for the British army before Quebec, 420; reference to, ii. 490; to convoy pioneers to Louisbourg, iii. 26; takes part in expedition against the French in Baie des Chaleurs, 399, 401, 404
- Schenactady, Amherst at, ii. 530
- Schomberg, Alexander, Captain, in command of the *Diana*, i. 152, 358; arrives at Quebec in the *Diana*, 1760, ii. 425; biographical note on, 426; takes part in destruction of enemy's ships above Quebec, 1760, 436, iii. 251; Murray refers to the valuable services rendered by, ii. 438; sails for England with dispatches, May 25, 1760, 453; appointed to convoy certain regiments, iii. 21
- Schonaries, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536; note on, 537
- Schuyler, Peter, Colonel, in command of two regiments, i. 497; colonel of the provincial forces of New Jersey, ii. 527; biographical note on, 527; arrives at Fort Edward with New Jersey troops, iii. 30; reference to, 150; reference to his company of batteau-men, 217
- Schuyler's Regiment, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; reference to, 465, 481, 496, 500, ii. 542
- Scorbutic disorders in garrison of Annapolis, 1758, reference to, i. 181
- Scorpion*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358
- Scotcook, a place on the Hudson River, iii. 23
- Scots Fort, reference to, i. 86, 136; note on, 135
- Scott, Duncan Campbell, indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii; note by, ii. 536
- George, Major, biographical reference to, i. 207; to command rangers and light infantry in expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 207; iii. 4; reference to, i. 209, 222, 229, 230, 231, 380, ii. 502, iii. 100, 104, 325; commands light infantry and rangers in expedition against Light House Point, Louisbourg, i. 244; recovers schooner and sloop from French, 280; to command Rangers in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; to direct rangers not to fire muskets indiscriminately, 384; rangers of, cross from Orleans to Point Lévis, 395; marches to Chaudière River, July 2, 1759, 396; General Wolfe not pleased with conduct of, 404; party of volunteers and rangers under, sent to lay waste the settlements on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, ii. 55; in command of 1600 men sent to destroy the parishes near Quebec, 105; returns from a successful expedition down the river St. Lawrence, 136; appointed to command a battalion from the Louisbourg regiments, 501; light infantry of, repulse a sortie at Louisbourg, iii. 11; pursues the men under Boishébert near Louisbourg, 15
- Scott, Mrs., reference to, ii. 91
- Scranton, Captain, of the *Vanguard*, read Swanton, i. 275
- Scurvy, peculiar treatment for the cure of, witnessed by the author, ii. 16; a return of men suffering from, in Quebec, to be made, 158; vinegar prescribed as a remedy for, 344; spruce drink ordered as preservative against, 374; terrible havoc wrought by, 437; reported to have broken out at Ticonderoga, 1759, iii. 31
- Scuyler. *See* Schuyler
- Seabright, John, Colonel, of the 83rd Regiment, 1759, iii. 33
- Sea-cows, description of, i. 364
- Sea Flower*, the, sloop, arrives at Annapolis from Biddeford, i. 110; employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, 164
- Sea-Horse*, the, sloop, reference to, i. 337; in the expedition against Quebec, 358; passes Quebec under heavy fire, ii. 56; 43rd Regiment entertained on board, 76; attacks the French floats at the river St.

- Michael, 79 ; to preserve communication between Holmes' and Goreham's post, 83 ; to take 250 Highlanders, 87 ; reference to death of Captain Miller of, 335
- Seal Islands, reference to, i. 55, 326
- Seals in the St. Lawrence, i. 363
- Seamen, British, plundering and drunkenness of, i. 278 ; forbidden to straggle, 380 ; orders to, for land service before Quebec, 433 ; render assistance on the field after the battle of the Plains, ii. 108 ; tribute to, by the author, 134 ; number of, behave in a disorderly manner on Island of St. Ignace, 496
- Sedgwick, Robert, surrender of Annapolis to, i. 44
- Sedition, soldiers complaining of allowance of provisions to be punished for, ii. 282
- Seeds, Murray requests Amherst to send supply of, ii. 437
- Seigniorial papers to remain in Canada, ii. 584
- Seminary of Montreal, reference to, ii. 603
- of Quebec, students of, in expedition against Point Lévis, i. 418, 419 ; reference to, ii. 76, 156, 202, 209 ; soldiers to be interred in burying ground of, 435 ; receives the Island of Jesus as a gift from Mgr. Laval, 500
- Seneca, the, takes part in the attack on Fort Lévis, ii. 546
- Senecas, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Sénéchaussée, site of, at Quebec, granted to the Récollets, ii. 204
- Senesagos, a tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536
- Senezergues, the Sieur de, takes the place of Bourlamaque on the field of Ticonderoga, i. 194 ; biographical reference to, ii. 118 ; killed at the battle of the Plains, 118 ; in command of the centre of the French lines at Beauport, 167 ; reference to, 176 ; papers of, iii. 349
- Sentinels, inexperienced men not to serve as, i. 74 ; two men hanged by the French on a gibbet at the Grand Battery, ii. 56
- Sentries, directions for posting of, before Louisbourg, i. 237 ; directions regarding, 427 ; regulations regarding, in Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 262
- Servants of General Wolfe mentioned in his will, ii. 91
- Serviés, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 187, 233 ; note on, 244
- Settlements, French, destruction of, at Cape Sable, i. 271 ; in Gaspé, 274, 275, 276 ; in Nova Scotia, 277 ; on St. John's River, 280, 297
- Seven Islands, reference to, ii. 252
- Mile Post, stockade constructed at, i. 477
- Seventeenth Lancers, originally 18th Light Dragoons, note on, i. 223
- Seventeenth Regiment (Forbes's) ordered to prepare for foreign service, i. 16 ; to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 162, 165 ; reference to, 205 ; goes to Boston, 1758, 263 ; with General Amherst, 1759, 458 ; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466 ; strength of, in June, 1759, 474 ; to be drawn up two deep on all services, 487 ; batteaus delivered to, 489 ; orders for, 496 ; officer of, killed during a false alarm, 506 ; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510 ; deserter from, found wearing French uniform, ii. 180 ; soldier of, escapes from French and brings information to Murray, 506
- Seventy-eighth Regiment (Fraser's), Highlanders, to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165 ; reference to, 205 ; goes to Boston, 1758, 263 ; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334 ; tools supplied to, 354 ; detachment of, to join the *Prince Frederic* man-of-war, June, 1759, 354 ; grenadiers of, on British ships above Quebec, 431 ; reference to, ii. 73 ; quarters allotted to, in the Intendant's Palace, 156 ; alarm-posts of, in Quebec, 257 ; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392 ; casualties in, at Deschambault, 1760, 469
- Seventy-seventh Regiment (Montgomery's), Highlanders, to serve under General Forbes against Fort du Quesne, i. 163, 166 ; with General Amherst, 1759, 458 ; permitted to carry swords, 460 ; encamped at Fort



- Edward (New York), 466 ; strength of, 1759, 474 ; under command of Colonel Montgomery, 476 ; raised by Archibald Montgomerie, 476 ; marches from Fort Edward to join Amherst's army, 483 ; batteaus delivered to, 489 ; detachment of, from Fort Ligonier, joins Amherst's army, 1759, 491 ; casualties of, at Ticonderoga, 510 ; eight companies of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, ii. 484, 527 ; complement of boats for, 537 ; ordered to Elizabeth Town, iii. 21 ; to camp at Scotcook, 23
- Shad, Captain. *See* Chads.
- Shannon, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg in 1758, i. 152 ; reference to, iii. 98
- Sharp, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- Shawanese Indians, treaties of peace with, i. 107
- Shebecks, three, in the service of Bourlamaque, ii. 193
- Shelburne, Countess of, interested in the welfare of Captain Knox, i. xiv.
- Shells, allowance to soldiers who bring in, i. 240
- Shephard, Captain, in command of company of New England Rangers, i. 34
- Shepody Hill, note on, i. 57 ; expedition to, 71 ; reference to the proposed expedition against, 77 ; Acadian women and children taken prisoners at, 155, 156
- Sheppard, Wm., occupies Samos House, ii. 76
- Sheriffe, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 82
- Ship of war, French, lost in Straits of Belleisle, i. 298 ; French, captured by the *Alcide*, 327, 328 ; French, capture of, 357
- Ships, method of surveying, i. 22 ; trading, from New England, captured by French, 187 ; French, capture of two bound to Quebec, 351 ; French, from the Upper St. Lawrence, pass Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 279, 280, 282, 285, 286 ; burning of French, stranded near Quebec, 291
- Ship-beer, supplied to men in expedition against Quebec, i. 349
- Ship provisions, apportionment of, to officers and men, i. 48
- Shirley, William, Governor, erection of Fort Halifax by, ii. 358
- Shirley's Regiment, note on, ii. 591
- Shoes, officers in Louisbourg expedition ordered to see that soldiers are provided with, i. 207 ; from the French stores, to be distributed among the British troops in Quebec, ii. 241 ; 8000 pairs of, sent to America for the troops, by a charitable society, 535
- Short, Major, reference to, ii. 205
- Shot, allowance to soldiers who bring in, i. 240 ; stealing of, from the batteries in Quebec, ii. 326
- Shot and shell, lavish expenditure of, against Quebec, ii. 11 ; cast at Three Rivers for the French, 421
- Shrewsbury, the, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 357
- Siberia, description of snow-shoes used in, ii. 315
- Sick, regulations regarding, in Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 226 ; sent to the General Hospital, Quebec, to be reported to Dr. Russell, 297 ; number of, in Quebec, February 24, 1760, 353 ; March 24, 1760, 364 ; April 24, 1760, 389 ; to be removed from convents in Quebec, April 29, 1760, 400
- Sick and wounded to be treated according to the terms of cartel of February 6, 1759, ii. 130, iii. 272, 287
- Sickness, increase of, among troops before Louisbourg, i. 246 ; amount of, in British camp before Louisbourg, 254 ; increase of, in garrison of Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 292 ; December, 1759, 313 ; January, 1760, 318 ; February, 1760, 337, 352 ; March, 1760, 354 ; decrease of, in Quebec, April, 1760, 375, 381 ; increase of, in Quebec, at end of April, 1760, 385
- Signals, arrangement of code of, i. 42 ; code of, for use in Bay of Fundy, 46 ; for landing at Louisbourg, 214 ; to prepare to land at Louisbourg, 215 ; use of lights as, 217 ; use of rockets as, 247 ; sailing orders giving list of, 322 ; regulations regarding, in the fleet sailing to Quebec, 1759, 337, 341 ; list of, for sounding vessels, 342 ; list of, for land expedi-

- tion up the St. Lawrence, 1759, 344, 345; for landing, in the expedition up the St. Lawrence, 1759, 345; code of, for British movements during attack at Montmorency, 450; code of, on eve of battle of the Plains, ii. 88; regulations regarding, in the garrison of Quebec, 256
- Sillery, General Wolfe reconnoitres, i. 432; French erect a battery at, 435; reference to battery at, ii. 137; excursion of a British force from Quebec to, October 24, 1759, 242; French ships anchor off, November, 1759, 280
- Battle of. *See* Ste. Foy.
- Silver Heels, iii. 212, 217, 224
- Simcoe, John Graves, marries Elizabeth Posthuma Gwillim, i. 331
- Simcoe, Mrs., reference to the *Journal* of, ii. 513
- Captain, of the *Pembroke*, reference to, i. 152, 275
- Simpson, Lieut., Knox complains of conduct of, i. xvi
- Sinclair, James, Lieutenant-General, colonel of the 1st Regiment of Foot, i. 16
- *See also* St. Clair
- Sister of the General Hospital gives a description of the field of battle on the evening of September 13, ii. 107
- Sisters of the Congregation, convent of, at Boucherville, ii. 513; reference to, 603
- Six-pounders, remarkable firing of, i. 78
- Sixtieth Regiment, Royal Americans, the, reviewed by commander-in-chief, i. 33; at Fort William Henry, 67; second battalion of, at Halifax, 1758, 153; detachment of first battalion of, to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, 162, 165; battalions of Lawrence and Monckton to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 162, 165; detachment of first battalion of, to serve under General Forbes against Fort du Quesne, 163, 166; fourth battalion of, to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 1758, 165; note on, 169; second battalion of, reference to, 205; third battalion of, reference to, 205; detachment of, to garrison Lunenburg, 1758, 208; second battalion of, takes part in expedition to St. John's River, 1758, 262; third battalion of, in garrison at Halifax, 263; Major-General Amherst appointed colonel of, 274; second and third battalions of (Monckton's), in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to second and third battalions of, 354; orders to third battalion of, July 1, 1759, 394; position of second battalion of, at Montmorency, 416; to escort artillery to Schenectady, 462; Haldimand made Lieutenant-Colonel in, 493; grenadiers join third battalion at Montmorency, ii. 5; order to remain at St. Antoine, 16; Lieut. Peter De Witt of, mortally wounded at Montmorency, 43; soldier of, goes over to the enemy, 91; position of, on the Plains of Abraham, 98, 175; third battalion of, sent by Wolfe to protect the landing place on the Heights of Abraham, 100, 176; deserter from, found on the field of battle, is tried and executed, 103; quartered at St. Roch's, 156; alarm-post of second and third battalions of, in Quebec, 257; second battalion, at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392, 394; soldier of, deserts and is killed when approaching the enemy's lines, 411; fourth battalion of, with Amherst in expedition against Montreal, 484; fourth battalion of, forms part of Amherst's army, 1760, 527; complement of boats for fourth battalion of, 537; Lieutenant of, taken prisoner near Cape Noir, iii. 16
- Sixty-second Regiment, four companies of, on Island of Orleans, i. 406; detachment of, removed to Montmorency, 434
- Skating, soldiers indulge in, at Annapolis, i. 110, 273; officers at Fort Cumberland indulge in, 287; at Quebec, February, 1760, ii. 349
- Skeene, Major, reference to, iii. 73
- Sleighs, parishes of Ste. Foy and Lorette ordered to furnish, ii. 295; not to be taken for the use of the officers in Quebec, 302, 311; distri-



bution of, among the British regiments in Quebec, 305

Small-pox, outbreak of, among troops before Louisbourg, i. 246; prevalence of, among New England men at Louisbourg, 254; expenses incurred during an outbreak of, in Canada, ii. 573

Smith, J., Captain, of the *Bonetta*, i. 358

—— Captain, of the *Seahorse*, i. 358; entertains, ii. 76

—— Captain, of the *Strombolo*, i. 358

Smoke, use of, for signalling, i. 336, 340

Smyth, Hervey, biographical reference to, i. 331; appointed aide-de-camp to General Wolfe, 331; drawings by, 332; carries flag of truce to Quebec, 440; mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 90; wounded at the battle of the Plains, 115

Snow, depth of, at Quebec, December, 1759, ii. 310; orders for removal of, from dwellings in Quebec, 346

Snow-barrels, use of, in the defences of Quebec, ii. 318

Snowbirds, reference to, i. 273

Snow-buntings, description of, i. 317

Snow-fleets, reference to, i. 317

Snow-shoes, use of, by British soldiers in Quebec, ii. 259, 312, 319; orders for the collection of, in Quebec, 285; description of, 314

Snow-shovels, provision of, to British troops in Quebec, ii. 259

Snuff, price of, in 1759, ii. 19

Soap, price of, in Quebec in 1759, ii. 19; removal of, from Quebec, forbidden, 270

Sobieski, reference to, ii. 415

Society of British Troops Abroad, reference to, i. 18; money sent to America for the troops, ii. 534; note on the work of, 535

—— of Friends, reference to, i. 107

Socks, partial supply of, to soldiers in Quebec, ii. 316

Soil of Nova Scotia, character of, i. 310, 311

Sol Marqué, French, value of, ii. 290

Soldiers, British, exercises of, at Halifax, 1757, i. 39; manœuvres of, on board ship, 53; subdivision of regiments affects discipline, 93; employed by inhabitants of Annapolis

as gardeners, 95; motley appearance of, after wood-cutting expedition, 109; unwillingness of commander to employ men in the woods without remuneration, 136; extravagant prices charged troops for clothing in Nova Scotia, 137; sufferings of, at Annapolis, 182; to receive fifty rounds of ammunition and three flints each, 209; pay of, in army before Louisbourg, 233; to be paid for shells, shot, and arms of enemy, 240; labours of, before Louisbourg, 245; good conduct of, at siege of Louisbourg, 253; disagreeable character of life of, in remote forts, 272; constant employment of, in Nova Scotia, 282; provincials, to garrison the fortresses of Nova Scotia, 304; provincials, rates of pay to, 304; provincials, description of, 306; provincials, distribution of, in Nova Scotia, 1759, 306; description of employment of, in Nova Scotia, 308; of 43rd Regiment, rejoice at opportunity of active service, 323; ammunition and flints to be carried by, in expedition against Quebec, 335; regulations regarding conduct of, on board transports, 336; description of arms of, 350; irregularities of, to be prevented, 379; forbidden to straggle or plunder, 384; stoppages to be made from the pay of, to provide clothing, 482; dangerous overcrowding of, on transports, ii. 85; rewards to, for the Quebec campaign, 1759, 241; distribution of French stores at Quebec to, 245; in Quebec, forbidden to intermarry with inhabitants, or work for them, 257; in Quebec, restrictions on, 257; no person to buy necessities from, 258; hardships of, in Quebec, 269, 292, 303, 307, 337; debauchment of, by the plundering character of the war in Canada, 273; punishment of, for complaining of the allowance of provisions, 282; contribute to a loan for the public service in Quebec, 298, 299; grotesque appearance of, in Quebec, 309; cheerfulness of, amidst their hardships in Quebec, 320; French, sufferings of, 330, 344; British, in Quebec, good be-

- haviour of, 336 ; in Quebec, observance of cleanliness by, required, 354 ; irregularities of, in search of liquor, 401 ; hanged for robbery and drunkenness, as an example, 401 ; men off duty in Quebec, to be relieved in their work every six hours, 403 ; in Quebec, recovery of, from despondency, 405 ; less exposed to accidents when under canvas, 406 ; remarks by the author on necessity of encamping men within the walls, 406 ; discipline of, during fire, 407 ; not allowed to stir out of camp, except on duty, 408 ; unfit for service to be sent to England and recommended to Chelsea Hospital, 466
- Soleil, Le*, departure of, from Bordeaux, iii. 361
- Solomon, Captain, of Rogers' Rangers, ii. 525
- Solvignac, officier, iii. 187, 244
- Somerset*, the, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151 ; in the expedition against Quebec, 358
- Sorel, note on, ii. 493 ; barge of aide-de-camp to General Murray fired on while passing, 500 ; descent meditated against, 503 ; inhabitants of, desert their habitations and take up arms, 504 ; houses destroyed at, by Murray, 504
- River, reference to, ii. 253 ; French frigates wintering in, 1759-1760, 336 ; Lévis under the impression that Murray will land at, 485 ; name given to the Richelieu, 493
- Sorties, rewards for persons taking part in, May, 1760, ii. 402 ; remarks by the author on, 402 ; officers will not volunteer for, 403
- Soubise, Prince of, reference to, ii. 461
- Soumandre, cadet, reference to, iii. 188
- Sounding signals, list of, i. 342
- vessels, appointment of, for expedition against Quebec, i. 359 ; in the St. Lawrence River, August, 1760, ii. 488
- Soupiran, Louise-Françoise, of St. Ursula, reference to, ii. 293
- South Bay, scouts sent to, by Colonel Grant, i. 471 ; scouting parties detached to, 478 ; reference to, 480
- Carolina, barbarities committed by Cherokees on the frontiers of, ii. 519
- South River, reference to, ii. 253
- Sowers, Thomas, engineer extraordinary, ii. 539
- Spanish Armada, reference to, i. 30
- ship, above Quebec, crew of, to be transmitted to Spain and vessel seized, ii. 157 ; crew of, allowed to sail from Quebec on a French merchantman, 248 ; falls to pieces at Quebec, 248
- Specie, *Hunter* sloop brings twenty thousand pounds for the relief of the garrison of Quebec, ii. 441
- Speedwell*, the, at Halifax, unfit for service, i. 37
- Spencerwood, official residence of lieutenant-governor of Province of Quebec, ii. 75
- Spirits. *See* Liquor.
- Spittal, John, major of brigade in the expedition against Quebec, i. 330, 333 ; note on, 331 ; order signed by, 450 ; in command of the 5th battalion, in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463, 502
- Spruce beer, first introduced into the garrison of Louisbourg, i. 71 ; method of manufacturing, 71, 235 ; supplied regularly to the garrison at Annapolis, 131 ; revenue derived from, 131 ; reference to brewing of, 236 ; to be taken with the expedition to Quebec, 335 ; to be brewed for the army under Amherst, 466 ; no limit to be placed on quantity brewed, 467 ; to be supplied at three halfpence per gallon, 468 ; ii. 532 ; Amherst's army well supplied with, i. 478 ; army well supplied with, 483 ; price of, in 1759, ii. 19 ; favourite beverage of the Canadians, 497
- boughs, to be used as substitute for straw in camp, i. 437
- drink, use of, ordered for soldiers as preservative against scurvy, ii. 374 ; method of preparing, 375
- trees, advantage taken of cover afforded by, i. 105 ; planted at certain intervals for the protection of cattle, 105 ; branches of, sent by the French for the English Governor of Quebec, ii. 409

Spry, Captain, of the *Fouqueux*, visits Gaspé, i. 277

— Captain, commander of the *Orford*, i. 21, 36, 152, 358

Spy, evidence of the presence of, in the vicinity of Fort Annapolis, i. 183

Squerrys Court, reference to, ii. 91

*Squirrel*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; sails past Quebec, 429; with Murray at Deschambault, ii. 16; takes part in the movements before the battle of the Plains, 83, 86; reference to, iii. 98

Standish, David, Lieutenant, of the Royal Artillery, ii. 552

Stanwix, Brigadier-General, to lead an expedition towards Pittsburg, i. 458, iii. 27; biographical reference to, ii. 184; reference to, 198, 596, iii. 56, 70, 72, 219

— Fort, erected by Brigadier Stanwix in 1758, i. 480

Stark, Captain, reference to, i. 34; cruel conduct of rangers of, 409, 410; biographical reference to, 469; accompanies a fishing party in an attempt to decoy the enemy, 478

Statues of saints, in streets of Quebec, ii. 203

Stella, paintings by, in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, ii. 224

Stevens, Lieutenant, surprised by the Indians while shooting pigeons, iii. 22

Stevenson, Lieutenant, forms a plan with Stobo to escape, ii. 50

Stewart, Captain James, note on, ii. 539

— one of the first men chosen to scale the heights, ii. 95

Still Water, a post on the river Orange or Hudson, iii. 25; Montgomery's Regiment encamped at, 29

Stirling, Sir William Alexander, Earl of, receives grant of Nova Scotia, i. 308

*Stirling Castle*, the, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; reference to, ii. 86, 93; extract from the log of, 94

Stobo, Robert, reference by Wolfe to the escape from prison of, i. 479; biographical reference to, ii. 49; novel methods of beginning a military career, 49; not with Wolfe

when he chose the Foulon as a landing place, 85; report of the escape of, from Quebec, iii. 35

Stobo, Captain, reference to, iii. 63, 81, 252

Stone, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 74

Stoppages, in pay of soldiers, to provide clothes, i. 233

Storekeeper of provisions at Annapolis, accounts balanced by, i. 165

Stores, return of, captured at Louisbourg, i. 258; of French in Gaspé, destruction of, 274, 275

Stores and provisions in Quebec, to be handed over to the British, ii. 124

Stott, Captain, in command of the *Gramont* sloop in 1758, i. 152

— of the *Scarborough*, i. 358

Stoves, value of, in Quebec, ii. 311; Canadian, commended by the author, 613

Strachey, Samuel, Captain, of the Royal Artillery, ii. 552; note on, iii. 189

Straggling from camp forbidden to soldiers, i. 229

Straw, spruce boughs to be substituted for, in camp, i. 437

Strawberries, abundance of, in vicinity of Saw Mill Creek, i. 183

*Strombolo*, the, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358

Stuart, Captain, of Seabright's Regiment, iii. 33

Sturgeon, abundance of, in vicinity of Comeau's Village, i. 126

*Success*, the, sloop, convoy for transports, i. 37; fires on Boishébert, 78; sails for Annapolis, 81; reference to, 86, 323; convoys troops to Halifax, 101; fires at Captain Boishébert, 287

Suette, the, French troops cross, ii. 385, 390

Sugar, price of, in 1759, ii. 19; distribution of, among the regiments in Quebec, 270, 271, 353

*Sukey*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22

*Sunderland*, the, commanded by Captain M'Kenzy, i. 21; reference to, 36, 337; damage sustained by, 101



- Superbe, La*, of the French fleet, at Louisbourg, i. 47 ; destroyed by fire, iii. 16
- Supreme Council, register of, to remain in Canada, ii. 584
- Surgeons, boat accommodation for, in Amherst's army, i. 489 ; of the regiments appointed to the hospitals in Quebec, ii. 400 ; list of, in the expedition of Murray against Montreal, 463
- Susanna*, the, arrives at Annapolis with provisions from New York, i. 105
- Susquehanna River, reference to, i. 108
- Sutherland*, the, frigate, reference to, i. 36, 214, 215, 430, ii. 78, iii. 98, of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 151 ; in the expedition against Quebec, 358 ; takes position opposite Beauport, 405 ; sails past Quebec, 429 ; sent to act in concert with Murray at Deschambault, ii. 13 ; takes part in movements preceding the battle of the Plains, 83, 87, 89 ; arrives at Quebec, 1760, 465 ; sent to protect the river as far as Deschambault, 468
- Sutlers, forbidden to bring rum on shore before Quebec, i. 401 ; who sell intoxicating liquors, to be removed from camps, before Quebec, 446 ; to be encamped in the market in the centre of the army, 467 ; permitted to use horses and waggons in transporting refreshments for the army, 485 ; boats allowed to, 489 ; help given to, with boats, 501 ; regulations regarding, in Quebec, ii. 258 ; regulations relating to, 530
- Swamp, on Plains of Abraham, soldiers buried in, ii. 108, 369
- Swanton, Captain, of the *Vanguard*, reference to, i. 152, 357 ; ii. 414, 417 ; takes part in expedition to Gaspé, 1758, i. 275 ; loses sight of other British vessels at sea, ii. 416 ; arrives at Quebec in the *Vanguard*, 425, 599 ; serves with distinction under Rodney, 426 ; attacks the French frigates above Quebec, 430 ; discovers French provision ship in Gaspé Bay, 431 ; guards ordered to pay compliment of Brigadier-General to, 435 ; Murray refers to the valuable service rendered by, 437 ; sends dispatches to England, 453
- Swanton County, proposed creation of, ii. 252
- Swearing, forbidden by a British regimental order, i. 438
- Swegatchie. *See* Oswegatchie.
- Swift*, the, arrives at Annapolis from Halifax and Fort Cumberland, i. 106
- Swimming, allowed to soldiers before Quebec at certain hours, i. 430, 432
- Swiss, deserter, reference to, i. 180
- Guards, Haldimand appointed lieutenant-colonel in, i. 493
- guide, who had deserted from the French, employed by Goreham's Rangers, ii. 39 ; order from Vaudreuil regarding the capture and execution of, 39
- Swords, regulations regarding carrying of, i. 208
- TACHET, M., house of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19
- Tactics, description of, in eighteenth century, i. 350 ; General Wolfe admires those of Indians, 411
- Tadoussac, description and history of, i. 366 ; reference to, ii. 252 ; ships to be stationed at, to prevent French ships running up the Saguenay, 456 ; annual trade of furs held by Indians at, 604
- Taine, John, lieutenant of the *Tilbury*, held by the French on account of his knowledge of *Isle Royale*, i. 101
- Talbot, James, Captain of the 43rd Regiment, i. 199
- Talon, Intendant, establishes a brewery at Quebec, ii. 206
- Tantamere River, return of cattle from, i. 78 ; reference to, 286
- Tar-water, recommendation of, to the soldiers, ii. 357
- Tate, associated with Rogers at Michilimackinac, ii. 525, 526
- Tattoo, all soldiers and sailors found out of their quarters to be taken up after, ii. 160
- Tea, price of, in 1759, ii. 19 ; not a favourite beverage of French Canadians, 237
- Temple, Thomas, appointed Governor of Annapolis by Cromwell, i. 44

- Tents, captured from French at Louisbourg, i. 221; supply of, for the expedition against Quebec, 356; captured, used for making lint, ii. 435
- Tequakareigh, Chippaway sachem, iii. 191
- Ternay, Charles Louis D'Arsac, Chevalier de, commander of a squadron in the invasion of Newfoundland in 1762, ii. 617
- Terrible, the, commanded by Captain Collins, i. 21; reference to, 36; of the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, 151; in the expedition against Quebec, 357
- Terror of France*, the, passes the town of Quebec, ii. 74; to take fifty Highlanders from the *Ann and Elizabeth*, September 11, 1759, 87
- Têtu, Mgr., editor of *Mandements . . . des Evêques de Québec*, ii. 152
- Têtu's *Histoire du Palais Episcopal de Québec*, reference to, ii. 206
- Tew, Lieutenant, wounded at Louisbourg, iii. 13
- Thanksgiving sermon, delivered at Quebec on the occasion of the victory, ii. 143, 229
- service, for reduction of Quebec, ii. 229; for relief of Quebec, 453
- Theft, crimes of, in Quebec, November, 1759, ii. 273
- Theodorick*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22
- Thibodeau, Pierre, founder of Thibodeau's Village, i. 118
- Thibodeau's Village, at foot of Préé Ronde, i. 118
- "Thin red line," employed on the Plains of Abraham, ii. 99
- Thirty-fifth Regiment (Otway's), at Fort William Henry, i. 67; detachment of, to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 162, 165; detachment of, to serve in Nova Scotia, 1758, 165; reference to, 205; detachments of, to do outpost duty, 1758, 209; takes part in expedition to St. John's River, 1758, 262; garrisons Annapolis, Fort Frederic, and Fort Edward, 279; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; detachment of, to join the *Bedford*, man-of-war, 354; marching orders to, July 2, 1759, 396; position of, at Montmorency, 416; position of, for defence of Montmorency, 430; ordered to prepare to march up the Montmorency River, 437; reward to sentry of, for capturing an Indian, ii. 29; sergeant of, goes over to the enemy, 50; in second line on Plains of Abraham, 98; clothing for, ready to be delivered at Louisbourg, 159; miserable quarters of, 160; alarm-posts of, in Quebec, 257; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392, 394
- Thody, Mr., iii. 195
- Thomas, Clare and Anselm, two Micmac Indians, converted to Christianity, i. 89; remain as hostages in the hands of the British, 91; French offer four prisoners in exchange for, 145; death of, 146
- Thomas, John, Colonel, biographical note on, ii. 525; colonel in the Massachusetts forces, 525; serves in the Revolutionary Army at Boston and in Canada, 525
- Thomas, Second Lieutenant, journal ascribed to, iii. 245; a prisoner, 251
- Thomas and Mary*, the, transport, i. 22
- Thompson, Mr., master of the *Eagle*, schooner, adventures of, i. 154; captured by the French, 269
- Thornton, Joshua, Second Lieutenant of Marines, ii. 554
- Thread, from French stores, to be distributed to the British troops in Quebec, ii. 241
- Three Rivers, French fleet at, i. 415; Haldimand appointed governor of, 494; orders issued regarding the regiment of, ii. 6; two Indians roasted to death at, 55; *Chezine* at, during the siege of Quebec, 139; reference to foundry at, 311; French detachment at, March, 1760, 358; shot and shell cast at, for the French, 421; French said to have only six pieces of cannon at, 476; safe channel found on the south shore, 477; batteries at, 481; note on, 481; British fleet anchors at, 482; note on government of, 482; description of, 487; British ships attacked when passing, 500; a centre of the fur trade, 604; iron manufactures of, 613
- Thrush, found in Nova Scotia, i. 316



- Thurot, reference to the defeat of, ii. 416
- Tiaquandean, Onondaga warrior, iii. 199
- Ticonderoga, victory of Montcalm at, i. 67; French position at, reconnoitred by Rogers' Rangers, 157; defeat of British at, August 8, 1758, 186, 191; advance of British against, 1758, 189; description of French position at, 1758, 191; strength of French at battle of, 193; account of battle of, from Montcalm's *Journal*, 193; cross set up by Montcalm at, 195; loss sustained by British before the lines of, 195; reference to, 428; engagement near, July 22, 1759, 503; British position before, July, 1759, 505; French abandon, 508; iii. 44; destruction of the barracks at, i. 508, 511, iii. 44; British loss in reduction of, i. 510; description of the fort at, 511, iii. 47; the fort at, to be repaired, i. 511, iii. 47; reference to, ii. 71; situation of, 182; repairs made to the fort at, 194; wise conduct of Amherst at, 595; Indians report French regiments in the vicinity of, 1759, iii. 31; taken possession of by Amherst, 1759, 46. *See also* Carillon
- Tide, note on the rise of, i. 58; height of, at Annapolis, 271; height of, at Quebec, ii. 202
- Tiebout, Captain, reference to, iii. 217
- Tilbury, the, commanded by Captain Barnsley, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 21; reference to, 36; wrecked off island of *St. Esprit*, 101; survivors of, taken up by French and sent to Halifax, 101
- Timber, reference to the varieties of, in Canada, ii. 614
- Tinian Island, reference to, ii. 16
- Tirbout, a volunteer, killed by the Indians, iii. 22
- Toast, prevailing, of British officers, i. 359
- Tobacco, use of, to protect French ships at Louisbourg, i. 246, 252; abundance of, at Louisbourg, 247; price of, in 1759, ii. 19; British soldiers supply Canadians with, 147; scarcity of, in Canada, 497; cultivation of, in Canada, 613; author's opinion that encouragement of Canadian growth would be prejudicial to the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, 614
- Tobolski, reference to, ii. 320
- Tolzer, Chevalier, reference to, i. 413, 427
- Tomahawk, method of carrying, by light infantry, i. 353
- Tonge, Winkworth, appointed engineer in the Louisbourg expedition, 1758, i. 215; note on, 215; reference to, 220
- Tonnant, *le*, of the French fleet, at Louisbourg, 1757, i. 47
- Tools, captured from the French at Louisbourg, i. 219; for entrenching, regulations regarding, 225, 226; distribution of, among troops of expedition against Quebec, 353
- Toronto, Lieutenant Francis returned from, iii. 190
- Tourville, Chevalier de, reference to *Journal* of, i. 219; extract from *Journal* of, 248; exertions of, to save the *Capricieux* in Louisbourg Harbour, 248, 249
- M., prisoner in the hands of the British, ii. 7
- Town Major of Quebec furnishes the author with a memorandum drawn up by Lévis, ii. 161
- Townshend, George, biographical reference to, i. 328; appointed to serve in the expedition against Quebec, 329; brigade of, at Quebec, 333, 334; troops under, ordered to be ready to march, June 29, 1759, 385; brigade of, ordered to march from the camp on the Isle of Orleans, 386; ordered to detach a party to occupy the west end of the Island of Orleans, 393; marching orders of brigade under, 405; brigade of, lands east of Montmorency, 408, 410, 411; bombards the French camp from Montmorency, 416, 417; reference to, 428, ii. 597, iii. 74; reference to *Journal* of, i. 440; to give orders regarding British attack at Montmorency, 447; at the attack at Montmorency, 453; reference to corps under command of, ii. 3; in charge of movements of troops from Montmorency, 58; quotation from the *Journal* of, 58; reference to, in Wolfe's dispatch to Pitt, 64;

- composition of brigade under, 76 ; to direct the debarkation of troops, September, 1759, 81 ; troops afloat to report to, 83 ; accompanies General Wolfe, September 10, 1759, 84 ; gives position of the troops after gaining the Heights of Abraham, 97 ; in command of the second line on Plains of Abraham, 99 ; thanks the troops for their good behaviour at the battle of the Plains, 102 ; sends an answer to the letter of Montcalm, 109 ; did not hear of Wolfe's death until some time after the event, 115 ; informs the troops that he intends to maintain the good discipline kept up by General Wolfe, 120 ; reference to pamphlets directed against, 132 ; signs articles of capitulation of Quebec, 132 ; offers reward of five guineas for the discovery of soldiers who plundered the inhabitants, 134 ; occupies a house on the Ste. Foy road, 137 ; late quarters of, to be occupied by picquets, 157 ; letter of, quoted, 173 ; gives the French in Quebec four hours in which to capitulate, 177 ; reference by, to the terms of capitulation, 178 ; promoted to command of the 28th Regiment, 417
- Townshend, the Hon. Roger, note on, i. 459 ; appointed Deputy Adjutant-General, 459 ; directs manoeuvres of provincial regiments, 486 ; in command of detachment, 492 ; killed by ■ cannon shot, 507 ; iii. 43 ; monument to, in Westminster Abbey, i. 507 ; remains of, transmitted to Albany for burial, 510
- County, proposed creation of, ii. 252
- Manuscripts, reference to, i. 328
- Trading-ships, masters of, carry on private trade, i. 106
- Transportation, organisation of, i. 301
- Transports, signals of, i. 22 ; insufficiency of, in Louisbourg expedition, 1757, 41 ; overcrowded state of, August, 1757, 49 ; with troops for Louisbourg, sail from Annapolis, 167 ; regulations regarding conduct of troops on board, 336 ; orders to masters of, at Louisbourg, 1759, 345 ; specially prepared for landing at Montmorency, ii. 65 ; three men of the, captured by the Indians at Gabarus Bay, iii. 8
- Traverse, the, description of, i. 372, 373 ; rumour of a French fleet at, April, 1760, ii. 387, 390
- Traverses, number of, erected within the city of Quebec, ii. 405
- Treasury, Lords Commissioners of, advise Murray that they are sending money for the troops, ii. 465
- Trees, varieties of, found in Nova Scotia, i. 311
- Trenches, directions for manning and relief of, before Louisbourg, i. 238, 239, 241
- Trent*, the, frigate, in the fleet against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 152 ; in the expedition against Quebec, 358 ; assists in defence of Point Lévi, 392, 393 ; receives French flag of truce, 398, 402
- Trew, Mr., recommended for promotion by Monckton, ii. 35
- Trial*, the, sloop, arrives at Annapolis with stores and provisions from Philadelphia, i. 107
- Trident*, the, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358 ; in Lord Colville's fleet, 1759, ii. 416
- Trinity House, Saunders appointed Elder Brother of, i. 337 ; note on, 367
- Trois Rivières. *See* Three Rivers
- Troops. *See* Soldiers
- Trou, the, rapids, reference to, ii. 557
- Trouse, flag of, ii. 473
- True Briton*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22 ; is saved from destruction near Fort Cumberland, 58 ; carries troops to Annapolis, 1757, 85 ; in Murray's expedition against Montreal, ii. 468 ; converted into an armed cruiser, 503
- Tudor, Mr., surgeon of the 4th battalion in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- Tullikens, John, Major, note on, iii. 56 ; reference to, 218
- Turks, reference to the siege of Vienna by, ii. 415
- Turner, Lieutenant, reference to, iii. 74
- Turpin, M., reference to, ii. 63
- Tuscarores, tribe of Indians under Sir William Johnson, ii. 536

- Tute, Captain, note on, iii. 54; reference to, 52, 55, 60, 74
- Twenty-eighth Regiment (Bragg's), ordered to prepare for foreign service, i. 16; location of camp of, at Halifax, 1757, 64; ordered to remain at Fort Cumberland for the winter of 1757, 78; reference to, 100; note by the author relating to, 148; to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, 161, 162, 165, 205; list of transports employed in relieving, for service against Louisbourg, 1758, 164; transports of, at anchor in Annapolis Bason, May 12, 1758, 169; officers of, visit Annapolis, May 13, 1758, 172; joins fleet at Halifax, iii. 1; orders for, before Louisbourg, i. 215; returns from Lorembec, iii. 5; in garrison at Louisbourg, i. 263; takes part in expedition to river St. Lawrence, 1758, 263; sails for Gaspé, August 29, 1758, 275; part of, sails for Miramichi, September 12, 1758, 276; in expedition against Quebec, 333, 334; tools supplied to, 354; embarks for Quebec, 355; position of, at Montmorency, 416; detachment of, sent into the woods for provisions, ii. 22; divine service performed for, 26; position of, on the Plains of Abraham, ii. 98; platoons of, advanced to annoy the enemy, 98; officer of, has leg shattered by shot from Quebec, 121; clothing for, ready to be delivered at Louisbourg, 159; alarm-posts of, in Quebec, 256; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392
- Twenty-second Regiment, to serve under General Amherst at Louisbourg, i. 162, 165, 205; in garrison at Louisbourg, 263; grenadier company of, to serve against Quebec, 333
- Twenty-seventh Regiment, ordered to prepare for foreign service, i. 16; ordered to Boston, 49; to serve under General Abercromby on the lakes, 162, 165; with General Amherst, 1759, 458; encamped at Fort Edward (New York), 466; batteaus delivered to, 489
- Two Brothers*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22; name given to the *King George*, a British vessel recaptured from the French, ii. 431; crew of, desert vessel at Gaspé and make their way to Fort Cumberland, 432; French rely on the provisions contained in, 436
- Two-deep line, orders regarding, i. 487; on the Plains of Abraham, ii. 99
- Two Sisters*, the, employed in transporting Acadians from district of Annapolis, i. 115
- Tyioquande, mention of, iii. 223
- Tyrrell, Thomas Signis, reference to, iii. 96
- Ulysses*, the, sloop of war, sails from Annapolis to St. John's Harbour, i. 263; sunk at the falls on St. John's River, 271, 281
- Uniforms, officers to appear in, on all occasions, i. 139; reference to, 180; of 18th Light Dragoons (17th Lancers), 223; of certain French regiments, description of, 257; description of, for rangers, 307; French, distributed to British soldiers in Quebec, ii. 245
- Union flag, signals for majors of brigades, i. 498; of Queen Anne, reference to, ii. 125
- Union Jack, to be hoisted in the most conspicuous place of the garrison of Quebec, ii. 124; note on the flag hoisted at Quebec, 124; reference to the Additional Jack of James I, 125
- United Empire Loyalists, reference to, i. 211
- Ursuline Bastion, Quebec, reference to, ii. 256; approaches of the French advanced to within seven hundred yards of, 410; French open a battery against, 419
- Ursulines, the, of Quebec, knit woollen stockings for the Highlanders, ii. 156; kindness of Murray to, 367
- Church of the, Quebec, mass to be said in, ii. 156; thanksgiving service held in, 229; reference to, 240; high mass said at, for Mgr. Briand, 464
- Convent of the, Quebec, soldier condemned to death for attempting to break through the guard at, ii. 120; a few Highlanders take up their quarters in, 156; used as a



hospital, 158, 230; reference to, 202; description of, 223; divine service to be performed in, 277, 279; men injured by explosion on a French ship taken to, November, 1759, 288; present St. Andrew's Crosses to General Murray and his officers, 292; list of nuns of, 1759, 292  
 Ursulines, Order of the, history of, ii. 223  
 Utrecht, Treaty of, cedes Nova Scotia to Great Britain, i. 99

*Vaillant, Le*, of the French fleet, i. 47  
 Van Braam, held as hostage in the affair at Fort Necessity, ii. 49  
 Vanderhuyden Dirck, reference to, iii. 199

Van Dyck, painting by, in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, ii. 224

Van Eps, Cobus, reference to, iii. 223

*Vanguard*, the, sails for Gaspé, i. 275; sails for the St. Lawrence, May 5, 1759, 306; in the expedition against Quebec, 357; reference to, 449; ii. 430; and *Trident* to take in Howe's Light Infantry out of *Jane and Mary* transport, 86; arrival of, at Quebec, 1760, 425; attacks the French frigates above Quebec, May, 1760, 429; salutes fleet of Lord Colville, 435

Vanscaack, a trader, reference to, iii. 223

Varenes, René Gaultier de, Lieutenant of the Regiment of Carignan and Governor of Three Rivers, obtains a grant of Varenes, ii. 507  
 — General Murray reconnoitres the village of, ii. 507; Murray lands at, and disarms 4000 inhabitants, 508; British occupy the church at, 509; iii. 329; British have skirmish with the French at, and take prisoners, ii. 509; iii. 329; Canadians attack rangers at, ii. 510; iii. 329; parish of, gives up arms and takes the oath, ii. 511

Vauban, Marshal de, reference to, ii. 430

Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, Pierre François de Rigaud, Marquis de, relative of, captured by the British, i. 368; implication of neglect of, to fortify Lower St. Lawrence, 373; opposes fortification of Point Lévi, 392;

message of, refusing surrender of prisoners, 402; reported to be in disagreement with Montcalm, 432; returns the reward sent by Wolfe to the soldiers who rescued Ochterloney, ii. 20; gives advice to the Canadians, 27; correspondence of, with priests intercepted, 57; instructs the inhabitants at South River to protect the boats of Boishébert, 57; reported to have gone up the river to watch the movements of British, 85; revokes the order of Montcalm regarding the Regiment of Guienne, 95; sends 100 men to oppose the British at the Foulon, 106; attends council of war, 110; sends message to Montcalm asking for advice, 110; sends a draft of terms of capitulation to Montcalm, 110; instructions of, read at council of war, 117; sends 100 bags of biscuit for the relief of Quebec, 122; expresses surprise that de Ramezay had capitulated, 122; forced to sign a document exonerating de Ramezay, 122; evidence of the duplicity of, 138; protects Joseph Cadet, 165; invectives against, by Canadians, 246; reported to have announced the conclusion of peace, November, 1759, 267; reports of trade carried on by, 273; reported to have been threatened by the Indians, 286; rapid retreat of, from Quebec, 287; reference to letter from, to General Murray, 318; gasconade of, 326; reports of French victories sent out by, March, 1760, 360; offers to surrender to Murray, 395; report that he will surrender when Amherst's army lands on Island of Montreal, 457; causes a letter regarding affairs in Europe to be circulated amongst the inhabitants, 460; predicts that peace will be established by the end of August, 1760, 462; said to have given orders not to fire on British fleet at Three Rivers, 482; pledges his credit to obtain flour, 485; report that he intended to abandon Canada and flee to Louisiana, 507; report that he will surrender on the arrival of Amherst,

- 511; offers to surrender to Murray, 559, iii. 255; sends Bougainville and de Lac to treat with Amherst, ii. 559; informs the court of the measures he is taking to secure Montreal, 563; decides to accept the terms of Amherst, 563; signs the articles of capitulation of Montreal, 564, iii. 93; provision made for the return to France of, ii. 570; blamed for not instituting reform, 573; blamed for accepting Amherst's terms, 588; instructions from, regarding the surrender of Quebec, iii. 167; letter from, to de Ramezay, 171; biographical note on, 178; applies to Amherst proposing an exchange of prisoners, 290, 294; letter from, 353; sends Lemerrier to France to give an account of the colony, 353, 354; orders from, for the carrying out of the capitulation, 1760, 411, 414; reference to, i. 181, 268, ii. 39, 248, 251, 308, 332, 343, iii. 70, 73, 74, 77, 82, 83, 149, 297, 313, 333, 355, 359, 362, 365, 389, 397  
 Vaudreuil's house, reference to, ii. 406  
 Vaughan, Captain, in command of the *Juno* in 1758, i. 152  
 Vauquelin, M. de, Captain, good conduct of, at Louisbourg, i. 247, 248; at Quebec, 248; courier sent to, ii. 17; in command of all the floats and other craft at Quebec, 1759, 168, iii. 185; squadron under, prepares to proceed against Quebec, April, 1760, ii. 376, 378; numbers of French troops at Quebec, according to a return in the possession of, 396; gallant conduct of, 427; taken prisoner by the British, 441; *Journal* of, iii. 245; biographical note on, 245  
 — Nicholas, Abbé, parish priest of Annapolis Royal, iii. 341  
 Venango, reference to, ii. 183, 198, 596; situation of, 183  
*Vengeance*, the, to carry despatches to England, ii. 505; arrival of, at Quebec, 1760, iii. 325  
 Verchère, M., reference to, ii. 183  
 Vergor de Chambon, extract from despatch of, i. 85; reference to, 201, ii. 310; protected by Bigot, 572  
 Vergor's Post, reference to, ii. 113, 174  
 Vernys, Chevalier de la Roche, capitaine, reference to, iii. 187, 244  
*Vesuvius*, the, fireship, under Captain Chads, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358, ii. 88  
*Victoire*, the, captured by the British, i. 419  
*Victory*, the, sloop, employed as transport in relieving 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164  
 Vienna, reference by the author to the siege of, ii. 415  
*Vigilante*, *La*, reference to, iii. 52  
 Vignerot, Marie Madeleine de, Duchesse d'Aiguillon, biographical note on, ii. 224  
 Village Brulé, British capture French post at, March 20, 1760, ii. 363  
 Villars, Comte, Capitaine, reference to, iii. 187; note on, 244  
 Villedonné, note on, iii. 375  
 Vinegar, use of, prescribed for the British troops, ii. 275, 344, 354, 470  
*Violet*, the, transport, at Louisbourg, i. 217  
 Virgil, quotations from, by French officers at the General Hospital, Quebec, ii. 235  
 Virginia, reference to, ii. 190  
 Volontaires Étrangers, surrender of, at Louisbourg, i. 257; uniform of, 258; history of, 267; many of, join British, 267; at Louisbourg, iii. 5  
 Volunteer, capture of a, near Lorette, ii. 303  
 Volunteers, party of, secure plunder in vicinity of Mayass Hill, i. 112; number of, serve as rangers under Major Rogers, 157; experiences of two, on the way to Halifax, 1758, 169; French, at battle of Ticonderoga, 193, 194; list of, in corps of expedition against Louisbourg, to be given in, 207; to serve with light troops at Louisbourg, 211, 222; directions to, for special service before Louisbourg, 238; party of, proceed against Indians, 282; list of, in expedition against Quebec, to be prepared, 346; to serve with the light infantry, 461; number of, to be employed in particular service, ii. 9; party of one hundred and seventy under orders for particular service, 54; company of, formed in



- Quebec, April, 1760, 384; British merchants in Quebec form company of, 389; company of, at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391, 392; a call for men for special service meets with little response, 400; unsuccessful sortie by, at Quebec, April 29, 1760, 400; in Quebec, to rejoin their corps, April 29, 1760, 400
- Votive lamp in Ursuline chapel donated by Repentigny, ii. 62
- Voyer, M., house of, destroyed by British batteries, ii. 19
- Voyès, reference to, iii. 174
- Vulture*, the, convoy for transport, i. 37; to take charge of transports, 81; conveys troops to Annapolis, 85
- WAGGONERS, of provincials, trial and punishment of, for stealing arms and tools, i. 488
- Walker, Sir Edmund, indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii
- Henry, chaplain of the 58th Regiment, ii. 28
- Sir Hovenden, destruction of the fleet under, ii. 23; failure of expedition of, against Quebec, 203; reference to, 211
- Lieutenant, in command of a party of rangers on the Petitcodiac River, 1758, i. 197; destroys an Acadian village, 1758, 198
- Wall, James, Captain, serves against the Cherokees, ii. 519
- Wallace, Captain, master of the *Trial* sloop, arrives at Annapolis, i. 107
- Wallington*, the, transport, in the expedition to Quebec, 1757, i. 22
- Wallis, Captain, of the *Prince of Orange*, i. 358; sent in search of French vessels in Baie des Chaleurs, ii. 458; assists in the destruction of the settlement of Ristigouche, 491
- Walsh, Hunt, Lieutenant-Colonel, biographical reference to, i. 66; commands expedition to Gaspereau and Baye Verde, 66; in command of the reserve at Fort Cumberland, 1757, 77; reference to, 165; drives the Canadians from their stand near St. John's Gate, September 13, 1759, ii. 102; ordered to lead reinforcement to British outposts near Quebec, November, 1759, 277; movements of, in the neighbourhood of Point aux Trembles, November, 1759, 278, 279; reference to, 280; president of a court-martial, 307; ordered to cover General Murray's retreat, April 27, 1760, 387
- Walsh, Ralph, chaplain of the 28th Regiment, ii. 28
- Walton, Captain, arrival of, at Oswego, 1759, iii. 205
- Warburton, Hugh, reference to, i. 215
- John, Lieutenant, appointed to act as Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master-General at Quebec, ii. 246; biographical note on, 317
- Ward*, the, transport, in the expedition to America, 1757, i. 22; to convey Lascelles' Regiment to the landing-place above Quebec, September, 1759, ii. 81; troops on, ordered to land, 83
- Warde, Colonel, mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 90
- Warraghiyagey, Goraghko, mention of, iii. 205
- Washing to be done by women of the army, ii. 302
- Watchboats, encounter of, near Quebec, August, 1759, ii. 37
- Water, drinking, means for preventing ill effects of, i. 211; regulations regarding use of, in Quebec, ii. 258, 384
- Watson, Mr., surgeon of the 2nd battalion of the grenadiers in the expedition against Montreal, ii. 463
- Watson's *Body of Divinity*, reference to, i. 173
- Watts, Lieutenant, killed by Indians between Still Water and Scorticook, iii. 25
- Weather, severity of, at Quebec, during winter of 1759-60, ii. 201
- Webb, Daniel, Major-General, note on, i. 68; retires to Fort Edward, 1757, 68; reference to, ii. 593
- Colonel, reference to, i. 151
- Webb's Regiment. *See* Forty-eighth Regiment
- Wellington, Duke of, reference to, i. 350
- Wells, in Quebec, report of poisoning of, ii. 258
- West, George, Major, note on, i. 465; constructs stockaded fort near Fort Edward, 465; reference to, 499
- Wettestroom, Gustav., Captain, refer-

- ence to, ii. 268; appointed to command all the floating batteries in Murray's expedition against Mont-real, 464; reports on the condition of the floating batteries, July, 1760, iii. 309
- Whale boats, to be provided for commanding officers, i. 489; proportion of, for various regiments under Amherst, 1759, 489
- Whales seen by fleet during voyage, i. 26
- Wheat, not sufficient grown in Canada for its own consumption, ii. 614
- Wheelock, Captain, of the *Pembroke*, i. 358
- Wheelwright, Esther, of the Infant Jesus, reference to, ii. 292
- Whipping of women, for selling liquors contrary to orders, ii. 280, 289; of inhabitants of Quebec, for disobedience of orders, 306
- Whitcomb, Colonel, joint-commander of the Massachusetts Regiment in 1760, ii. 525
- White Point, near Louisbourg, reference to, i. 213, 215, 216, 227
- Whiting, John, Colonel, note on, ii. 528; commanding Connecticut forces under Amherst, 1760, 528
- Whiting's Regiment, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; strength of, in June, 1759, 474; batteaus delivered to, 489; orders for, July 20, 1759, 497; reference to, in orders, 500; marching orders for, June, 1759, 475; arrives at Fort Edward with provisions, 1759, iii. 32; reference to, 53
- Whitmore, Edward, biographical reference to, i. 206; to be Brigadier-General in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 150, 206; Military Governor of Louisbourg, 206, 253; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214, 216, iii. 102; refuses to spare light infantry for expedition against Quebec, i. 333; sends Stobo to Wolfe at Quebec, ii. 50, iii. 36; postpones the destruction of the works at Louisbourg, ii. 458; arrives at Louisbourg, iii. 2; in command of right division at Louisbourg, 4; forwards letters to Amherst, 81; receives the submission of the garrison of Louisbourg, 115; letter to, from Capt. Hill, 397; letter from, to Amherst, 399, 405; reference to, i. 212, 220, 233, 234, 239, 241, iii. 66
- Whitmore's Regiment. *See* Twenty-second Regiment
- Whitsunday, observation of, i. 172
- Wier, or Wire, Mr., Commissary of Stores, reference to, i. 234, 235; to give receipts for captured cattle and provisions, 400
- Wigwams, note on, i. 79
- Wild Cat, description of, in Nova Scotia, i. 313
- ducks, abundance of, at Fort Cumberland, i. 73
- geese, large numbers of, at Fort Cumberland, i. 296
- Wilkins, Thomas, refers to the last words of Wolfe, ii. 116
- Will of General Wolfe, ii. 90
- Willard, Abijah, biographical note on, ii. 524; settles at Lancaster, New Brunswick, and becomes member of the Legislative Council, 524; Colonel, of the Massachusetts Regiment, 524, 525; reference to, iii. 57
- Willard's Regiment, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; under the command of Colonel Montgomerie, 476; marches from Fort Edward to join Amherst's army, 483; batteaus delivered to, 1759, 489; orders for, July 20, 1759, 496; reference to, iii. 53
- William Henry, Fort, report that the French had laid siege to, i. 52; report of the strength of French army at, 54; note on, 67; letter from an officer on the fate of, 67; called St. Sacrement by the French, 67; destruction of, by Montcalm, 67; Colonel Monroe forced to surrender at, 68; note on massacre of, 69; manifesto declaring capitulation of, null and void, 181, 238; withdrawal of troops from Nova Scotia as a result of fall of, 262; French fear of reprisals for violation of capitulation of, 267; unsuccessful French expedition against, 419; reference to, ii. 227
- Williams, Sir Fenwick, of Kars, reference to, i. 121
- Manly, Captain, of the 1st Regiment, note on, ii. 519; in com-

- mand of two companies of light infantry in expedition against the Cherokees, 519; reference to, iii. 60
- Williamson, Adam, engineer extraordinary, son of Colonel George Williamson, ii. 554
- Williamson, Colonel, gives assistance to the author in the preparation of his book, i. 7; in command of Royal Artillery at Halifax, 1757, 40; commanding the artillery in the expedition against Louisbourg, to supply ammunition to soldiers, 209; reference to, 229, 230, 235; excellent service of, ii. 133; reference to promotion of, 230; in command of the Royal Artillery in Amherst's army, 528; biographical note on, 528; captures a French brig near Fort Lévis in the St. Lawrence, 1760, 541; reconnoitres Fort Lévis, 1760, 543; requests permission to attack the French with his five galleys, 552; reconnoitres the ground at Louisbourg, iii. 7; reference to, 87, 88; letter from, 339; Montcalm killed by grape-shot of, 339
- John, lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, ii. 552
- Williamson*, the, name given to the brig *Outawa*, captured by Colonel Williamson, ii. 541; reference to, 542, 553; account of the action of, in the attack on Fort Lévis, 550
- Willyamos, Samuel, Captain, reference to, iii. 189, 193
- Wilmot, Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of detachment of 40th, 45th, and 47th Regiments, 1757, i. 58; commanding 45th Regiment, 1758, 165; orders bounty to be paid in scalps, 197; biographical reference to, 212; to command a brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 212; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 214; reference to, 228
- Wilmot*, the, sloop, employed as transport in relieving the 28th Regiment for service against Louisbourg, 1758, i. 164
- Wilson, Ensign, reference to, iii. 53
- Winchelsea*, the, convoy for transports, 1757, i. 37
- Windmill on the Plains of Abraham, proposal to fortify, ii. 324; reference to, 393
- Windsor*, the, arrival of, from England, 1757, i. 33; unfit for service, 37; loses 15 guns during gale, 101
- Wine, manufacture of, by the nuns of the General Hospital, Quebec, ii. 236; from the French stores distributed among British officers in Quebec, 245, 255; to be issued only to the sick in Quebec, 274; purchase of, for use of troops in Quebec, 365; scarcity of, in Quebec, 413; and other stores transferred from the *Machaux* to British ships, 491; scarcity of, in Canada, 497
- Winniet, Elizabeth, wife of John Handfield, i. 214
- Winniett, William, joins the expedition against Port Royal under Nicholson, i. 94
- Winslow, John, Colonel, reference to *Journal* of, i. 115; deports Acadians from Grand Pré, 115
- Winslow, Mr., Commissary, arrives at Fort Annapolis, 1758, i. 161; furnishes list showing distribution of British forces in North America for, 1758, 162; at Annapolis, September, 1758, 266
- Winter, of 1757-58, severity of, in Nova Scotia, i. 134; of 1758-59, severity of, at Fort Cumberland, 287, 288, 292, 293; of 1759-60, character of, at Quebec, ii. 321; of 1760-61, character of, at Quebec, 321
- campaign of 1759-60, review of, ii. 444, 598
- quarters at Quebec, troops march into, 1759, ii. 160
- Wire. *See* Wier.
- Witherspoon, John, extract from *Journal* of, i. 199.
- Wolfe, James, reference to orders of, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 7; appointed brigadier in the expedition against Louisbourg, 150, 206; occupies Light-house Point at Louisbourg, 184, iii. 7; biographical reference to, i. 206; serves at Falkirk and Culloden, 206; serves in expedition against Rochfort, 1757, 206; position of, in landing at Louisbourg, 213, 216; regimentals of 17th Lancers bear marks of mourning for, 223; to command expedition against Light-house Point, Louisbourg, 224;



leads landing party at Louisbourg, 243; iii. 3, 99; silences the island battery at Louisbourg, i. 245; repulses sortie of French from Louisbourg, 246, iii. 110; extract from letter of, i. 253; good conduct of, at Louisbourg, 253; leads expedition to destroy French settlements on the river St. Lawrence, 263; opinion of, on Colonel Bradstreet, 266; success of, in Gaspé, 274, 275; lands at Gaspé, 275; returns to Louisbourg from Gaspé, 277; humane action of, in Gaspé, 278; orders of, preparatory to the expedition against Quebec, 328-56; original orders of, probably at Raynham, 328; extracts from *Journal* of, 328, 361, 399, 401, 404, 408, 410, 411, 413, 416, 417, 424, 431, 432, 439, 442, 446; papers of, delivered to his mother by Captain Bell, 332; reviews the grenadier companies at Louisbourg, 348; remark of, in regard to a new system of exercises, 349; uses two-deep formation, 350; orders light infantry to wear bayonets, 353; on board the *Richmond*, 363; at Ile Madame, 370; views the French lines at Quebec, 378; manifesto of, to Canadians, 387; note on proclamations of, 389; comes to assistance of British troops at Point Lévi, July 1, 1759, 393; reconnoitres the city of Quebec, 395; selects position for batteries against Quebec, 395; complains of conduct of a subordinate, 405; is present at bombardment of Burton's Redoubt, 408; lands with troops east of Montmorency, 410, 411; house of, at Montmorency, 410; ii. 42; admires tactics of Indians, i. 411; prepares for expected French attack on Point aux Pères, 418; orders inspection of the 43rd Regiment, 421; determination of, to take Quebec, 424; has a conference with the Admiral before Quebec, 424, 428; activity of, 428; reconnoitres the country above Quebec, 431; allusion to plan of, to attack above Quebec, 431; reconnoitres the St. Lawrence above Quebec, 432, 435; goes on board the *Sutherland*, July 21, 435; issues proclamation announcing a policy of devas-

tation, 438; entertains ladies taken prisoners near Quebec, 440; escort of, attacked near Montmorency, 442; orders abandoning of attack at Montmorency, 453; confidence of the soldiers in, 455; submits draft of letter regarding Montmorency to other officers, 456; letter of, to Admiral Saunders, after unsuccessful attack at Montmorency, 456; alters letter to Pitt at suggestion of Saunders, 456; plans of, for the attack at Montmorency, 456; applies to Amherst for pioneers, 465, iii. 25; sends despatch to Amherst based on information obtained from Robert Stobo, i. 479; issues orders referring to the irregular proceedings of the grenadiers at Montmorency, ii. 3; note on the prestige of, 9; makes a feint to amuse the enemy, 10; proposes to attack Quebec in August, 13; orders Murray to return from St. Antoine to Quebec, 16; sends reward of twenty guineas to the soldier who rescued Captain Ochterloney, 20; addresses letter to Madame de Ramezay thanking her for her care of Captain Ochterloney, 20, 367; accompanies a detachment to St. Joachim, 22; makes a feint to attack at Point de Lest, 23; issues orders regarding unsoldierly proceedings of troops, 25; comments of, on the loss sustained on account of bad dispositions of the troops, 26; restores order amongst the troops, 26; issues placard advising inhabitants to remain neutral, 27; unable to communicate with Brigadier Murray, 34; hastens to the assistance of Mr. Cameron, a volunteer, who is besieged by Indians and Canadians, 35; makes use of plan prepared by Mackellar, 37; illness of, causes anxiety in British camp, 40; reported to be recovering from his illness, 47; addresses a memorandum to the brigadiers on methods of attacking the enemy, 47; plan of, for attacking Quebec, considered too dangerous to ask others to undertake, 47; sends an answer, dated September 12, to the brigadiers, indicating the place where he intends to land on the morrow, 48;



appears in camp for first time after illness, 55; arrives at Point Lévi from Montmorency, 57; sends despatches to England, 59; despatch of, to Pitt, quoted by author, 60; gives summary of the principal events of the campaign up to September 1, 60; refers to the havoc wrought by his artillery, 61; plan of, to attack Quebec, 69; plot for assassination of, suspected, 74; instructions of, regarding landing, September 7, 77; sends last despatch to England, 82; plan of, bewilders the enemy, 81; with chief officers, reconnoitres the north shore, 84; offers his barge for conveying to camp two indisposed officers, 85; remarks attributed to him, 90; destroys the pages of his *Journal* from August 12 to September 12, 1759, 90; spends part of the evening of September 12 with John Jervis, 90; will of, cited, 90; directions of, regarding Miss Lowther's picture, 90; instructions of, to the first body that effects a landing, September 12, 93; advice of, to officers and men on eve of battle, 93; effects ■ landing at the Foulon, 94; in front line on the Plains of Abraham, 98; orders regiments to load with an additional ball, 101; mortally wounded at the head of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, 102, 176; author's tribute to the genius of, 103; generalship of, not inferior to a Frederic, a Henry, or a Ferdinand, 104; orders Webb's Regiment to the river St. Charles, 114; various accounts of the last words of, 114; place of the death of, marked on contemporary plan, 114; wore a new uniform on the day of the battle, 115; wounded in the wrist, 115; gives the order to fire when the French are within forty yards, 115; author's reference to despatch of, 132; remains of, sent on board a ship to be conveyed to England, 134; advantage of the position chosen by, 141; Monckton desires all officers to wear mourning for, 143; advantage of the position chosen by, 177; did not contemplate a descent at the foot of the cliff at Quebec, 208, 209; carried

out his original plan in attacking Quebec, 209; want of money in army under, 253; reconnoitres the shore of Louisbourg, iii. 2; effects a landing at Louisbourg in spite of the violence of the surf, 4; encounters party of the enemy from Louisbourg, 11; corps under, takes possession of the Barachois, 15; takes possession of the hills in front of the Barachois, 15; Amherst sends a letter to, by way of the Kennebec River, 49; Amherst attempts to send a letter to, through the Indian settlements south of the St. Lawrence, 50, 59; Amherst sends a letter to, by way of Louisbourg, 56; occupies a picquet post near the West Gate, Louisbourg, 111; report to, from Murray, 163; address of, to his army, 335; reference to, i. 220, 236, 238, 239, 247, 303, 413, ii. 359, 597, iii. 61, 98, 105, 106, 339

Wolfe, Mrs., mother of General Wolfe, ii. 91

— Major Walter, uncle of General Wolfe, i. 253; mentioned in Wolfe's will, ii. 91

Wolfe's county, proposed creation of, ii. 253

Wolfe's Cove, or Foulon, reference to, ii. 113

— Drunken Pickets, term said to have been given by Montcalm to the British, ii. 106

*Wolfeian Conquest*, reference to, by the author, ii. 450

Wolves Islands, the, reference to, i. 325

Women on the British army rolls, certain number of, obtain same rations as soldiers, i. 166; allowance of provisions for, i., 355; regulations regarding, in the British camp, 402; from Quebec, large number of, captured, 439; to be provided for at Albany, 460; of Canada, sufferings of, ii. 247; regulations regarding, in Quebec, ii. 270; punishment of, for selling liquor contrary to orders, 280, 289; full allowance to be made to, in Quebec, 337; return of numbers of, with the British regiments in Quebec, 338; regulations regarding victualling of, 348; ordered to attend the sick, 365; services to be

- performed by, during the siege of Quebec, 1760, 399, 410; to remain in barracks to cook meals for soldiers, 403; detected in giving liquor to soldiers, to be punished, 403; described by the author as sprightly and agreeable, 612
- Women and children, violence to, by British soldiers, to be punished, i. 400, 438; employed in conveying provisions for the French troops, ii. 8
- Wood, Captain, of the Marines, reference to, iii. 405
- Ensign, killed, iii. 81
- Creek, reference to, i. 480
- cutters, attacked by a party of the enemy near Halifax, i. 75; slovenly and undisciplined appearance of, 109; party of, attacked by the French within range of Fort Annapolis, 115; French attempt to capture men at Ste. Foy and Lorette, ii. 449
- Woodfield, formerly Samos, ii. 76
- Woodhull, Nathaniel, biographical note on, ii. 527; extract from *Journal* of, 558
- Woodman's Point, reference to, i. 61
- Woolwich Academy, reference to, ii. 133
- Wooster, or Worcester, David, biographical note on, ii. 528; in command of the Connecticuts in Amherst's army, 528; reference to, iii. 82
- Worcester's Regiment, with General Amherst, 1759, i. 458; reference to, 475, 500; batteaus delivered to, 489; orders for, 497; three soldiers of, scalped by Indians, iii. 44
- Working parties, always to carry arms, ii. 404
- Wrey, Robert, Major, of the 22nd Regiment, ii. 502; note on, 503; commands a landing party at the church of Varennes, 1760, iii. 329
- Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, extracts from, i. 253, 266, 332, 456
- Wrong, Professor G. M., indebtedness of the editor to, i. xxiii
- YAMASKA BAY, western boundary of government of Three Rivers, ii. 482
- Yarmouth*, the, reference to, i. 337
- York*, the, sloop, Captain Cobb given command of, i. 56; in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1758, 151, 212; to convoy the 43rd Regiment to Chebucto, 306; sailing orders given on board, May 13, 1759, 322; convoys 43rd Regiment from Fort Cumberland, 323
- York, Captain, instructions to, for the ascent of the Heights of Abraham, ii. 89; in command of the field pieces at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, 101
- Young, John, Colonel, at Fort William Henry, i. 69; appointed Provost-Martial in the army before Louisbourg, 236; troops under, to make a feint to land on the north shore above Quebec, September, 1759, ii. 80; president of a court-martial, 146; appointed civil and criminal judge in Quebec, 146, 270; anecdote of recovery of pistol stolen from, 227; reference to, 254, iii. 163; merchants of Quebec request, to fix a price on commodities, ii. 306; officers to report purchases to, 317; at the battle of Ste. Foy, 391
- Younghusband, Lieutenant, of the Royal Navy, obtains assistance from Knox for impressment, i. xv
- Zephir*, the, sloop, in the expedition against Quebec, i. 358; fires upon Goreham's Rangers, ii. 37; convoys a detachment under Goreham to the island of Coudre, 38
- Zurbaran, painting by, in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, ii. 224



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"	The Colonial Office Library
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